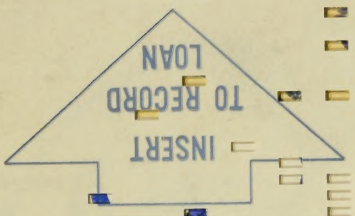




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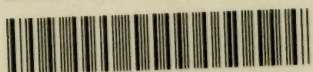
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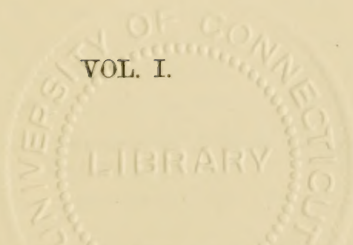
*A NEW EDITION*

REVISED WITH NOTES, APPENDICES, AND INDEX.

BY

HENRY WILSON.

VOL. I.



LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS, YORK STREET,  
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## PREFACE

### TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

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THE value of Dunlop's "History of Fiction," now again, after a long lapse of years, placed within reach of the English reader, needs no demonstration; it is amply attested by the numerous quotations from and references to it in all works, even of the most recent date, upon the history of imaginative literature. The explorations in the field of the genesis and genealogy of fiction have, indeed, recently attained such extensive development that probably no single writer could now be found bold enough to review such a vast domain as forms the scope of Dunlop's undertaking.

Raven

Writing at a period when comparatively little had been done in the ground he occupied, Dunlop was sensible of the magnitude of his task, and found it expedient to keep it within practicable compass by confining his attention to works in prose—a limitation, however, as need hardly be said, altogether artificial in tracing the evolutions of fictive composition, which passes, according to certain social conditions and by laws which might almost be determined, from verse to prose, and again from the latter to the metrical form.

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In the domain of letters, as of material industries, increase of labour begets its subdivision and specialization. Investigations into the history of fictive literature while they have recently been prosecuted with so much learning

and activity have become limited to the works of a single nation, school or period, or even to a particular theme.

The endeavour of the editor has accordingly been not so much to incorporate the results of recent research in the present edition, a plan which would have swelled it beyond measure, as to shew the direction of such researches, and indicate where they may be followed further in connection with the subjects handled by Dunlop, and, as it were, sailing in his wake down the main current of imaginative literature, point out, as far as may be, the course and the recent surveys, by which the numerous affluents to the stream of fiction may be traced towards their sources.

Dunlop's text has been retained almost intact, with the exception of the article on the Graal romance, which the labours of M. Paulin Paris, M. Hucher, Professor Schulze and many other savants, rendered it necessary to re-write.

The valuable notes to F. Liebrecht's German translation of the work have been incorporated with the notes to the present edition, and are usually acknowledged by the syllable : LIEB.

For a few notes the editor is indebted to Mr. Henry Jenner. These are subscribed H. J.

Dunlop scarcely even mentions the literature of several northern countries. This omission, it is hoped, is here to some extent remedied by appendices on prose fiction in Germany, Scandinavia and Russia, which additions, however, it was necessary to restrict to the most exiguous limits.

For the rest, Dunlop's judgments and criticism are for the most part sound, and therefore of permanent value, his style is excellent, and the original text as full of interest as ever, while, it is hoped, that the copious notes and index now added, will prove useful to the student.

---

The author of the "History of Fiction" was born on the 30th December, 1785, and was the son of John Dunlop, merchant of Glasgow, and Lord Provost of that city in 1796, Collector of Customs at Borrow-Stounness, and afterwards at Port Glasgow, where he died in 1820, author of some popular songs, among which may be named "Oh dinna ask me gin I lo'e you," and "Here's to the year that's awa." His wife, the mother of John Colin Dunlop, was a daughter of Sir Thomas Miller, of Glenlee, who was appointed Lord Justice Clerk in 1766, and Lord President of the Court in 1788; and a sister of Sir William Miller, of Glenlee, Bart., who was appointed one of the Judges of the Court of Session in 1795.

Of the career of her son, the writer of the "History of Fiction," comparatively little would seem to be on record.

He was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates on the 7th March, 1807, the subject of his thesis being "*De jure jurando, sive voluntario, sive necessario, sive judiciali.*" In 1816 he was appointed Sheriff of Renfrewshire, an office he continued to hold until his death, which occurred at 12, India Street, Edinburgh, on the 26th of January, 1842. He was said to have been a man of simple manners and unostentatious life, a lucid, fluent, and graceful speaker, and a sound lawyer.

For most of the above biographical particulars, I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Clerk, of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

Besides the "History of Fiction" its author also wrote:

"The History of Roman Literature, from its earliest period to the Augustan age." London, 1823-1828. 3 vols. 8vo.

"Memoirs of Spain during the reigns of Philip IV. and Charles II.," 1611-1700. London, 1834. 2 vols. 8vo.

The "History of Fiction" was first published in 1814,



the full title running "The History of Fiction ; being a critical account of the most celebrated prose works of Fiction, from the earliest Greek Romances to the Novels of the Present Day." Edinburgh, 1814. 3 vols. 8vo.

A second edition was issued in 1816, and I have seen references to a Philadelphia reprint in two volumes, 1842, from the second edition, and to a third edition in one volume, 1845.

H. W.

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## INTRODUCTION.

THE art of fictitious narrative appears to have its origin in the same principles of selection by which the fine arts in general are created and perfected. Among the vast variety of trees and shrubs which are presented to his view, a savage finds, in his wanderings, some which peculiarly attract his notice by their beauty and fragrance, and these he at length selects, and plants them round his dwelling. In like manner, among the mixed events of human life, he experiences some which are peculiarly grateful, and of which the narrative at once pleases himself, and excites in the minds of his hearers a kindred emotion. Of this kind are unlooked-for occurrences, successful enterprise, or great and unexpected deliverance from signal danger and distress. As he collected round his habitation those objects with which he had been pleased, in order that they might afford him a frequent gratification, so he rests his fancy on those incidents which had formerly awaked the most powerful emotions; and the remembrance of which most strongly excites his tenderness, or pride, or gratitude.

Thus, in process of time, a mass of curious narrative is collected, which is communicated from one individual to another. In almost every occurrence of human life, however, as in almost every scene of nature, something intervenes of a mixed, or indifferent description, tending to weaken the agreeable emotion, which, without it, would be more pure and forcible. For example,—in the process of forming the garden, the savage finds that it is not enough merely to collect a variety of agreeable trees or plants; he discovers that more than this is necessary, and

that it is also essential that he should grub up from around his dwelling the shrubs which are useless or noxious, and which weaken or impair the pure delight which he derives from others. He is careful, accordingly, that the rose should no longer be placed beside the thistle, as in the wild, but that it should flourish in a clear, and sheltered, and romantic situation, where its sweets may be undiminished, and where its form can be contemplated without any attending circumstances of uneasiness or disgust. The collector of agreeable facts finds, in like manner, that the sympathy they excite can be heightened by removing from their detail every thing that is not interesting, or that tends to weaken the principal emotion, which it is his intention to raise. He renders, in this way, the occurrences more unexpected, the enterprises more successful, the deliverance from danger and distress more wonderful. "As the active world," says Lord Bacon, "is inferior to the rational soul, so *Fiction* gives to mankind what history denies, and, in some measure, satisfies the mind with shadows when it cannot enjoy the substance: For, upon a narrow inspection, *Fiction* strongly shows that a greater variety of things, a more perfect order, a more beautiful variety, than can any where be found in nature, is pleasing to the mind. And as real history gives us not the success of things according to the deserts of vice and virtue, *Fiction* corrects it, and presents us with the fates and fortunes of persons rewarded or punished according to merit. And as real history disgusts us with a familiar and constant similitude of things, *Fiction* relieves us by unexpected turns and changes, and thus not only delights, but inculcates morality and nobleness of soul. It raises the mind by accommodating the images of things to our desires, and not, like history and reason, subjecting the mind to things."<sup>1</sup>

From this view of the subject, it is obvious that the fictions framed by mankind, or the narratives with which they are delighted, will vary with their feelings, and with the state of society. Since Fiction may be regarded as select and highly coloured history, those adventures would

<sup>1</sup> De Aug. Scient. lib. ii. p. 1.



naturally form the basis of it which had already come to pass, or which were most likely to occur. Accordingly, in a warlike age, it would be peculiarly employed in tales of enterprise and chivalry, and, in times of gallantry, in the detail of love adventures.

The History of Fiction, therefore, becomes, in a considerable degree, interesting to the philosopher, and occupies an important place in the history of the progress of society. By contemplating the fables of a people, we have a successive delineation of their prevalent modes of thinking, a picture of their feelings and tastes and habits. In this respect prose fiction appears to possess advantages considerably superior either to history or poetry. In history there is too little individuality; in poetry too much effort, to permit the poet and historian to portray the manners living as they rise. History treats of man, as it were, in the mass, and the individuals whom it paints are regarded merely, or principally, in a public light, without taking into consideration their private feelings, tastes, or habits. Poetry is in general capable of too little detail, while its paintings, at the same time, are usually too much forced and exaggerated. But in Fiction we can discriminate without impropriety, and enter into detail without meanness. Hence it has been remarked, that it is chiefly in the fictions of an age that we can discover the modes of living, dress, and manners of the period. "Finally," says Borromeo, (in the preface to the *Notizia de' Novellieri Italiani*,) "we should remark the light that novels spread on the history of the times. He who doubts of this may read the Eulogium of Bandello, and he will be satisfied that his *Novelliero* may be regarded as a magic mirror, which distinctly reflects the customs and manners of the sixteenth century, an age fertile in great events; and it also acquaints us with many literary and political anecdotes, which the historians of the revolutions of our states have not transmitted to posterity. I, myself, can affirm that in these tales I have found recorded authentic anecdotes of the private lives of sovereigns, which would in vain be sought for in ordinary histories."

But even if the utility which is derived from Fiction were less than it is, how much are we indebted to it for pleasure

and enjoyment! It sweetens solitude and charms sorrow—it occupies the attention of the vacant, and unbends the mind of the philosopher. Like the enchanter, Fiction shows us, as it were in a mirror, the most agreeable objects; recalls from a distance the forms which are dear to us, and soothes our own griefs by awakening our sympathy for others. By its means the recluse is placed in the midst of society; and he who is harassed and agitated in the city is transported to rural tranquillity and repose. The rude are refined by an introduction, as it were, to the higher orders of mankind, and even the dissipated and selfish are, in some degree, corrected by those paintings of virtue and simple nature, which must ever be employed by the novelist, if he wish to awaken emotion or delight.

And such seems now to be the common idea which is entertained of the value of Fiction. Accordingly, this powerful instrument of virtue and happiness, after having been long despised, on account of the purposes to which it had been made subservient, has gradually become more justly appreciated, and more highly valued. Works of Fiction have been produced, abounding at once with the most interesting details, and the most sagacious reflections, and which differ from treatises of abstract philosophy only by the greater justness of their views, and the higher interest which they excite. And it may be presumed, that a path, at once so useful and delightful, will continue to be trod: it may be presumed, that virtue and vice, the conduct of human life, what we are expected to feel, and what we are called on to do and to suffer, will long be taught by example, a method which seems better fitted to improve the mind than abstract propositions and dry discussions.

Entertaining such views of the nature and utility of fiction, and indebted to its charms for some solace and enjoyment, I have employed a few hours of relaxation in drawing up the following notices of its gradual progress. No works are perhaps more useful or agreeable, than those which delineate the advance of the human mind—the history of what different individuals have effected in the course of ages, for the instruction, or even the innocent amusement, of their species. Such a delineation is attended with innumerable advantages: It furnishes a collection of

interesting facts concerning the philosophy of mind, which we thus study not in an abstract and introspective method, but in a manner certain and experimental. It retrieves from oblivion a number of individuals, whose now obsolete works are perhaps in detail unworthy of public attention, but which promoted and diffused, in their own day, light and pleasure, and form as it were landmarks which testify the course and progress of genius. By contemplating also not only what has been done, but the mode in which it has been achieved, a method may perhaps be discovered of proceeding still farther, of avoiding the errors into which our predecessors have fallen, and of following the paths in which they have met success. Retrospective works of this nature, therefore, combine utility, justice, and pleasure; and accordingly, in different branches of philosophy and literature, various histories of their progress and fortunes have appeared.

I have attempted in the following work to afford such a delineation as is now alluded to, of the origin and progress of fiction, of the various forms which it has successively assumed, and the different authors by whom the prose works in this department of literature have been most successfully cultivated and promoted. I say *prose* works, since such alone are the proper objects of this undertaking. It was objected to a former edition, that I had commenced the History of Fiction only in the decline of literature, and had neglected the most sublime and lofty efforts of mythology and poetry. But it never was my intention to consider fiction as connected with these topics, (an enquiry which, if properly conducted, would form a work of greater extent than the whole of the present volumes, and which well deserves a peculiar treatise,) but merely to consider the different fictions in prose, which have been given to the world under the name of romance or novel. That I have begun late, arises from the circumstance, that the works of which I have undertaken a description were late in making their appearance; and I am the more strongly induced to direct my enquiries to this subject, as I am not aware that any writer has hitherto presented a full and continued view of it, though detached parts have been separately treated with much learning and ingenuity.

Huet, who was the first that investigated this matter, has written an essay on the Origin of Romances. That part of his work which relates to the Greek romances, though very succinct, is sufficiently clear, and stored with sound criticism. But having brought down the account of fiction to the later Greeks, and just entered on those composed by the western nations, which have now the name of Romances almost appropriated to them, "he puts the change on his readers," as Warburton has remarked, (Notes to Love's Labour's Lost,) "and instead of giving us an account of the Tales of Chivalry, one of the most curious and interesting parts of the subject of which he promised to treat, he contents himself with an account of the poems of the Provençal writers, called likewise romances; and so, under the equivocal of a common term, he drops his proper subject, and entertains us with another which had no relation to it except in the name."

Subsequent to the publication of this treatise by Huet, several works were projected in France, with the design of exhibiting a general view of fictitious composition. The first was the *Bibliothèque des Romans*, by the Abbé Lenglet Dufresnoy, in two volumes, published in 1735, under the name of Gordon de Perce! It is a mere catalogue, however, and wants accuracy, the only quality which can render a catalogue valuable.

In 1775, a work, also entitled *Bibliothèque des Romans*, was commenced on a much more extensive plan, and was intended to comprise an analysis of the chief works of fiction from the earliest times. The design was conceived and traced by the Marquis de Paulmy, whose extensive library supplied the contributors with the materials from which their abstracts were drawn. The conductor was M. de Bastide, one of the feeble imitators of the younger Crebillon. He supplied, however, few articles, but enjoyed as co-operators, the Chevalier de Mayer, and M. de Cardonne; as also the Comte de Tressan, whose contributions have been likewise published in the collection of his own works, under the title *Corps d'Extraits*.

In the *Bibliothèque des Romans*, prose works of fiction are divided into classes, and a summary of one romance from each order is exhibited in turn. This compilation



was published periodically till the year 1787, and four volumes were annually given to the world.

Next to the enormous length, and the frequent selection of worthless materials, the principal objection to the work is the arrangement adopted by the editors. Thus, a romance of chivalry intervenes between two Greek romances, or is presented alternately with a French heroic romance, or modern novel. Hence the reader is not furnished with a view of the progress of Fiction in continuity; he cannot trace the imitations of successive fablers, nor the way in which fiction has been modified by the manners of an age. There is besides little or no criticism of the novels or romances which are analyzed, and the whole work seems to have been written under the eye of the sultan who said he would cut off the head of the first man who made a reflection. But even the utility of the abstracts, which should have been the principal object of the work, is in a great measure lost, as it appears to have been the intention of the editors rather to present an entertaining story, somewhat resembling that of the original, than a faithful analysis. Characters and sentiments are thus exhibited, incongruous with ancient romance, and abhorrent from the opinions of the era whose manners it reflects. It is only as presenting a true and lively picture of the age, that romance has claims on the attention of the antiquarian or philosopher; and if its genuine remains be adulterated with a mixture of sentiments and manners of modern growth, the composition is heterogeneous and uninteresting. (Rose's "*Amadis de Gaul*.")

Abstracts of romances omitted in the *Bibliothèque des Romans* have been published in *Mélanges tirées d'une Grande Bibliothèque*, which is a selection from the scarce manuscripts and publications contained in the library of the Marquis de Paulmy. The work has also been continued in the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Romans*, which comprises abridgments of the most recent productions of the French, English, and German novelists.

In this country there has been no attempt towards a general History of Fiction. Dr. Percy, Warton, and others, have written, as is well known, with much learning



and ingenuity, on that branch of the subject which relates to the origin of *Romantic Fiction*—the marvellous decorations of chivalry. This enquiry, however, comprehends but a small part of the subject, and even here research has oftener been directed to the establishment of a theory, than to the investigation of truth.

In the following work I shall try to present a faithful analysis of those early and scarce productions which form, as it were, the landmarks of Fiction. Select passages will occasionally be added, and I shall endeavour by criticisms to give such a sketch as may enable the reader to form some idea of the nature and merit of the works themselves, and of the transmission of fable from one age and country to another.

EDINBURGH, 10th Feb., 1816.

# HISTORY OF FICTION.

## CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF FICTITIOUS NARRATIVE.—EARLIEST WRITERS OF GREEK ROMANCE.—HELIODORUS.—ACHILLES TATIUS.—LONGUS.—CHARITON.—JOANNES DAMASCENUS.—EUSTATHIUS.—REMARKS ON THIS SPECIES OF COMPOSITION.

THE nature and utility of fiction having been pointed out, and the design of the work explained in the introductory remarks, it now remains to prosecute what forms the proper object of this undertaking,—the origin and progress of prose works of fiction, with the analysis and criticism of the most celebrated which have been successively presented to the world.

We have already seen that fiction has in all ages formed the delight of the rudest and the most polished nations. It was late, however, and after the decline of its nobler literature, that fictions in prose came to be cultivated as a species of composition in Greece. In early times, the mere art of writing was too difficult and dignified to be employed in prose, and even the laws of the principal legislators were then promulgated in verse. In the better ages of Greece, all who felt the *mens divinior*, and of whose studies the embellishments of fiction were the objects, naturally wrote in verse, and men of genius would have disdained to occupy themselves with a simple domestic tale in prose. This mode of composition was reserved for a later period, when the ranks of poetry had been filled with great names, and the very abundance of great models had produced satiety. Poetical productions too, in order to be relished, require to

be read with a spark of the same feeling in which they are composed, and in a luxurious age, and among a luxurious people, demand even too much effort in the reader, or hearer, to be generally popular. To such, a simple narrative, a history of ludicrous or strange adventures, forms the favourite amusement; and we thus find that listening to the recital of tales has at all times been the peculiar entertainment of the indolent and voluptuous nations of the East. A taste, accordingly, for this species of narrative, or composition, seems to have been most early and most generally prevalent in Persia and other Asiatic regions, where the nature of the climate and effeminacy of the inhabitants conspired to promote its cultivation.

The people of Asia Minor, who possessed the fairest portion of the globe, were addicted to every species of luxury and magnificence; and having fallen under the dominion of the Persians, imbibed with the utmost avidity the amusing fables of their conquerors. The Milesians, who were a colony of Greeks, and spoke the Ionic dialect, excelled all the neighbouring nations in ingenuity, and first caught from the Persians this rage for fiction: but the tales they invented, and of which the name has become so celebrated, have all perished. There is little known of them, except that they were not of a very moral tendency, and were principally written by a person of the name of Aristides, whose tales were translated into Latin by Sisenna, the Roman historian, about the time of the civil wars of Marius and Sylla. Huet, Vossius,<sup>1</sup> and the other writers by whom the stories of Aristides have been mentioned, concur in representing them as short amatory narratives in prose; yet it would appear from two lines in Ovid's "*Tristia*," that some of them, at least, had been written in verse:—

Junxit Aristides Milesia carmina secum—  
Pulsus Aristides nec tamen urbe sua est.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Historicis Græcis.—Aristides.

<sup>2</sup> There is, however, another reading, "*crimina*," which Manso follows in his German translation, remarking that Aristides' work was certainly composed in prose. Sisenna translated it into prose, "*nec obfuit illi—Historiæ turpes inseruisse jocos.*"—*Trist.* ii. 443, and 412, and Lucian and Apuleius, both prose writers, speak of the Greek as their model in

But though the Milesian tales have perished, of their nature some idea may be formed from the stories of Parthenius of Nicæa, many of which, there is reason to believe, are extracted from these ancient fables, or at least are written in the same spirit.<sup>1</sup> The tales of Parthenius are about forty in number, but appear to be mere sketches. They chiefly consist of accounts of every species of seduction, and the criminal passions of the nearest relations. The principal characters generally come to a deplorable end, though seldom proportioned to what they merited by their vices. Parthenius seems to have grafted the Milesian tales on the mythological fables of Apollodorus and similar writers, and also to have borrowed from early historians and poets, whose productions have not descended to us. His work is inscribed to the Latin poet Cornelius Gallus, the contemporary and friend of Virgil.<sup>2</sup> Indeed the author says that it was composed for his use, to furnish him with materials for elegies and other poems.<sup>3</sup>

narration and expression [Lucian, *Amores*, § 1, and Apuleius, in the introduction to his *Metamorphoses*.]—Liebrecht. The tales of Sybaris were equally famous and infamous with those of Miletus (Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 4, 17). Ælian and Aristophanes have preserved an outline of two of the tales of Sybaris, which, however, are naïve and irreproachable enough. (See Landau Quellen, 1884, p. 300 ; see chap. ii. of the present work).

<sup>1</sup> The work of Parthenius, *περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθήματων*, is a collection of thirty-six abstracts of love legends collected in brief form from historians and poets, and dedicated to the compiler's friend, the Roman poet Cornelius Gallus. The object of the compilation is partly to elucidate allusions occurring in poetical works, partly to supply themes for elegiac or epic narratives of love adventures, as appears from the dedication of Parthenius. They thus afford, remarks Rohde (*Griech. Rom.* p. 114), the most explicit testimony to the close connection between the Roman artificial poetry of the early Empire with the Alexandrian school of imaginative literature, and supply an invaluable source of information upon the popular erotic tales, known to us otherwise only by meagre fragments, and upon their recital in both prose and poetical writers. A further element of value is added by the care of the compiler in generally indicating the sources whence he has drawn, such as the Milesian, Naxian, Pullenian, Lydian, Trojan, and Bythinian tales. (See Rohde, *Gr. Rom.* p. 114, and Mueller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* iii. p. 354.)

<sup>2</sup> Eclog. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Conon, the grammarian, a contemporary of Parthenius, was the author of fifty *Διηγήσεις*, of which abstracts have been preserved by Photius, Patriarch of Alexandria. They are for the most part mythical-historical character. No. 38 is essentially the story of the judgment of

The inhabitants of Asia Minor, and especially the Milesians, had a considerable intercourse with the Greeks of Attica and Peloponnesus, whose genius also naturally disposed them to fiction: they were delighted with the tales of the eastern nations, and pleasure produced imitation.<sup>1</sup>

Previous, however, to the age of Alexander the Great, little seems to have been attempted in this style of composition by the European Greeks; but the more frequent intercourse which his conquests introduced between the Greek and Asiatic nations, opened at once all the sources of fiction.<sup>1</sup> Clearchus, who was a disciple of Aristotle, and who wrote a history of fictitious love adventures, seems to have been the first author who gained any celebrity by this species of composition. Of the romances, however, which were written previous to the appearance of the Theagenes and Chariclea of Heliodorus, I am compelled to give a very meagre account, as the works themselves have perished, and our knowledge of them is chiefly derived from the summary which is contained in the Bibliotheca of Photius.

Some years after the composition of the fictitious history of Clearchus, Antonius Diogenes wrote a more perfect romance than had hitherto appeared, founded on the wandering adventures and loves of Dinias and Dercyllis, entitled,

Sancho Panza on the staff (Don Quixote, pt. ii. ch. 45). This is found in the life of St. Nicholas of Bari, in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, whence Cervantes may have derived it. The same legend is current among the Mohammedans (Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muhammedaner*, p. 213), and occurs in the Talmud (*Blätter für Israels Gegenwart und Zukunft Erster Jahrg.* Berlin, 1845, p. 27). There is a similar local legend in the Brandenburg March (*Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*, 1843, No. 77).—LIEB.

<sup>1</sup> Indian literature indeed bears traces of Greek influence subsequent to the expedition of Alexander, and there is sparing indication of the inverse. See, however, note on Heliodorus (pp. 22, 23 *infra*). Dunlop cites but two works, those of Clearchus and Antonius Diogenes, in support of his assertion. Opinions differ widely upon the Erotica of Clearchus. By some it is considered to have been a philosophic treatise upon love, by others a romance, by others a collection of short erotic tales. Antonius Diogenes flourished probably considerably after the commencement of the Christian era, and not earlier than the end of the second century, according to Passow (in Ersch and Gruber's "Encyclop."). His work, moreover, exhibits no special indication of Eastern influence. For somewhat fuller notice of this question, see Liebrecht's notes, p. 456.



OF THE INCREDIBLE THINGS IN THULE.<sup>1</sup>

That island, of which the position is one of the most doubtful points in ancient geography, was not, according to Diogenes, the most distant of the globe, as he talks of several beyond it: Thule is but a single station for his adventurers, and many of the most incredible things are beheld in other quarters of the world. The idea of the work of Diogenes is said to have been taken from the *Odyssey*, and in fact many of the incidents seem to have been borrowed from that poem. Indeed the author mentions a number of writers prior to himself, particularly Antiphanes, from whom he had collected these wonderful relations. Aulus Gellius tells us, that coming on one occasion from Greece to Italy, he landed at Brundisium, in Calabria, where he purchased a collection of fabulous histories, under the names of Aristeus, Ctesias, and Onesicritus, which were full of stories concerning nations which saw during night, but were blind during day, and various other fictions, which, we shall find, were inserted in the "Incredible Things in Thule."<sup>2</sup> The work of Diogenes is praised by Photius for its purity of style, and the delightful variety of its adventures; yet, to judge from that author's abridgment, it seems to have contained a series of the most improbable incidents. But though filled with the most trifling and incredible narrations, it is deserving of attention, as it seems to have been a repository from which Achilles Tatius and succeeding fablers derived the materials of less defective romances.

Dinias flying from Arcadia, his native country, arrives at the mouth of the river Tanais. Urged by the intensity of the cold, he proceeds towards the east, and, having made a circuit round the globe, he at length reaches Thule [c. 2]. Here he forms an acquaintance with Dercyllis, the heroine of the romance, who had been driven from Tyre along with

<sup>1</sup> Ἀντωνίου Διογένους των ἐπὶ Θούλην ἄπιστων λογοί. For a discussion of the theories respecting the locality of Thule, see Elton's "Origins of English History," p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Gellius, however, only says that they saw better at night, a circumstance which has reference to the nocturnal solar phenomena in very northern latitudes.

her brother Mantinia, by the intrigues of Paapis, an Egyptian priest. She relates to Dinias how she had wandered through Rhodes and Crete, and also among the Cimmerians, where she had a view of the infernal regions [c. 3], through favour of her deceased servant Myrto;—how, being separated from her brother, she arrived with a person of the name of Ceryllus at the tomb of the Syrens, and afterwards at a city in Spain, where the people saw during the night, a privilege which was neutralized by total blindness during day.—Dercyllis further relates how she travelled among the Celts, and a nation of Amazons [c. 4]; and that in Sicily she again met with her brother Mantinia, who related to her adventures still more extraordinary than her own; having seen all the sights in the sun, moon, and most remote islands of the globe [c. 5]. Dercyllis, after many other vicissitudes, arrives in Thule [c. 6], whither she is followed by her old enemy Paapis, who, by his magic art, makes her die every night and come alive again in the morning;—an easy kind of punishment, being equivalent to a refreshing nap. The secret of these incantations, which chiefly consisted in spitting in the victim's face, is detected by Azulis, who had accompanied Dinias into Thule, and the spells of the powerful magician being through his means broken, Dercyllis and Mantinia return to their native country [c. 7, 8]. After the departure of his friends, Dinias wanders beyond Thule, and advances towards the Pole. In these regions he says the darkness continued sometimes a month, sometimes six months, but at certain places for a whole year; and the length of the day was proportioned to that of the night. At last, awakening one morning, he finds himself at Tyre, where he meets with his old friends Mantinia and Dercyllis, with whom he passes the remainder of his life [c. 9].

Besides the principal subject of the romance, of which an abstract has been given by Photius, Porphyrius, in his *Life of Pythagoras*, has preserved a long and fabulous account of that mysterious philosopher, which, he tells us, formed an episode of the *Incredible Things in Thule*, and was related to Dercyllis by Aristæus, one of the companions of her flight from Tyre, and an eminent disciple of Pythagoras. Mnesarchus one day found, under a large poplar,

an infant, who lay gazing undazzled on the sun, holding a reed in his mouth, and sipping the dew which dropped on him from the poplar. This child was carried home by Mnesarchus, who bestowed on him the name of Aristæus, and brought him up with his youngest son Pythagoras. At length Aristæus became one of the scholars of that philosopher, along with Zamolxis, the legislator of the Gætæ, after he had undergone an *inspectio corporis*, to which the Samian sage invariably subjected his disciples, as he judged of the mental faculties by the external form. Aristæus was thus enabled to give an account of the travels of his master, and the mystical learning he acquired among the Egyptians and Babylonians; of the tranquil life which he passed in Italy, and the mode in which he healed diseases by incantations and magic poems; for he knew verses of such power that they produced oblivion of pain, soothed sorrow, and repressed all inordinate appetites.

The romance of the Incredible Things beyond Thule was dedicated to the author's sister Isidora, and consisted of twenty-four books, in which Dinias was represented as relating his own adventures, and those he had heard from Dercyllis, to Cymba, who had been sent to Tyre by the Arcadians to prevail on him to return to his native country. The account of these adventures is, at the beginning of the romance, described as having been engraved on cypress tablets by one of Cymba's attendants; at the request of Dinias they were placed in his tomb after his death, and are feigned to have been discovered by Alexander the Great during the siege of Tyre.<sup>1</sup>

After the composition of the Dinias and Dercyllis of

<sup>1</sup> Photius, Bibliotheca Cod. 156, p. 355, ed. 1653, Rothomagi. In the "Reisefabulistik" Rohde discerns one of the points of departure whence the Greek imaginary romance was developed. He is accordingly anxious to establish the date of Diogenes, which upon a numerous array of authorities he gives as the first half of the third century. (Gr. Rom. p. 252.) The long series of adventures in the Romance of Iamblichus is merely a development upon the kind of work represented by the story of the incredible things beyond Thule. The movement is entirely objective, there is no play of the emotions. A couple of lovers fly before their pursuers from land to land, amid a gloomy alternation of misfortunes imminent ruin is ever averted at the last moment, and virtue finally obtains its triumph and reward in plenary happiness. (Ibid. p. 378.)

Diogenes, a considerable period seems to have elapsed without the production of any fictitious narrative deserving the appellation of a romance.

Lucius Patrensis and Lucian, who were nearly contemporary, lived during the reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius: Lucius collected accounts of magical transformations; <sup>1</sup> Photius remarks, that his style is delightful by its perspicuity, purity, and sweetness, but as his work comprehends a relation of incidents professedly incredible, without any attempt on the part of the author to give them the appearance of reality, it cannot perhaps be properly admitted into the number of romances.

A considerable portion of the *Metamorphoses* of Lucius were abridged and transferred by Lucian into his *Ass*, to which he also gave the name of *Lucius*; a work which may perhaps be again mentioned when we come to speak of the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius, a longer and more celebrated production of the same species.

About the time these authors lived, Iamblichus <sup>2</sup> wrote his

#### BABYLONICA.

The romance itself has been lost, but the epitome given by Photius shows that little improvement had been made

<sup>1</sup> Called by Photius (*Biblioth. Cod.* 129) *Μεταμορφώσεων λόγοι διάφοροι*. According to Photius, Lucius himself believed in these marvels, including the transformation of men into animals, and *vice versa*.—Lieb. Whether the supposed Lucius of Patrae, or Lucian, is the prior author of the story, the original of which, probably derived from early Aryan sources, and formed one of the Milesian Tales, has been much contested (See the matter discussed in J. P. Courier's "*La Luciade ou l'Ane de Lucius de Patras*," Paris, 1828, preface, p. x; E. Rohde's "*Lucian's Schrift*," 1869; and De Luciano libelli qui inscribitur Lucius sive asinus actore, scripsit C. F. E. Knaut. Lipsiæ, 1868). The weight of argument, as of authority, is in favour of the supposition that Lucian drew from Lucius, or a prior source, and Apuleius from Lucian. (See further, art. Apuleius, p. 107.)

<sup>2</sup> He was born of Syrian parents. In his youth he was placed under the care of a learned Babylonian, who instructed him in the manners and customs of his country, and particularly in its language, which by this time must have been somewhat simplified. His Babylonish preceptor, however, was taken prisoner, and sold as a slave at the time of Trajan's Syrian conquest. After this Iamblichus applied himself chiefly to Greek literature, but he informs us that he did not forget his magic, for, when Antoninus sent his colleague Verus against Vologesus, king



in this species of composition, during the period which had elapsed since the production of the *Dinias* and *Dercyllis* of *Diogenes*.

*Garmus*, king of *Babylon*, having fallen in love with *Sinonis*, but not being agreeable to the object of his affections, the lady escapes from his power along with her lover *Rhodanes*. The probability of this event having been anticipated, *Damas* and *Saca*, two eunuchs who had been appointed to watch them, (after having their nose and ears cut off, for their negligence in allowing their flight,) are sent out by the king to re-commit them [c. 2]. The romance principally consists of the adventures of the fugitives, and their hair-breadth escapes from these royal messengers. We are told that the lovers first sought refuge with certain shepherds in a meadow, but a demon, or spectre, which haunted that quarter in the shape of a goat, (*τράγου τι φάσμα*), having become enamoured of *Sinonis*, she is compelled to leave this shelter, in order to avoid his fantastic addresses. It is then related how *Sinonis* and *Rhodanes* conceal themselves in a cavern, in which they are beleaguered by *Damas*; but the eunuch and his forces are routed by a swarm of poisonous bees.<sup>1</sup> By

of the *Parthians* (A.D. 167), he predicted the progress and issue of that contest.

*Photius* has given a pretty full account of the *Sinon* and *Rhodanes* of *Iamblichus*, in his *Myriabiblia*. A MS. of the romance was (says *Huet*) formerly extant in the library of the *Escorial*, which was burnt in 1670. Another copy was in possession of *Jungerman*, who died in the beginning of the seventeenth century, but it has since disappeared. (See *Passow-Scriptores Erotici*, i. p. iii.) Some fragments originally transcribed by *Vossius*, from the *Florentine* library, were published in 1641 by *Leo Allatius*, in his excerpts from the *Greek Rhetoricians* (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, vol. xxxiv. p. 57). This *mémoire*, by *Lebeau*, has been shown by *Chardon de la Rochette* (*Mélanges*, i. p. 18) to contain many errors, and the fragments not to belong to the *Babylonica*.

*Iamblichus*, the author of this romance, must not be confounded with either of the *Platonic philosophers* of that name, both of whom lived in the reign of the *Emperor Julian*, and were great favourites of the *Apostate*.

The name *Ἰάμβλιχος*, says *Mueller*, seems to be an *Arabic* form, and should be pronounced with the penultima long. It is probably the same as *yam* (יָמ), (in 1 *Chron.* iv. 34). There is no reason for identifying it with *Iambulus*.

<sup>1</sup> This incident, as well as the subsequent one of the dog (p. 19), are closely imitated in *Marino's* "*Adone*," c. 14.—*LIEB*.

this intervention the lovers escape from the cave, but having partaken of the honey of their deliverers, which was of a noxious quality, they faint on the way, and during this swoon are passed as dead by the troops of Damas. Having at length recovered, they proceed in their flight [c. 4], and take up their abode with a man who poisons his brother, and afterwards accuses them of the murder; a charge from which they are freed by the accuser laying violent hands on himself. With singular luck in meeting good company, they next quarter themselves with a robber. During their stay his habitation is burned by the troops of Damas, but the lovers escape from the eunuch, by alleging that they are the spectres of those whom the robber had murdered in his house. Further prosecuting their flight they meet with the funeral of a young girl [c. 5], who is discovered, when on the point of interment, to be yet alive. The sepulchre being left vacant, Sinonis and Rhodanes sleep in it during that night, and are again passed as corpses by their Babylonian pursuers [c. 6]; but Sinonis having made free with the dead clothes,<sup>1</sup> is taken up while attempting to dispose of them, by Soræchus, the magistrate of the district, who announces his intention of forwarding his prisoner to Babylon. In one of the respectable dwellings which they had visited in their flight, our lovers had enjoyed an opportunity of providing themselves with poison, for an emergency of this description. Their design, however, being suspected by their guards, a soporific draught is substituted, of which our hero and heroine partake, and awaken to their great surprise, from the trance into which it had thrown them, when in the vicinity of Babylon. Sinonis in despair stabs herself, but not mortally; and the compassion of Soræchus being now excited, he consents to the escape of his captives [c. 7], who experience a new series of adventures, rivalling in probability those which have been related. They first come to a temple of Venus, situated in an island of the Euphrates, where the wound of Sinonis is cured [c. 11]. Thence they seek refuge with a cottager, whose daughter being employed to dispose of some trinkets belonging to

<sup>1</sup> Which, according to custom, should have been burnt.—Gronovius, *Thes. Græc. Antiq.* J. Potteri *Archæol. Græca. Lib. iv. c. 3.*



Sinonis, is mistaken for our heroine, and Garmus is forthwith apprised that she had been seen in the neighbourhood. The cottage girl, who had remarked the suspicions of the purchasers, flees with all possible dispatch. On her way home she enters a house, where she witnesses the horrible spectacle of a lover laying violent hands on himself, after murdering his mistress; and, sprinkled with the blood of these unfortunate victims, she returns to her paternal mansion. Sinonis, perceiving from the report of this girl, that she could no longer remain with safety in her present habitation, prepares for departure [c. 13]. Rhodanes, before setting out with his mistress, salutes the peasant girl; but Sinonis perceiving blood on his lips, and being aware whence it had come, is seized with transports of ungovernable jealousy; she is with difficulty prevented from stabbing her imaginary rival [c. 14], and flies to the house of Setapo, a wealthy but profligate Babylonian. Setapo immediately pays his addresses; Sinonis feigns to yield to his solicitations, but contrives to intoxicate him in the course of the evening, and murders him during the night. Having escaped at daybreak, she is pursued by the slaves of Setapo, and committed to custody, in order to answer for the crime [c. 15]. By this time, however, the false intelligence that Sinonis was discovered, had reached the king of Babylon, who signalizes the joyful news by a general gaol delivery throughout his dominions, in the benefit of which the real Sinonis is of course included [c. 16]. While our heroine was experiencing such vicissitudes of fortune, Hyrcanus the dog of Rhodanes (for he too has his adventures,) scents out the place, where, it will be recollected, a lover had murdered his mistress. The father of Sinonis arrives at this spot while the animal is employed in devouring the remains of this unfortunate woman, and mistaking the dead body for that of his daughter, he gives it interment, and erects over it a monument, with the inscription, "Here lies the beautiful Sinonis."—Rhodanes visiting this place a short while afterwards, and perceiving the inscription, adds to it, "and also the beautiful Rhodanes," (καὶ Ῥοδάνης ὁ Καλός,) but is prevented from accomplishing his intention of stabbing himself by the approach of the peasant girl, who had been the cause of

the jealousy of Sinonis, and who informs him that it was another than his mistress who had perished there [c. 18]. At this time the unfortunate detention and threatened punishment of Soræchus, by whom the lovers had originally been allowed to escape, enables the Babylonian officers to trace the flight of Rhodanes. He is in consequence delivered up to Garmus [c. 20], and is speedily nailed to the cross by that monarch. While he is in this crisis, and while Garmus is dancing and carousing round the place of execution, a messenger arrives with intelligence that Sinonis is about to be espoused by the king of Syria, into whose dominions she had ultimately escaped. Rhodanes is taken down from the cross, and appointed general of a Babylonish army, which is sent against that monarch. This is a striking but deceitful change of fortune, as the inferior officers are ordered by Garmus to kill Rhodanes, should he obtain the victory, and to bring Sinonis alive to Babylon. The king of Syria is totally defeated, and Rhodanes recovers Sinonis; but instead of being slain by the officers of his army, he is chosen king of the Babylonians. All this indeed had been clearly foreshown by the portent of the swallow, which was seen by Garmus, pursued by an eagle and a kite, and after escaping the talons of the former, became the victim of an enemy apparently less formidable!

The romance, of which the above account has been given, is divided into sixteen books.<sup>1</sup> If we may judge of the original from the epitome, transmitted by Photius, the

<sup>1</sup> Photii Bibliotheca, cod. 94; but according to Suidas (sub voce Ἰάμβλιχος) are comprised thirty-nine books. The story itself was derived from an eastern book, as Iamblichus himself states. Chassang, *Etude sur les Romains Grecs*, p. xxviii.; Rohde, *Der Griech. Rom.* p. 364. Extensive use has been made of this romance, as may be seen from the abstract of Photius in P. Von Zesen's translation (Amsterdam, 1646) of Mdlle. de Scudéry's "*Sophonisbe*" (*Afrikanische S.*), where Cleomedes and Sophonisbe, wrongly accused of murder, pass the night in a sepulchre (see 1,001 *Nacht.*, N. 247, V. 204, d. Bresl. Uebers); they resolve to drink poison, for which is, however, substituted a sleeping potion (cf. *Romeo and Juliet*; see pp. 61, 62, Habrocomas and Anthia, *infra*), and Merlin and Vivian are set free in a general jail delivery. Sophonisbe is bewailed as dead, in consequence of her name being inscribed on a tomb. See Cholevius (*L.*) deut. Rom. 17ten Jahrh., p. 6, and Rohde. *Gr. Rom.*, p. 377.

ground-work of the story was well conceived, since the close and eager pursuit by the eunuchs gives rise to narrow escapes, which might have been rendered interesting. But the particular adventures are unnatural and monotonous. The hero and heroine generally evade the search of their pursuers by passing as defuncts, or spirits, which produces a disagreeable sameness in a subject which admitted of much variety. There is, besides, an unpleasant ferocity in the character of Sinon, and too many of the scenes are laid among tombs and caverns, and the haunts of murderers. Indeed most of the incidents, though often abundantly ludicrous, are of a dark and gloomy cast; a character which by no means appertains to the adventures in the subsequent romances of Heliodorus, Chariton, or Tatius.

Besides these faults in the principal story, the episodes of Berenice, queen of Egypt [c. 17], and of the Temple of Venus, situated on an island formed by the confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris, seem to have been extremely tedious and ill placed. Part of the last episode, however, is curious, as presenting us with a discussion resembling the *Tensons*, or pleas for the courts of love, in the middle ages. Mesopotamia, the youngest daughter of the priestess of Venus, had three lovers, on one of whom she bestowed a goblet from which she usually drank; on the head of the second she placed a chaplet of flowers which had encircled her brow, while the third received a kiss. The lovers contend which had obtained the most distinguished mark of favour, and plead their cause in presence of Borochus, a distinguished amatory judge, who decides in favour of the kiss [c. 8].

Iamblichus has been censured by Huet,<sup>1</sup> for the awkward introduction of his episodes, and the inartistic *disposition* of the whole work. He seems, according to that author, to have entertained a complete contempt for the advice of Horace, with regard to hurrying his readers into the middle of the action—in medias res rapere;—he never departs from the order of time, and trudges on according to the era of dates, with all the exactness of a chronologer.

About two centuries elapsed from the death of Iamb-

<sup>1</sup> Lettre de M. Huet . . . De l'Origine des Romans, Paris, 1678, p. 51.

lichus, till the composition of the Theagenes and Chariclea of Heliodorus,<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Tricca, an author who in every

<sup>1</sup> Of the author of the *Æthiopica* nothing whatever is certainly known. There were numerous writers called Heliodorus (see Fabricius B. Gr. viii. 126, 127, and Meineke, Anal. Alex., p. 384), and the name is not sufficient warranty for identifying him absolutely with the Bishop of Tricca, as has hitherto usually been done from a passage in a writer of the fifth century, Socrates (v. 22, p. 640 of Migne's Edition). Socrates speaks of "a prelate who introduced into his see the celibacy of the clergy, and who is reputed to be the author of a love-story, written in his youth, and entitled *Æthiopica*" (*οὗ ποιήματα ἐρωτικά εἰσέτι νῦν περιφέρεται ἃ νεὸς ὢν συνετάξατο Αἰθιοπί, etc.*). On the other hand, I cannot agree with Rohde in absolutely rejecting the belief which is recorded by Socrates, chiefly on the ground of the internal evidence afforded by the work of its author's polytheistic and neo-Pythagorean ideas, the employment of *dæmons* in the old Greek sense, the supremacy given to Apollo, etc., features which reflect the cardinal tenets of Apollonius of Tyana. Nor is the recognition of malicious spirits and of witchcraft, as it seems to me, any argument against the Christianity of the author. Pagan deities were very generally treated as devils by the early Christians, and the Greek canons impress one vividly with the reality of the belief in sorcery. There is nothing impossible in a subsequent conversion of Heliodorus. Notwithstanding this decided, but insufficiently grounded, view of Rohde's, his is by far the most careful and interesting criticism of the *Æthiopica* which I have read. In particular his remarks upon the Gymnosophists, who in the romance appear as types of piety and godly wisdom, and whom Heliodorus must have derived from Apollonius, deserve attention. "The Greeks could only be prompted to seek a special code of wisdom among the *Æthiopians* in consequence of the frequent custom of attributing Indian traditions to Ethiopians. While, for the most part, but a few brief and vague passages mention the 'Philosophy' of the Ethiopians, Apollonius alone seems to have ascribed the Indian Gymnosophists, so well known from the accounts of Onesicritus, and popularized by their early incorporation into the Alexander romance, to the Ethiopian soil, and boldly spoken of these Ethiopian sages, as if from his own knowledge. I do not think I am mistaken in supposing that Heliodorus, following his model, located in his land of sun that band of need-nothing sages who, as prophets, as Brahman-like, independent counsellors of the king, live only for what is good and noble. We should not be surprised to find the characteristics of the Indians blended with those of Apollonius's Ethiopian Gymnosophists, the less so that for Heliodorus, with his Greek notions, there would be no essential difference between Indians and Ethiopians; they would be to him merely 'eastern and western Ethiopians,' governed by one king at Meroe. Even as Apollonius, the sun-worshipper, travels to the 'home of Helios and the Indians' to drink of the higher lore of those who dwell nearer to Helios, the fount of Life and of Wisdom, so Heliodorus lets his chosen couple, under the guidance of Helios-Apollo himself, at



particular, but especially in the arrangement of his fable, far excelled his predecessors.

There are three points chiefly to be considered in a novel or romance, the *Subject*, the *Disposition*, and the *Ornaments*; a classification which may be regarded as comprehending the means of estimating the most material beauties and defects of any fictitious narrative.

In adopting these principles of criticism, I do not mean to affirm that a good work can be written by rule, or that a romance is excellent merely in proportion to its conformity to certain critical precepts. Nothing, for instance, can be more irregular than *Tristram Shandy*, and nothing can be more regular than some of the novels of Cumberland; yet no one prefers the novels of Cumberland to the

last reach the sunny land of the wise Ethiopians as the worthiest goal of life's long arduous journey."—Rohde, *Griech. Rom.*, p. 440, etc.

A writer of the fourteenth century, Nicephorus Callistus (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 296), relates that a synod having given Heliodorus, the Bishop of Tricca, the choice either to burn his romance or renounce his bishopric, the prelate preferred the latter alternative. In favour of the bishop's authorship of the work, the superior morality of the book compared with other Greek fiction has been adduced. Koræes, who edited the work in 1804, professes to see Christian influence in numerous passages. The earliest Greek impression of the *Ethiopics* was edited at Basle in 1535, in 4to., by Vincent Obsopoen, who purchased the MS. from a soldier who had pillaged the library of Matthias Corvinus at Buda. This edition was followed by that of Commelinus, 1596, 8vo., and of Bourdelotius, printed at Paris in 1619. The last and best Greek edition is that of Koræes, Paris, 1804, 2 vols., 8vo. Soon after the Romance was first published in Greek, it appeared in almost all the modern languages of Europe. The whole work was turned into English prose by Thomas Underdown, and printed 1577: part of it was also versified in English hexameters, by Abraham Fraunce, and published in this form, 1591, 8vo. There have been at least four French translations, the earliest of which was by Amyot, whose version is said to have so pleased Francis I., that he presented him to the abbacy of Bellocane. Strange, that ecclesiastical preferment should have been obtained by the translation of a work, of which the original composition is said to have cost its author deposition from a bishopric!

Theagenes and Chariclea soon became a favourite work in France. We are told in particular, that the preceptor of a monastery, at which Racine was educated, having found his pupil engaged in its perusal, took the book from him. The young poet, having procured another copy, was again detected at the same employment by his pedagogue, whom he now told that he was welcome to burn it, as he had got the whole by heart.



work of Sterne. A man of genius will produce an interesting composition in defiance of the laws of criticism, while one without talent will compose a work by rule, as a stone-cutter may hew out a statue according to the most approved proportions, which will be totally lifeless and insignificant. But though the province of criticism is not to confine genius to one narrow and trodden path, it does not follow that critical rules are to be altogether disregarded. The work of the man of genius would have been still better had he not wantonly transgressed them, and even the labour produced by the person of inferior talents, would have been worse had he not rigidly adhered to them. In estimating all the productions of the fine arts, we are obliged to analyze them, and to describe them by their grosser parts, as the ethereal portion, or that which pervades the heart and feelings, cannot be represented. We judge of the paintings of Raphael, and criticise them under the heads of design and invention and colouring; but we can no more express the emotions they produce, than we can paint the odours of the rose, though we delineate its form and portray its colours.

The story, or subject, of

#### THEAGENES AND CHARICLEA,<sup>1</sup>

does not possess any peculiar excellence, as will appear from the following summary.

The action of the romance is supposed to take place previous to the age of Alexander the Great, while Egypt was tributary to the Persian monarchs. During that period a queen of Ethiopia, called Persina, having viewed at an amorous crisis a statue of Andromeda, gives birth to a daughter of fair complexion.<sup>2</sup> Fearing that her husband might not think the cause proportioned to the effect, she commits the infant in charge to Sisimithrus, an Ethiopian senator, and chief of the Gymnosophists, and deposits in his hands a ring and some writings, explaining the circumstances of her birth [bk. iv., c. 8; bk. ii., c. 31]. The child is named Chariclea, and remains for seven years with

<sup>1</sup> Αἰθιοπικῶν βιβλία δέκα.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the similar incident in Tasso's *Gerus*. Lib. XII. 23, etc.

her reputed father. At the end of this period he becomes doubtful of her power to preserve her chastity any longer in her native country. He therefore determines to carry her along with him, on an embassy to which he had been appointed to Oroondates, satrap of Egypt [ii. 31]. In that land he accidentally meets Charicles, priest of Delphos, who was travelling on account of domestic afflictions, and to him he transfers the care of Chariclea. Charicles brings her to Delphos, and destines her for the wife of his nephew Alcamenus. In order to reconcile her mind to this alliance, he delivers her over to Calasiris, an Egyptian priest [ii. 26], who at that period resided at Delphos, and undertook to prepossess her in favour of the young man. About the same time, Theagenes, a Thessalian, and descendant of Achilles, comes to Delphos, for the performance of some sacred rite [ii. 34]: Theagenes and Chariclea having seen each other in the temple, become mutually enamoured [iii. 5]. The contrivance of this incident seems to be borrowed from the Hero and Leander of Musæus, where the lovers meet in the fane of Venus at Sestos.<sup>1</sup> Places of worship, however, were in those days the usual scene of the first interview of lovers, as women were at other times much confined and almost inaccessible to admirers. There too, even in a later period, the most romantic attachments were formed. It was in the chapel of St. Clair, at Avignon, that Petrarch first beheld Laura; and Boccaccio became enchanted with Mary of Arragon in the church of the Cordeliers, at Naples.

Calasiris, who had been engaged to influence the mind of Chariclea in favour of her intended husband, is warned in a vision by Apollo that he should return to his own country, and take Theagenes and Chariclea along with him [iii. 12]. Henceforth his whole attention is directed to deceive Charicles, and effect his escape from Delphos. Having met with some Phœnician merchants [iv. 16], and having informed the lovers of his intention, he sets sail along with them for Sicily, to which country the Phœnician vessel was bound [v. 1]; but soon after, passing Zacynthus, the ship is attacked by pirates [v. 24], who carry Calasiris

<sup>1</sup> This can hardly have been, as in all probability Musæus lived at a later date than Heliodorus.—LIEB.

and those under his protection to the coast of Egypt [v. 27]. On the banks of the Nile, Trachinus, the captain of the pirates, prepares a feast to solemnize his nuptials with Chariclea [v. 29], but Calasiris, with considerable ingenuity, having persuaded Pelorus, the second in command, that Chariclea is enamoured of him [v. 30], a contest naturally arises between him and Trachinus during the feast, and the other pirates, espousing different sides of the quarrel, are all slain except Pelorus, who is attacked and put to flight by Theagenes [v. 32]. The stratagem of Calasiris, however, is of little avail, except to himself: for immediately after the contest, while Calasiris is sitting on a hill at some distance, Theagenes and Chariclea are seized by a band of Egyptian robbers [v. 33], who conduct them to an establishment formed on an island in a remote lake. Thyamis, the captain of the banditti, becomes enamoured of Chariclea, and declares an intention of espousing her [i. 19]. Chariclea pretends that she is the sister of Theagenes, in order that the jealousy of the robber may not be excited, and the safety of her lover endangered. This deception is practised in other parts of the romance, particularly when Arsace becomes enamoured of Theagenes at Memphis. The incident has been also adopted in many of the subsequent Greek romances, particularly in Ismene and Ismenias, who declare themselves to be brother and sister when they meet in a servile condition in the house of Sostratus [ix. 11].<sup>1</sup> This notion was perhaps suggested to the author of Theagenes and Chariclea, by some passages in the Old Testament.—Heliodorus was a bishop, and though he did not arrive at that dignity till after the composition of his romance, he must have found, in the course of his studies, that Sarah and Abram passed, and for similar reasons, for brother and sister while in Egypt [1 Mos. xii. 13, xx. 2], and that Isaac and Rebecca imposed on the people of Gerar under pretence of the same relationship [1 Mos. xxvi. 7].

Chariclea, however, is not long compelled to assume the character of the sister of Theagenes. The colony is speedily destroyed by the forces of the satrap of Egypt [i. 27], who

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 79 of the present volume.

was excited to this act of authority by a complaint from Nausicles, a Greek merchant, that the banditti had carried off his mistress. Thyamis, the captain of the robbers, escapes by flight, and Cnemon, a young Athenian, who had been detained in the colony, and with whom Theagenes had formed a friendship during his confinement, sets out in quest of him. Theagenes and Chariclea depart soon after on their way to a certain village, where they had agreed to meet Cnemon [ii. 18], but are intercepted on the road by the satrap's forces [v. 7]. Theagenes is sent as a present to the king of Persia; and Chariclea being falsely claimed by Nausicles as his mistress, is conducted to his house. Here Calasiris had accidentally fixed his abode [ii. 21, v. 33], since his separation from Theagenes and Chariclea; and was also doing the honours of the house to Cnemon in the landlord's absence [ii. 22]. Chariclea being recognized by Calasiris, Nausicles abandons the claim to her which he had advanced [v. 11, 12], and sets sail with Cnemon for Greece [vi. 8], while Calasiris and Chariclea proceed in search of Theagenes. On arriving at Memphis, they find that, with his usual good luck, he had again fallen into the power of Thyamis, and was besieging that capital [vii. 1] along with the robber. A treaty of peace, however, is speedily concluded. Thyamis is discovered to be the son of Calasiris, and is elected high-priest of Memphis. Arsace, who commanded in that city, in the absence of her husband, falls in love with Theagenes; but, as he perseveres in resisting all her advances, and in maintaining his fidelity to Chariclea, she orders him to be put to the torture: she also commands her nurse, who was the usual confidante of her amours, and instrument of her cruelty, to poison Chariclea; but the cup-bearer having given her the goblet intended for Chariclea, she expires in convulsions [viii. 7, 8]. This, however, serves as a pretext to condemn Chariclea as a poisoner, and she is accordingly appointed to be burnt. After she had ascended the pile, and the fire had been lighted, she is saved for that day by the miraculous effects of the stone Pantarbe, which she wore on her finger,<sup>1</sup> and which warded off the flames

<sup>1</sup> See note to Habrocomas and Anthia, p. 62.



from her person [viii. 9, 11]. During the ensuing night a messenger arrives from Oroondates, the husband of Arsace, who was at that time carrying on a war against the Ethiopians [vii. 29]: he had been informed of the misconduct of his wife, and had despatched one of his officers to Memphis, with orders to bring Theagenes and Chariclea to his camp. Arsace hangs herself; but the lovers are taken prisoners, on their way to Oroondates, by the scouts of the Ethiopian army, and are conducted to Hydaspes, who was at that time besieging Oroondates in Syene [ix. 1]. This city having been taken, and Oroondates vanquished in a great battle, Hydaspes returns to his capital, Meroe, where, by advice of his Gymnosophists, he proposes to sacrifice Theagenes and Chariclea to the sun and moon, the deities of Ethiopia [x. 6]. As virgins were alone entitled to the privilege of being accepted as victims, Chariclea is subjected to a trial of chastity, an unfortunate precedent for novelists, as we shall afterwards find. Theagenes, while on the very brink of sacrifice, performs many feats of strength and dexterity. A bull, which was his companion in misfortune, having broken from the altar, Theagenes follows him on horseback, subdues him, and returns on his back.<sup>1</sup> At length, when the two lovers are about to be immolated, Chariclea, by means of the ring and fillet which had been attached to her at her birth, and had been carefully preserved, is discovered to be the daughter of Hydaspes, which is farther confirmed by the testimony of Sisimithres, once her reputed father; and by the opportune arrival of Charicles, priest of Delphos, who was wandering through the world in search of Chariclea. After some demur on the part of the Gymnosophists, Chariclea obtains her own release and that of Theagenes, is united to him in marriage, and acknowledged as heiress of the Ethiopian empire.

Such is the abstract of the story of Theagenes and Chariclea. Now the chief excellencies of the story, or *nuda materia* of a romance, are Novelty, Probability, and

<sup>1</sup> This exercise, called *ταυροκαθάψια*, was intended to inure youth to martial fatigue, and was much practised in Thessaly, the country of Theagenes, whence it was afterwards introduced at Rome.



Variety of Incident ; in each of which views it may be proper to examine this fictitious narrative.

Of the claims of Heliodorus to originality of invention we are incompetent judges, as the romances that preceded Theagenes and Chariclea have for the most part perished. Many of the adventures, however, are probably taken from Diogenes and Iamblichus ; and it is even suspected that the leading events in the story have been founded on a tragedy of Sophocles, called the Captives (*Αἰχμάλωτοι*), not now extant.<sup>1</sup> A few of the incidents seem also to have been borrowed from the sacred writings. The stratagem of Sarah and Abraham has been already mentioned. From the frequent perusal of the Scriptures, the bishop may have acquired his fondness for visions ; and the powerful effects produced by the statue of Andromeda on the complexion of his heroine, would not appear impossible to one who knew the success of the contrivance by which Jacob obtained so large a portion of the lambs of Laban.

As to probability of incident, Heliodorus outrages all verisimilitude in different ways ; as, for example, by the extraordinary interviews which he brings about, and the summary manner in which he disposes of a character which has become supernumerary. When it is convenient for him that two persons should meet, one of them comes to travel in a country where apparently he had nothing to do ; and when a character becomes superfluous, the author finds no better resource than informing us that he was bit by an asp, or died suddenly in the night. Unexpected events no doubt enliven a narrative ; but if they greatly violate the order and course of nature, that belief in an ideal presence, which is essential to relish or interest, is totally overthrown ; and the credence of reality being once destroyed, the waking dream cannot again be restored, nor can the reader conceive even the probable incidents as passing before him.

In the romance of Heliodorus, the changes of Fortune also are too frequent and too much of the same nature, as

<sup>1</sup> Bourdelotii Heliodorus, Animadvers, p. 3.

all the adventures and distresses in the book originate in the hero or heroine falling into the hands of robbers. This, it is true, gives rise to many romantic incidents, but also produces an unvaried and tiresome recurrence of similar misfortunes. In works of art, we wish for that diversity exhibited in the appearances of nature, and require that every step should bring to view some object, or some arrangement, which has not been previously presented.

The work of Heliodorus, however, has received considerable embellishment from the *disposition* of the fable, and the artful manner in which the tale is disclosed. The gradual unfolding of the story of Theagenes and Chariclea, the suspense in which the mind is held, and the subsequent evolution of what seemed intricate, is praised by Tasso, who greatly admired, and was much indebted to Heliodorus: "To keep the hearer," he says, "passing in suspense from involved situation to distinct issue, from the general to the particular, is Virgil's constant art, and one of the resources which render Heliodorus so attractive."<sup>1</sup> Nor are the incidents arranged in the chronological order of the preceding romances, and of modern novels. The work begins in the middle of the story, in imitation of the epic poems of Greece and Rome, in a manner the most romantic, and best fitted to excite curiosity. Commencing immediately after the contest had taken place among the pirates, near the mouth of the Nile, for the possession of Chariclea, it represents a band of Egyptian banditti, assembled at the dawn of day on the summit of a promontory, and looking towards the sea. A vessel loaded with spoil is lying at anchor. The banks of the Nile are covered with dead bodies, and the fragments of a feast. As the robbers advance to seize the vessel, a young lady of exquisite beauty, whose appearance is charmingly described, and whom we afterwards find to be Chariclea, is represented sitting on a rock, while a young man lies wounded beside her. The narrative proceeds in the person of the author, till the meeting of Cnemon and Calasiris in the house of Nausicles, where Calasiris relates the early history of Chariclea, the rise of her affection for Theagenes, and her

<sup>1</sup> Opere, vol. x. p. 108. ed. Venezia.

capture by the pirates. It must, however, be confessed, that the author has shown little judgment in making one of the characters in the romance recount the adventures of a hero and a heroine. This is the most unusual and the worst species of narration that can be adopted, especially where an incipient passion is to be painted. The hero or heroine, while relating their story, may naturally describe their own feelings; and an author is supposed to possess the privilege of seeing into the hearts of his characters; but it can never be imagined that a third person in a novel should be able perceive and portray all the sentiments and emotions of the principal actors.

But the defects in the plan of the work do not end with the narrative of Calasiris. After the author has resumed the story, he destroys our interest in every event by previously informing us that the persons concerned had dreamed it was to take place. The effect, too, of one of the most striking situations in the work is injured by a fault in disposition. When Chariclea is about to be sacrificed in Ethiopia, we feel no terror for her fate, nor that unexpected joy at her deliverance, so much extolled by Huet;<sup>1</sup> as we know she is the daughter of Hydaspes, and has her credentials along with her. This knowledge, it is true, increases the pleasure that arises from sympathy with Hydaspes, and entering into his emotions; but the interest of the romance would have been greater, had the birth of Chariclea been concealed till the conclusion. This could have been done with slight alterations, and would have formed, if I may be allowed a technical word, an *ἀναγνώρισις*, not only to the characters in the work, but also to the reader.

Nor can the disposition of the episodes be much commended. The adventures of Cnemon, which seem to be taken from the story of Hyppolitus,<sup>2</sup> have no great beauty or interest in themselves; they do not flow naturally from

<sup>1</sup> Sacrificii horrore *inopina* succedit lætitia, ob liberatam periculo præsentem puellam.—Huet, de Origine Fabularum, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Under the figures of Petosiris and Thyamis we discern Eteocles and Polynice, while the closing situation between Hydaspes and Chariclea recalls that of Agamemnon preparing to sacrifice Iphigenia.—Chassang, Etude, p. xxxiii.

the main subject, and are introduced too early. The only other episode of much length is the account of the siege of Syene, and the battle between Oroondates and Hydaspes, which occupy the whole of the ninth book; and, however well described, entirely take away our concern in the fate of Chariclea, and in fact, in proportion to the excellence of the description, at the very moment when the story is approaching to a crisis, and when our interest would have been raised the highest, had our impressions remained uninterrupted.

Next to the nature of the subject, and the arrangement of the incidents, the *Ornaments* of a romance should be chiefly considered; of these the most important are the Style, the Characters, the Sentiments, and the Descriptions.

The Style of Heliodorus has been blamed as too figurative and poetical; but this censure seems chiefly applicable to those passages where he has interwoven verses of the Greek poets, from whom he has frequently borrowed. All his comparisons are said to be taken from Homer; but Sophocles, whom he often imitates, and sometimes copies, appears to have been his favourite author. Yet, considering the period in which Heliodorus lived, his style is remarkable for its elegance and perspicuity, and would not have disgraced an earlier age. "His diction," says Photius,<sup>1</sup> "is such as becomes the subject; it possesses great sweetness and simplicity, and is free from affectation; the words used are expressive, and if sometimes figurative, as might be expected, they are always perspicuous, and such as clearly exhibit the object of which the delineation is attempted. The periods too are constructed so as to correspond with the variations of the story; they have an agreeable alternation of length and shortness; and, finally, the whole composition is such as to have a correspondence with the narration."

In the painting of Character, Heliodorus is extremely defective; Theagenes, in particular, is a weak and insipid personage. The author, indeed, possesses a wonderful art of introducing those who are destined to bear a part in the

<sup>1</sup> Cod. lxxiii. p. 158.



romance, in situations calculated to excite sympathy, but as we become acquainted with them we lose all concern in their fate from their insipidity. In fact, Chariclea is the only interesting person in the work. She is represented as endued with great strength of mind, united to a delicacy of feeling, and an address which turns every situation to the best advantage. Indeed in all the ancient romances the heroine is invariably the most engaging and spirited character;—a circumstance which cannot but surprise, when we consider what an inferior part the women of Greece acted in society, and how little they mingled in the affairs of life.

Heliodorus has been ridiculed by Gabriel Guéret, the author of *Le Parnasse Réformé*, for having attributed to his hero such excessive modesty, that he gave his mistress a box on the ear when she approached to embrace him [vii. 7]. These railleries, however, are founded on misrepresentation. Theagenes met Chariclea at Memphis, but mistaking both her person and character from her wretched dress and appearance, he inflicted a blow to get rid of her importunities—an unhandsome reception, no doubt, to any woman, but which proves nothing as to his sentiments concerning Chariclea. The reader will perhaps remark as he advances, that pirates and robbers have a principal share in the action of the succeeding Greek romances, as well as in the Ethiopic adventures. Their leaders are frequently the second characters, and occupy the part of the unsuccessful lovers of the heroine; but are not always painted as endued with any peculiar bad qualities, or as exciting horror in the other persons of the work. Nor is this representation inconsistent with the manners of the period in which the action of these romances is placed. In the early ages of Greece, piracy was not accounted a dishonourable employment. In the ancient poets, those that sail along the shore are usually accosted with the question, whether they are pirates, as if the enquiry could not be considered a reproach from those who were anxious to be informed, and as if those who were interrogated would not scruple to acknowledge their vocation. Even at the time of the Peloponnesian war, the Ætolians, Acarnanians, and some other nations, subsisted by piracy;



and in the early ages of Greece, it was the occupation of all those who resided near the coast. "The Grecians," says Thucydides, in the very beginning of his History [i. 5], "took up the trade of piracy under the command of persons of the greatest ability amongst them; and for the sake of enriching such adventurers and subsisting their poor, they landed and plundered by surprise unfortified places, or scattered villages. Nor was this an employment of reproach, but rather an instrument of glory. Some people of the continent are even at the present day a proof of this, as they still attribute honour to such exploits, if performed with due respect and humanity."

Heliodorus abounds in Descriptions, some of which are extremely interesting. His accounts of many of the customs of the Egyptians are said to be very correct, and he describes particular places with an accuracy which gives an appearance of reality to his romance.<sup>1</sup> He seldom, however, delineates the great outlines of nature, or touches on those accidents which render scenery sublime or beautiful—he chiefly delights in minute descriptions of the pomp of embassies and processions, and, as was natural in a priest, of sacrifices, or religious rites. These might be tiresome or even disgusting in a modern novel, but the representation of manners, of customs, and of ceremonies, is infinitely more valuable in an old romance, than pictures of general nature.

There can be no doubt that Theagenes and Chariclea has supplied with materials many of the early writers of Romance. It was imitated in the composition of Achilles Tatius, and subsequent Greek fablers; and although I cannot trace the resemblance which is said to exist between the work of Heliodorus, and that species of modern novel first introduced by Richardson,<sup>2</sup> it was unquestionably the model of those heroic fictions, which, through the writings of Gomberville and Scudéry, became for a considerable period so popular and prevalent in France. The modern

<sup>1</sup> Schöll (History of Greek Literature, iii. p. 154), however, disputes the accuracy of Heliodorus, and considers his descriptions imaginary. See also Villemain, *Mélanges Historiques*, p. 425, *Essai sur les romans grecs*, and M. Chassang, *Histoire du Roman dans l'antiquité*, p. 425, in the same sense.

<sup>2</sup> Barbauld's Preface to Richardson.

Italian poets have also availed themselves of the incidents that occur in the work of Heliodorus.<sup>1</sup> Thus the circumstances of the birth and early life of Clorinda, related by Arsete in the twelfth canto of the *Jerusalem Delivered*, are taken, with hardly any variation, from the story of the infancy of Chariclea.<sup>2</sup> The proposed sacrifice and subsequent discovery of the birth of Chariclea have likewise been

<sup>1</sup> Giambattista Basile took also from it the subject of his "Teagene," Lieb.

<sup>2</sup> "In Ethiopia once Senapus reign'd,  
(And still perchance he rules the happy land)  
Who kept the precepts given by Mary's son,  
Where yet the sable race his doctrines own.  
There I a pagan liv'd, removed from man,  
The Queen's attendant midst the female train.  
Though native gloom was o'er her features spread,  
Her beauty triumph'd through the dusky shade.  
Her husband lov'd—but ah! was doomed to prove  
At once th' extremes of jealousy and love:  
He kept her close, secluded from mankind,  
Within a lonely deep recess confin'd;  
While the sage matron mild submission paid,  
And what her lord decreed, with joy obey'd.

Her pictured room a sacred story shows,  
Where, rich with life, each mimic figure glows:  
There, white as snow, appears a beauteous maid,  
And near a dragon's hideous form display'd.  
A champion through the beast a javelin sends,  
And in his blood the monster's bulk extends.

Here oft the Queen her secret faults confess'd,  
And prostrate here her humble vows address'd.  
At length her womb disburthen'd gave to view  
(Her offspring thou) a child of snowy hue.  
Struck with th' unusual birth, with looks amaz'd,  
As on some strange portent, the matron gaz'd;  
She knew what fears possess'd her husband's mind,  
And hence to hide thee from his sight design'd,  
And, as her own, expose to public view  
A new-born infant like herself in hue:  
And since the tower, in which she then remain'd  
Alone her damsels and myself contain'd;  
To me, who loved her with a faithful mind;  
Her infant charge she unbaptiz'd consign'd,  
With tears and sighs she gave thee to my care,  
Remote from thence the precious pledge to bear!  
What tongues her sorrows and her plaints can tell,  
How oft she press'd thee with a last farewell "etc.

Gerus. *Liberat*. Hoole's version, canto xii. v. 161, etc.

imitated in the *Pastor Fido* of Guarini, and through it in the *Astrea* of D'Urfé.

Racine had at one time intended writing a drama on the subject of this romance, a plan which has been accomplished by Dorat, in his tragedy of *Theagenes and Chariclea*, which was acted at Paris in the year 1762. It also suggested the plot of an old English tragi-comedy by J. Gough, entitled *The Strange Discovery* (1640).

Hardy, the French poet, wrote eight tragedies in verse on the same subject, without materially altering the groundwork of the romance,—an instance of literary prodigality which is perhaps unexampled. The story, though well fitted for narrative, is unsuitable for tragedy, which indeed is acknowledged by Dorat in his preliminary discourse. “I was seized,” observes he, “with enthusiasm; I raised a tottering edifice with romantic proportions, and wrote with inconceivable warmth a cold and languid drama.”

If we may judge by success, the events of the romance are better adapted to furnish materials to the artist than the tragic poet. Two of the most striking incidents that occur in the work of Heliodorus have been finely delineated by Raphael, in separate paintings, in which he was assisted by Giulio Romano. In one he has seized the moment when *Theagenes* and *Chariclea* meet in the temple of Delphos, and *Chariclea* presents *Theagenes* with a torch to kindle the sacrifice [iii. 5]. In the other he has chosen for his subject the capture of the Tyrian ship, in which *Calasiris* was conducting *Theagenes* and *Chariclea* to the coast of Sicily. The vessel is supposed to have already struck to the pirates, and *Chariclea* is exhibited, by the light of the moon, in a suppliant posture, imploring *Trachinus* that she might not be separated from her lover and *Calasiris* [v. 26].<sup>1</sup>

*Theagenes* and *Chariclea* was received with much applause in the age in which it appeared. The popularity of a work invariably produces imitation;—and hence the style of composition which had recently been introduced, was soon adopted by various writers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have made several attempts to verify this statement and ascertain the whereabouts of these pictures, but without success. Ed.

<sup>2</sup> It would even appear that commentaries had been written upon it. Rohde, pp. 443 and 522.

Of these, Achilles Tatius, the author of the *Erotica*, or

### LEUCIPPE AND CLITOPHON,<sup>1</sup>

comes next to Heliodorus in time, and perhaps in merit. Though in many respects he has imitated his predecessor, it may in the first place be remarked, that he has adopted a mode of narrative totally different. The author introduces himself as gazing at the picture of Europa, which was placed in the temple of Venus in Sidon. While thus employed, he is accosted by Clitophon, who, without previous acquaintance, relates to him his whole adventures, which are comprised in eight books. This way of introducing the story is no doubt very absurd, but when once it is commenced, the plan of narration is preferable to that part of Theagenes and Chariclea which is told by an inferior character in the work.

The following is the story of the romance:—Clitophon resided at his father's house in Tyre, where his cousin Leucippe came to seek refuge from a war which was at that time carried on against her native country [i. 4]. These young relatives became mutually enamoured, and

<sup>1</sup> Ἀχιλλέως Τάτιος Ἀλεξανδρέως, Ἐρωτικῶν βιβλία ἡ, or τὰ κατὰ λεικίππην καὶ κλειτοφῶντα. Ed. Boden. Lipsiæ, 1776. Little is known of Tatius. Suidas (Lexic. Ἀχιλλ. Τάτιος) has a very brief notice of him, according to which he became a Christian subsequently to the composition of Leucippe and Clitophon, and was raised to a bishopric. He is supposed by some to have lived in the fourth century, but Boden thinks he must have been later, because in some of his descriptions (Ed. Hercher. xlii. 13-18) he has obviously imitated the poet Musæus (vers. 92-98), whom he thinks posterior to that time. He was a rhetorician of Alexandria, and is said (but this is improbable) to have composed various treatises connected with philology, astronomy, and history. He was perhaps a contemporary of Nonnus. There is an epigram in praise of him, particularly of the chastity of his romance, by the Emperor Leo Philosophus (Anthol. Gr. ix. 203). The lines have also been attributed to Photius, but it is not probable he was the author, if we consider the opinion he gives of the work of Tatius in his *Myriabibla* (cod. 87). Jerome Commelinus first undertook an edition of this romance; but died before it was completed; it was published by his nephew in 1601. About forty years afterwards a more perfect edition was given by Salmasius, at Leyden, and the work was illustrated by a number of notes, which have been generally added to the more recent impressions. There have been numerous translations of the work; an English version, by A. Hodges, was printed at Oxford in 1638, and there is another English edition in Bohn's Classical Library.



Leucippe's mother having discovered Clitophon one night in the chamber of her daughter, the lovers resolved to avoid the effects of her anger by flight [ii. 30]. Accompanied by Clinias, a friend of Clitophon, they sailed in the first instance for Berytus. A conversation which took place between Clitophon and Clinias during the voyage, seems to have been suggested by the singular disquisition contained in the *Ἐρωτες*, attributed to Lucian, and usually published in his works. After a short stay at Berytus, the fugitives set out for Alexandria: the vessel was wrecked on the third day of the voyage [iii. 1], but Clitophon and Leucippe, adhering with great presence of mind to the same plank, were driven on shore near Pelusium in Egypt [iii. 5]. At this place they hired a vessel to carry them to Alexandria, but while sailing up the Nile they were seized by a band of robbers who infested the banks of the river [iii. 9]. The robbers were soon after attacked by the Egyptian forces, commanded by Charmides, to whom Clitophon escaped during the heat of the engagement—Leucippe, however, remained in the power of the enemy, who, with much solemnity, apparently ripped up our heroine close to the army of Charmides, and in the sight of her lover, who was prevented from interfering by a deep fosse which separated the two armies [iii. 15]. The ditch having been filled up, Clitophon in the course of the night went to immolate himself on the spot where Leucippe had been interred. He arrived at her tomb, but was prevented from executing his purpose by the sudden appearance of his servant Satyrus, and of Menelaus, a young man who had sailed with him in the vessel from Berytus. These two persons had also escaped from the shipwreck, and had afterwards fallen into the power of the robbers. By them Leucippe had been accommodated with a false *uterus*, made of sheep's skin, which gave rise to the *deceptio visus* above related [iii. 19-23]. At the command of Menelaus, Leucippe issued from the tomb [iii. 17], and proceeded with Clitophon and Menelaus to the quarters of Charmides [iii. 23]. In a short time this commander became enamoured of Leucippe [iv. 6], as did also Gorgias, one of his officers. Gorgias gave her a potion calculated to inspire her with reciprocal passion, but which, being too



strong, affected her with a species of madness of a very indecorous character.<sup>1</sup> She is cured, however, by Chaereas, another person who had fallen in love with her [v. 13], and had discovered the secret of the potion from the servant of Gorgias [iv. 15]. Taking Chaereas along with them, Clitophon and Leucippe sail for Alexandria. Soon after their arrival, Leucippe was carried off from the neighbourhood of that place, and hurried on board a vessel by a troop of banditti employed by Chaereas. Clitophon pursued the vessel, but when just coming up with it he saw the head of a person he mistook for Leucippe struck off by the robbers [v. 7]. Disheartened by this incident, he relinquished the pursuit and returned to Alexandria. There he was informed that Melite, a rich Ephesian widow, at that time residing in Alexandria, had fallen in love with him. This intelligence he received from his old friend Clinias [v. 11], who, after the wreck of the vessel in which he had embarked with Clitophon, had got on shore by the usual expedient of a plank, and now suggested to his friend that he should avail himself of the predilection of Melite [v. 12]. In compliance with this suggestion, he set sail with her for Ephesus, but persisted in postponing the nuptials till they should reach that place, spite of the most vehement importunities on the part of the widow. On their arrival at Ephesus the marriage took place, but before Melite's object in the marriage had been accomplished, Clitophon discovered Leucippe among his wife's slaves; and Thersander, Melite's husband, who was supposed to be drowned, arrived at Ephesus. Clitophon was instantly confined by the enraged husband [v. 23]; but, on condition of putting the last seal to the now invalid marriage, he escaped by the intervention of Melite. He had not proceeded far when he was overtaken by Thersander, and brought back to confinement. Thersander, of course, fell in love with Leucippe, but not being able to engage her affections, he brought two actions; one declaratory, that Leucippe was his slave, and a prosecution against Clito-

<sup>1</sup> During this state of mental alienation she commits many acts of extravagance. She boxes her lover on the ear, repulses Menelaus with her feet, and at last quarrels with her petticoats; ἡ δὲ προσεπάλαιεν ἑμὴν βδελυροῦντι ζῶσα κρύπτειν ὅσα γυνὴ μὴ ὀρᾷσθαι δεῖται. l. 4. c. 9.

phon for marrying his wife [vi. 5]. The debates [vii. 7-12, viii. 8-16] on both sides are insufferably tiresome. The priest of Diana, with whom Leucippe had taken refuge, lavishes much abuse on Thersander, which is returned on his part with equal volubility. Leucippe is at last subjected to a trial of chastity in the cave of Diana, from which the sweetest music issued when entered by those who resembled its goddess. Never were notes heard so melodious as those by which Leucippe was vindicated. Thersander was of course nonsuited, and retired loaded with infamy [viii. 14]. Leucippe then related that it was a woman dressed in her clothes, whose head had been struck off by the banditti, in order to deter Clitophon from farther pursuit, but that a quarrel having arisen among them on her account, Chaereas was slain, and after his death she was sold by the other pirates to Sosthenes. By him she had been purchased for Thersander, in whose service she remained till discovered by Clitophon [viii. 16].

In this romance many of the descriptions are borrowed from Philostratus, and the Hero and Leander of Musæus. Some of the events have also been taken from Heliodorus.<sup>1</sup> Like that author, Tatius makes frequent use of robbers, pirates, and dreams; but the general style of his work is totally different. If there be less sweetness and interest than in Theagenes and Chariclea, there is more bustle in the action. A number of the amorous stratagems, too, are original and well imagined—such as Clitophon's discourse on love with Satyrus, in the hearing of Leucippe [i. 16-20]; and the beautiful incident of the bee [ii. 7], which has been adopted by D'Urfé, and by Tasso in his *Aminta*, where Sylvia having pretended to cure Phyllis, whom a bee had stung, by kissing her, Aminta perceiving this, feigns that he too had been stung, in order that Sylvia, pitying his pain, might apply a similar remedy.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Also from Plato, Longus, Synesias, Nonnus, and others. See Passow in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopædia*, *sub voce* Achilles Tatius.

<sup>2</sup>

“ I made pretence,  
As if the bee had bitten my under lip;  
And fell to lamentations of such sort,  
That the sweet medicine which I dared not ask

Among these devices may be mentioned the petition of Melite to Leucippe, whom she believes to be a Thessalian, to procure her herbs for a potion that may gain her the affections of Clitophon. The sacrifice, too, of Leucippe by the robbers in the presence of her lover, is happily imagined, were not the solution of the enigma so wretched. As the work advances, however, it must be confessed, that it gradually decreases in interest, and that these agreeable incidents are more thinly scattered. Towards the conclusion it becomes insufferably tiresome, and the author scruples not to violate all verisimilitude in the events related.

Indeed, through the whole romance, want of probability seems the great defect. Nothing can be more absurd or unnatural than the false uterus—nothing can be worse imagined than the vindication of the heroine in the cave of Diana, which is the final solution of the romance. When it is necessary for the story that Thersander should be in-

With word of mouth, I asked for with my looks,  
 The simple Sylvia then,  
 Compassioning my pain,  
 Offered to give her help  
 To that pretended wound;  
 And oh! the real and the mortal wound,  
 Which pierced into my being,  
 When her lips came on mine!  
 Never did bee from flower  
 Suck sugar so divine,  
 As was the honey that I gathered then  
 From those twin roses fresh.  
 I could have bathed them in my burning kisses,  
 But fear and shame withheld  
 That too audacious fire,  
 And made them gently hang.  
 But while into my bosom's core, the sweetness,  
 Mixed with a secret poison, did go down,  
 It pierced me so with pleasure, that still feigning  
 The pain of the bee's weapon, I contrived  
 That more than once the enchantment was repeated."  
 Aminta, act i. sc. 2, Leigh Hunt's translation.

Cf. too Sir John Suckling's—

"Her lips were red and one was thin,  
 Compared to that was next her chin,  
 Some bee had stung it newly."

formed who Leucippe is, the author makes him overhear a soliloquy, in which she reports to herself a full account of her genealogy, and an abridgement of her whole adventures. A soliloquy can never be properly introduced, unless the speaker is under the influence of some strong passion, or reasons on some important subject; but as Heliodorus borrowed from Sophocles, so Tatius is said to have imitated Euripides. From him he may have taken this unnatural species of soliloquy, as this impropriety exists in almost all the introductions to the tragedies of that poet.

Tatius has been much blamed for the immorality of his romance, and it must be acknowledged that there are particular passages which are extremely exceptionable; yet, however odious some of these may be considered, the general moral tendency of the story is good;—a remark which may be extended to all the Greek romances. Tatius punishes his hero and heroine for eloping from their father's house, and afterwards rewards them for their long fidelity.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Though in the Greek romances the surface may be often impure, remarks M. Chassang (*Hist. du Rom.* p. 424), the substance is nearly always moral. The imaginations of the writers are indeed generally libertine, their pictures sensual, and their language broad. But we know enough of antiquity to allow for an outrightness in expression, which modern diction does not emulate, and to recognize happily many differences between Greek and modern French manners. Again, in these compositions the authors do not dilate much on duty and virtue, nor fill pages with elaborate sentimental disquisition; the senses are given a prominence which shocks our modern delicacy; but in the long run their heroes will compare well with too many others, in the struggle to subdue their passions, in their vigilance against surprises by the senses, and in their triumph over abundant seductions. If they give way to amorous delights, it is from impulse, from weakness, never on system; they break through the maxims of conduct, they do not seek rebellious abolishment of them. They contain no such types as Lovelace or Saint Preux. The literary art was not yet far enough advanced to substitute the display of fine sentiments for the fulfilment of duty; and while the heroes of modern novels, elevating love into a virtue, often do not recoil from adultery, those of Greek romances always remain virgin and pure amidst a host of perils, and despite the obstacles which oppose their union. One cannot but acknowledge, however, that the continence of the heroes of the Greek romancists strikes a singular contrast with their voluptuous proclivities. However moral their example, its effect is destroyed by the nudity, so to speak, of particular situations. It is



The Clitophon and Leucippe of Tattius does not seem to have been composed like Theagenes and Chariclea, as a romance equally interesting and well written throughout, but as a species of patchwork, in different places of which the author might exhibit the variety of his talents. At one time he is anxious to show his taste in painting and sculpture; at another his acquaintance with natural history; and towards the end of the book his skill in declamation. But his principal excellence lies in descriptions; and though these are too luxuriant, they are in general beautiful, the objects being at once well selected, and so painted as to form in the mind of the reader a distinct and lively image. As examples of his merit in this way may be instanced, his description of a garden [i. 16], and of a tempest followed by a shipwreck [iii. 234]. We may also mention his accounts of the pictures of Europa [i. 1], of Andromeda [iii. 7], and Prometheus [iii. 8], in which his descriptions and criticisms are executed with very considerable taste and feeling. Indeed, the remarks on these paintings form a presumption of the advanced state of the art at the period in which Tattius wrote, or at least of the estimation in which it was held, and afford matter of much curious speculation to connoisseurs and artists.

Writers, however, are apt to indulge themselves in enlarging where they excel; accordingly the descriptions of Tattius are too numerous, and sometimes very absurdly introduced. Thus Clitophon, when mentioning the preparations for his marriage with a woman he disliked, presents the reader with a long description of a necklace which was purchased for her, and also enters into a detail concerning the origin of dyeing purple [ii. 11]; he likewise introduces very awkwardly an account of various zoological curiosities [ii. 14]. Indeed, he seems particularly fond of natural history, and gives very animated and correct delineations of the hippopotamus [iv. 2, &c.], of the elephant [iv. 4], and the crocodile [iv. 19].

The description of the rise and progress of the passion

not, then, in the Greek romances that moral lessons are to be sought, they may rather supply information respecting the private life of the ancients, though their trustworthiness in this regard is by no means unchallenged. (See note, p. 62, 3.)



of Clitophon for Leucippe is extremely well-executed. Of this there is nothing in the romance of Heliodorus. Theagenes and Chariclea at first sight are violently and mutually enamoured; in Tatius we have more of the restless agitation of love and the arts of courtship. Indeed, this is by much the best part of the Clitophon and Leucippe, as the author discloses very considerable acquaintance with the human heart. This knowledge also appears in the sentiments scattered through the work, though it must be confessed that in many of his remarks he is apt to subtilize and refine too much.

In point of style, Tatius is said by Huet and other critics<sup>1</sup> to excel Heliodorus, and all the writers of Greek romance. His language has been chiefly applauded for its conciseness, ease, and simplicity. Photius, who wrote tolerable Greek himself, and must have been a better judge than any later critic, observes, "with regard to diction and composition, Tatius seems to me to excel. When he employs figurative language, it is clear and natural: his sentences are precise and limpid, and such as by their sweetness greatly delight the ear."<sup>2</sup>

In the delineation of character Tatius is still more defective than Heliodorus.—Clitophon, the principal person in the romance, is a wretchedly weak and pusillanimous being; he twice allows himself to be beaten by Thersander, without resistance—he has neither sense nor courage, nor indeed any virtue except uncommon fidelity to his mistress. She is a much more interesting, and is indeed a heroic character.<sup>3</sup>

We now proceed to the analysis of a romance different in its nature from the works already mentioned; and of a species which may be distinguished by the appellation of *Pastoral* romance.

It may be conjectured with much probability, that pastoral composition sometimes expressed the devotion, and sometimes formed the entertainment, of the first generations of mankind. The sacred writings sufficiently inform us that

<sup>1</sup> Huet. p. 40, Boder. præf. p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Photius, Bib. Cod. lxxxvii. p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> Durier (1605-1658) wrote a tale in imitation of Achilles Tatius, entitled: "Les Amours de Leucippe et de Clitophon en deux journées."

it existed among the eastern nations during the earliest ages. Rural images are everywhere scattered through the Old Testament; and the Song of Solomon in particular beautifully delineates the charms of a country life, while it paints the most amiable affections of the mind, and the sweetest scenery of nature. A number of passages of Theocritus bear a striking resemblance to descriptions in the inspired pastoral; and many critics have believed that he had studied its beauties, and transferred them to his eclogues. Theocritus was imitated in his own dialect by Moschus and Bion; and Virgil, taking advantage of a different language, copied yet rivalled the Sicilian. The *Bucolics* of the Roman bard seem to have been considered as precluding all attempts of the same kind; for, if we except the feeble efforts of Calpurnius, and his contemporary Nemesianus, who lived in the third century, no subsequent specimen of pastoral poetry was, as far as I know, produced till the revival of literature.

It was during this interval that Longus, a Greek sophist, who is said to have lived soon after the age of Tatius, wrote his pastoral romance of

### DAPHNIS AND CHLOE,

which is the earliest, and by far the finest example that has appeared of this species of composition.<sup>1</sup> Availing

<sup>1</sup> Rohde (Gr. Rom. p. 503) thinks that Tatius lived later than the author of *Daphnis and Chloe*, and indeed imitated him in some respects (*e.g.*, the sumptuous description of a garden, of a town, and the episode of Pan and the flute. It is extremely doubtful whether Longus was ever the name of any Greek author. Schöll (Hist. de la Litt. Gr. vi. p. 238) supposes the alleged name of the author to be simply a false reading of the last word of the title as found in the Florentine MS.: *Λεσβιακῶν ἑσπερικῶν λόγου ὁ*, and this suggestion is adopted by Jacobs in his German version, 1832, and by Seiler in his edition of *Longi Pastoralia*, Lipsiæ, 1835. The last-named editor says (Præf. p. iii.) that the best MS. begins and ends with *λόγου ποιμενικῶν*, instead of *Ἀδύγγων*, and that Stephens cites two copies, in one of which the heading began *λόγον*, and in the other *Ἀδύγγων*. If the author was really Longus, he was probably a freedman of one of the many Roman families who bore this cognomen. Be this as it may, we know nothing of the author's life or date, which Rohde (Gr. Rom. p. 502) gives reasons for placing at the close of the second century. Photius says nothing of him in his *Myriabilia*, nor is he mentioned by any of the authors with whom he is supposed to have

himself of the beauties of the pastoral poets who preceded him, he has added to their simplicity of style, and charming pictures of Nature, a story which possesses considerable interest, and of which the following abstract is presented to the reader.

In the neighbourhood of Mytilene, the principal city of Lesbos, Lamon, a goatherd, as he was one day tending his flock, discovered an infant sucking one of his goats with surprising dexterity. He takes home the child, and presents him to his wife Myrtale; at the same time he delivers to her a purple mantle with which the boy was adorned, and a little sword with an ivory hilt, which was lying by his side. Lamon having no children of his own, resolves to bring up the foundling, and bestows on him the pastoral name of Daphnis [Bk. I. c. 3].<sup>1</sup>

About two years after this occurrence, Dryas, a neighbouring shepherd, finds in the cave of the nymphs, which is beautifully described in the romance, a female infant, nursed by one of his ewes. The child is brought to the cottage of Dryas, receives the name of Chloe, and is cherished by the old man as if she had been his daughter [i. 6].

When Daphnis had reached the age of fifteen, and Chloe that of thirteen, Lamon and Dryas, their reputed fathers, had corresponding dreams on the same night. The nymphs of the cave in which Chloe had been discovered appear to each of the old shepherds, delivering Daphnis and Chloe to a winged boy, with a bow and arrows, who commands that Daphnis should be sent to keep goats, and the girl to tend

been contemporary. His book itself shows that he was a clever and well-read sophist of the school of Lucian and the Philostrati; and the style and tone of the novel, no less than its proper title *Λεσβιακά*, or 'Lesbian Adventures,' place it in the same class with the *Æthiopica* of Heliodorus. Mueller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* p. iii. p. 357. See further an excellent article, which is from the pen of Professor Malden, in *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*, vol. i. pp. 277-295, on this romance. For the bibliography of the *Lesbiaca*, see Schöll, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* iii. p. 161, but and especially the *Notice bibliographique* par A. J. Pons appended to the French translation published by Quantin, of Paris, in 1878.

<sup>1</sup> In the indication of the chapters it has been thought best to follow M. Zévort's French translation (*Romans Grecs, précédé d'une introduction sur le Roman chez les Grecs*. Paris, 1856).

the sheep: Daphnis and Chloe have not long entered on their new employments, which they exercise with a care of their flocks, increased by a knowledge of the circumstances of their infancy, when chance brings them to pasture on the same spot [i. 8]. It was then, says the romance, the beginning of spring, and every species of flower bloomed through the woods, the meadows and mountains.—The tender flocks sported around—the lambs skipped on the hills—the bees hummed through the valleys—and the birds filled the groves with their song. Daphnis collects the wandering sheep of Chloe, and Chloe drives from the rocks the goats of Daphnis. They make reeds in common, and share together their milk and their wine;—their youth, their beauty, the season of the year, every thing tends to inspire them with a mutual passion: which is further strengthened in Chloe's breast by the sight of Daphnis bathing in the stream. Chloe had, however, another admirer, Dorco, a cow-herd, who had rescued Daphnis from a pit into which he had tumbled. Between him and Daphnis a discussion arose as to which of them was the handsomer. When both of them had spoken, Chloe, who was umpire, decided in favour of Daphnis, and bestowed upon him the award for victory, a kiss [i. 16].<sup>1</sup>

Chloe's other admirer, Dorco, the cow-herd, having in vain requested her in marriage from Dryas, her reputed father, resolves to carry her off by force; for this purpose he disguises himself as a wolf, and lurks among some bushes near a place where Chloe used to pasture her sheep. In this garb he is discovered and attacked by the dogs, who entered into his frolic with unexpected alacrity, but is preserved from being torn to pieces by the timely arrival of Daphnis. From the example of Dorco this became a favourite stratagem among pastoral characters. In the *Pastor Fido* (act iv. sc. ii.), Dorinda disguises herself as a

<sup>1</sup> These two episodes (Bk. i. 13-17) form the fragment which was omitted in all editions published before 1810. It was found by P. L. Courier in 1807 in a Manuscript in the Laurentian Library in Florence, and has been reintegrated with the work in subsequent issues. In the English translation of J. Craggs (1719, 172), Mr. H. Jenner tells me, "a passage was ingeniously invented to supply the deficiency, which is however far more precipitate in its action than the real words of Longus."



wolf, and the troubador Vidal was hunted down in consequence of a similar experiment.<sup>1</sup>

Spring was now at an end—summer beamed forth and all Nature flourished—the trees were loaded with fruits, the fields were covered with corn, and the woods were filled with melody—every thing tended to inspire pleasure—the sweet hum of the cicada, the fragrance of the ripening apples, and the bleating of the sheep. The gliding streams were heard as if they modulated the song, and the breezes rustling among the pines seemed the breath of the flute.

In the beginning of autumn some Tyrian pirates having landed on the island [i. 28], seize the oxen of Dorco, and carry off Daphnis, whom they meet sauntering on the shore. Chloe hearing Daphnis calling for assistance from the ship, flies for help to Dorco, and reaches him when he is just expiring of the wounds inflicted by the corsairs of Tyre. Before his death he gives her his pipe, on which, after she had closed his eyes, she plays according to his instructions a certain tune (probably the *Ranz des Vaches*), which being heard by the oxen in the Tyrian vessel, they all leap overboard and upset the ship. The pirates being loaded with heavy armour are drowned, but Daphnis swims safe to shore.

Here ends the first book; and in the second the author proceeds to relate, that during autumn Daphnis and Chloe were engaged in the labours, or rather the delights, of the vintage.<sup>2</sup> After the grapes had been gathered and pressed, and the new wine treasured in casks, having returned to feed their flocks, they are accosted one day by an old man named Philetus, who tells them a long story of seeing Cupid in a garden, adding, that Daphnis and Chloe were to be

<sup>1</sup> See Diez, *Leben und Werke der Troubadours*, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> A great deal is said in this romance concerning the vintage. Lesbos had in all times been celebrated for its wine, which was scarcely of an intoxicating quality.

“*Hic innocentis pocula Lesbii  
Duces sub umbra; nec Semeleius  
Cum Marte confundet Thyoneus  
Prælia.*” Hor. Carm. i. 17.

For the qualities of Lesbian wine, see Athenæus, lib. i. c. 22, and Aul. Gellius, xiii. c. 5.



dedicated to his service; the lovers naturally enquire who Cupid is, for, although they had felt his influence, they were ignorant of his name. Philetas describes his power and his attributes, and points out the remedy for the pains he inflicts.<sup>1</sup>

The instructions of this venerable old man to the lovers were sufficiently explicit, but, spite of the lesson they had received, they appear to have made very little advancement. Their progress was on one occasion interrupted by the arrival of certain youths of Methymnæa, who landed near that part of the island where Daphnis fed his flocks, in order to enjoy the pleasures of the chase during vintage [ii. 12]. The twigs by which the ship of these sportsmen was tied to the shore had been eaten through by some goats, and the vessel had been carried away by the tide and the land breeze. Its crew having proceeded up the country in search of the owner of the animals, and not having found him, seize Daphnis as a substitute, and lash him severely, till other shepherds come to his assistance. Philetas is appointed judge between Daphnis and the Methymnæans, but the latter refusing to abide by his decision, which was unfavourable to them, are driven from the territory. They return, however, next day, and carry off Chloe, with a great quantity of booty. Having landed at a place of shelter which lay in the course of their voyage, they pass the night in festivity, but at dawn of day they are terrified by the unlooked-for appearance of Pan, who threatens them with being drowned before they arrive at their intended place of destination, unless they set Chloe at liberty [ii. 27, 28]. Through this respectable interposition, Chloe is allowed to return home, and is speedily restored to the arms of Daphnis.—The grateful lovers sing hymns to the nymphs. On the following day they sacrifice to Pan, and hang a goat's skin on a pine adjoining his image. The feast which follows this ceremony is attended by all the old shepherds in the neighbourhood, who recount the adventures of their youth, and their children dance to the sound of the pipe.

The third book commences with the approach of winter, and from the description of that season which is given in

<sup>1</sup> Φίλημα, περιβολή, καὶ συνκατακλιθῆναι γυμνοῖς σώμασι.

the romance, it would appear that at the period of its composition the temperature of the Lesbian climate was colder than it is now represented by travellers. We are told in the pastoral, that early in winter a sudden fall of snow shuts up all the roads, the peasants are confined to their cottages, and the earth nowhere appears except on the brinks of rivers, or sides of fountains. No one leads forth his flocks to pasture; but by a blazing fire some twist cords for the net, some plait goat's hair, and others make snares for the birds; the hogs are fed with acorns in the sty, the sheep with leaves in the folds, and the oxen with chaff in the stalls.

The season of the year precludes the interviews of Daphnis and Chloe. They could no longer meet in the fields, and Daphnis was afraid to excite suspicion by visiting the object of his passion at the cottage of Dryas. He ventures, however, to approach its vicinity, under pretext of laying snares for birds [iii. 6].<sup>1</sup> Engaged in this employment, he waits a long time without any person appearing from the house. At length, when about to depart, Dryas himself comes out in pursuit of a dog who had run off with the family dinner [iii. 7]. He perceives Daphnis with his game, and accordingly, as a profitable speculation, invites him into the cottage. The birds he had caught are prepared for supper, a second cup is filled, a new fire is kindled, and Daphnis is asked to remain next day to attend a sacrifice to be performed to Bacchus. By accepting the invitation, he for some time longer enjoys the society of Chloe. The lovers part, praying for the revival of spring; but while the winter lasted, Daphnis frequently visits the habitation of Dryas.

When spring returns, Daphnis and Chloe are the first to lead out their flocks to pasture. Their ardour when they meet in the fields is increased by long absence, and the season of the year, but their hearts remain innocent;—a purity which the author still imputes not to virtue, but to ignorance.

Chromis, an old man in the neighbourhood, had married a young woman called Lycænum, who falls in love with

<sup>1</sup> The bird-catching episode occurs also in the *Letters of Alciphron* (iii. 30), who was a contemporary of Lucian. See Rohde, p. 502.

Daphnis; she becomes acquainted with the perplexity in which he is placed with regard to Chloe, and resolves at once to gratify her own passion, and to free him from his embarrassment.

Daphnis, however, still hesitates to practise with Chloe the lesson he had received from Lycænum; and the reader is again tired with the repetition of preludes, for which he can no longer find an excuse.

In the fourth book we are told that, towards the close of summer, a fellow-servant of Lamón arrives from Mytilene, to announce that the lord of the territory on which the reputed fathers of Daphnis and Chloe pastured their flocks, would be with them at the approach of vintage.

Lamón prepares everything for his reception with much assiduity, but bestows particular attention on the embellishment of a spacious garden which adjoined his cottage [iv. 2], and of which the different parts are described as having been arranged in a manner fitted to inspire all the agreeable emotions which the art of gardening can produce. "It was," says the author, "the length of a *stadium*, and the breadth of four *plethra*, was in a lofty situation, and formed an oblong. It was planted with all sorts of trees; with apples, myrtles, pears, pomegranates, figs, olives, and the tall vine, which, reclining on the pear and apple trees, seemed to vie with them in its fruits. Nor were the forest trees, as the plane, the pine, and the cypress, less abundant. To them clung not the vine, but the ivy, whose large and ripening berry emulated the grape. These forest trees surrounded the fruit-bearers, as if they had been a shelter formed by art; and the whole was protected by a slight inclosure. The garden was divided by paths—the stems of the trees were far separated from each other, but the branches entwined above, formed a continued arbour: here too were beds of flowers, some of which the earth bore spontaneously, while others were produced by cultivation;—roses, hyacinths, were planted and tended; the ground of itself yielded the violet and the narcissus. Here were shade in summer, sweetness of flowers in spring, the pleasures of vintage in autumn, and fruits in every season of the year. Hence too the plain could be seen, and flocks feeding; the sea also, and the ships sailing over it; so that

all these might be numbered among the delights of the garden. In the centre there was a temple to Bacchus, and an altar erected; the altar was girt with ivy—the temple was surrounded with palm: within were represented the triumphs and loves of the god.”

On this garden Daphnis had placed his chief hopes of conciliating the good-will of his master, and through his favour of being united to Chloe; for it would appear the consent of parties was not sufficient for this, and that in Greece, as among the serfs in Russia, the finest gratification of the heart was dependent on the will of a master. Lampis, a cowherd, who had asked Chloe in marriage from Dryas, and had been refused, resolves on the destruction of this garden. Accordingly, when it is dark, he tears out the shrubs by the roots, and tramples on the flowers. Dreadful is the consternation of Lamon, in beholding on the following morning the havoc that had been made [iv. 7]. Towards evening his terror is increased by the appearance of Eudromus, one of his master's servants, who gives notice that he would be with them in three days.

Astylus (the son of Dionysophanes, proprietor of the territory) arrives first, and promises to obtain pardon from his father of the mischance that had happened to the garden. Astylus is accompanied by a parasite, Gnatho, who is smitten with a friendship, *à la Grecque*, for Daphnis: this having come to the knowledge of Lamon, who overhears the parasite ask and obtain Daphnis as a page from Astylus, he conceives it incumbent on him to reveal to Dionysophanes, who had by this time arrived, the mysteries attending the infancy of Daphnis. He at the same time produces the ornaments he had found with the child, on which Dionysophanes instantly recognizes his son. Having married early in youth, he had a daughter and two sons, but being a prudent man, and satisfied with this stock, he had exposed his fourth child, Daphnis; a measure which had become somewhat less expedient, as his daughter and one of his sons died immediately after on the same day, and Astylus alone survived.

The change in the situation of Daphnis does not alter his attachment to Chloe. He begs her in marriage of his



father, who, being informed of the circumstances of her infancy, invites all the distinguished persons in the neighbourhood to a festival, at which the articles of dress found along with Chloe are exhibited. This was not his own scheme, but had been suggested to him in a dream by the nymphs; for in the pastoral of Longus, as in most other Greek romances, the characters are only

*Tunc recta scientes cum nil scire valent.*

The success of this device fully answers expectation; Chloe being acknowledged as his daughter by Magacles, one of the guests, who was now in a prosperous condition, but rivalling his friend Dionysophanes in paternal tenderness, had exposed his child while in difficulties. There being now no farther obstacle to the union of Daphnis and Chloe, their marriage is solemnized with rustic pomp, and they lead through the rest of their days a happy and a pastoral life.

In some respects a prose romance is better adapted than the eclogue or drama to pastoral composition. The eclogue is confined within narrow limits, and must terminate before interest can be excited. A series of *Bucolics*, where two or more shepherds are introduced contending for the reward of a crook or a kid, and at most descanting for a short while on similar topics, resembles a collection of the first scenes of a number of comedies, of which the commencement can only be listened to as unfolding the subsequent action. The drama is, no doubt, a better form of pastoral writing than detached eclogues, but at the same time does not well accord with rustic manners and description. In dramatic composition, the representation of strong passions is best calculated to produce interest or emotion, but the feelings of rural existence should be painted as tranquil and calm. In choosing a prose romance as the vehicle of pastoral writing, Longus has adopted a form that may include all the beauties arising from the description of rustic manners, or the scenery of nature, and which, as far as the incidents of rural life admit, may interest by an agreeable fable, and delight by a judicious alternation of narrative and dialogue.

Longus has also avoided many of the faults into which



his modern imitators have fallen, and which have brought this style of composition into so much disrepute; his characters never express the conceits of affected gallantry, nor involve themselves in abstract reasoning; and he has not loaded his romance with those long and constantly recurring episodes, which in the *Diana* of Montemayor, and the *Astrea* of D'Urfé, fatigue the attention and render us indifferent to the principal story. Nor does he paint that chimerical state of society, termed the golden age, in which the characteristic *traits* of rural life are erased, but attempts to please by a genuine imitation of Nature, and by descriptions of the manners, the rustic occupations, or rural enjoyments, of the inhabitants of the country where the scene of the pastoral is laid.

Huet, who seems to have considered the chief merit of a romance to consist in commencing in the middle of the story, has remarked, I think unjustly, that it is a great defect in the plan of this pastoral, that it begins with the infancy of the hero and heroine, and carries on the story beyond the period of their marriage.<sup>1</sup> The author might, perhaps, have been blameable had he dwelt long on these periods; but, in fact, the romance concludes with the nuptials of Daphnis and Chloe; and the reader is merely told in a few lines that they lived a pastoral life, and had a son and daughter. Nor, if the reader be interested in the characters of the preceding story, is it unpleasant for him to hear in general terms, when it comes to an end, how these persons passed their lives, and whether their fortune was stable. I do not see that in a pastoral romance, even a more ample description of conjugal felicity would have been so totally disgusting as the critic seems to imagine; far less is an account of the childhood of the characters objectionable, even where it is more minute than that given by Longus.

<sup>1</sup> “L'économie mal entendue de sa fable est un défaut encore plus essentiel. Il commence grossièrement, à la naissance de ses bergers, et ne finit pas même à leur mariage. Il étend sa narration jusqu'à leurs enfants et à leur vieillesse;” and again, “C'est sortir entièrement du vrai caractère de cette espèce d'écrits: il les faut finir au jour des noces, et se taire sur les suites du mariage. Une héroïne de Roman grosse et accouchée est un étrange personnage.”—Huet, de l'Origine des Romans.

The pastoral is in general very beautifully written;—the style, though it has been censured on account of the reiteration of the same forms of expression, and as betraying the sophist in some passages by a play on words, and affected antithesis, is considered as the purest specimen of the Greek language produced in that late period; <sup>1</sup> the descriptions of rural scenery and rural occupations are extremely pleasing, and, if I may use the expression, there is a sort of amenity and calm diffused over the whole romance. This, indeed, may be considered as the chief excellence in a pastoral; since we are not so much allured by the feeding of sheep as by the stillness of the country. In all our active pursuits, the end proposed is tranquillity, and even when we lose the hope of happiness, we are attracted by that of repose;—hence we are soothed and delighted with its representation, and fancy we partake of the pleasure.

In some respects, however, this romance, although its excellencies are many, is extremely defective. It displays little variety, except what arises from the vicissitude of the seasons. The courtship of Daphnis is to the last degree monotonous, and the conversations between the lovers extremely insipid. The mythological tales also are totally uninteresting, and sometimes not very happily introduced.<sup>2</sup>

Although the general moral attempted to be inculcated in the romance is not absolutely bad, yet there are particular passages so extremely reprehensible, that I know nothing like them in almost any work whatever.<sup>3</sup> This de-

<sup>1</sup> “Son style est simple, aisé, naturel, et concis sans obscurité; ses expressions sont pleines de vivacité et de feu, il produit avec esprit, il peint avec agrément, et dispose ses images avec adresse.”—De l’Orig. des Rom.

“Longi oratio pura, candida, suavis, mutis articulis membrisque concisa et tamen numerosa, sine ullis salibus melle dulcior profluit, tanquam amnis argenteus virentibus utrinque sylvis inumbratus; et ita florens, ipsa picta, ita expolita est ut in ea, verborum omnes, omnes sententiarum illigentur lepores. Translationes cæteraque dicendi lumina ita apte disponit ut pictores colorum varietatem.”—Villoison, Prooem to his ed. 1778. Longus is also called by Muretus, “dulcissimus ac suavissimus scriptor” (var. lect. 9, 16); and by Scaliger, “auctor amænissimus, et eo melior quo simplicior” (Miscell. c. 2).

<sup>2</sup> See Koræes, Heliodorus, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> This seems somewhat exaggerated blame. There are certainly no passages in this tale to be compared with many in, for instance, the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, and in many other works which Dunlop must have read before writing this history.—H. JENNER.

pravity is the less excusable, as it was the professed design of the author to paint a state of the most perfect innocence.

There can be no doubt that the pastoral of Longus had a considerable influence on the style and incidents of the subsequent Greek romances, particularly those of Eustathius<sup>1</sup> and Theodorus Prodromus;<sup>2</sup> but its effects on modern pastorals, particularly those which appeared in Italy during the sixteenth century, is a subject of more difficulty. Huet is of opinion, that it was not only the model of the *Astrea* of D'Urfé, and the *Diana* of Montemayor, but gave rise to the Italian dramatic pastoral. This opinion is combated by Villoison, on the grounds that the first edition of Longus was not published till 1598,<sup>3</sup> and that Tasso died in the year 1595. It is true that the first *Greek* edition of Longus was not published till 1598, but there was a French translation by Amyot, which appeared in 1559, and one in Latin verse by Gambarara in 1569, either of which might have been seen by Tasso. But although this argument brought forward by Villoison<sup>4</sup> be of little avail, he is probably right in the general notion he has adopted, that *Daphnis and Chloe* was not the origin of the pastoral drama. The *Sacrificio* of Agostino Beccari, which was the earliest specimen of this style of composition, and was acted at Ferrara in 1554, was written previous to the appearance of any edition or version of Longus. Nor is there any similarity in the story or incidents of the *Aminta* to those in *Daphnis and Chloe*, which should lead us to imagine that the Greek romance had been imitated by Tasso.

It bears, however, a stronger likeness to the more recent dramatic pastorals of Italy. These are frequently founded on the exposure of children, who, after being brought up as shepherds by reputed fathers, are discovered by their real parents by means of tokens fastened to them when they

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 77, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Theodorus Prodromus lived in the first half of the twelfth century, and wrote a romance entitled, *The Loves of Dorante and Dosicles*.

<sup>3</sup> By Colombanus in Florence. The editor states it was printed from a MS. which he procured from the library of Luigi Alamanni, and which was compared by one of the editor's friends, Fulvius Ursinus, with a MS. at Rome, and the various readings transmitted to him.

<sup>4</sup> In Introduction to his edition of Longus. Paris, 1778.

are abandoned. There is also a considerable resemblance between the story of Daphnis and Chloe and that of the Gentle Shepherd: the plot was suggested to Ramsay by one of his friends, who seems to have taken it from the Greek pastoral. Marmontel, too, in his *Annette and Lubin*, has imitated the simplicity and inexperience of the lovers of Longus.<sup>1</sup> But of all modern writers the author who has most closely followed this romance is Gessner. In his *Idylls* there is the same poetical prose, the same beautiful rural descriptions, and the same innocence and simplicity in the rustic characters. In his pastoral of *Daphnis*, the scene of which is laid in Greece, he has painted, like Longus, the early and innocent attachment of a shepherdess and swain, and has only embellished his picture by the incidents that arise from rural occupations, and the revolutions of the year.

We shall conclude this article with remarking, that the story of Daphnis and Chloe is related in the person of the author. He feigns, that while hunting in Lesbos, he saw in a grove consecrated to the nymphs a most beautiful picture, in which appeared children exposed, lovers plighting their faith, and incursions of pirates—that, having found an interpreter of this painting, he had expressed in writing what it represented, and produced a gift to Cupid, to Pan, and the nymphs; but which would be pleasing to all men, a medicine to the sick, a solace to the afflicted, which would remind him, who had felt the power of love, of his sweetest enjoyments, and teach the inexperienced the nature and happiness of that passion.

Although the work of Longus was much admired by his contemporaries, and although many of the incidents were adopted in the fictitious narratives by which it was succeeded, none of the subsequent Greek fablers attempted to write pastoral romance, but chose Heliodorus, or rather Tatius, as their model.

<sup>1</sup> So also has Bernardine de St. Pierre in *Paul et Virginie*. See Schöll's *Hist. de la litt. grecque*, iii. 161, and an article upon the "collection des romans grecs traduit en français; avec des notes, par MM. Courier, Larcher, et autres Hellénistes, Paris, 1822," etc. in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, vol. v. p. 135. Perhaps, too, there is sufficient resemblance to warrant the mention in the same connection of Goethe's "*Hermann and Dorothea*" and Longfellow's "*Evangeline*."



Chariton, the earliest of these imitators, has been considered as inferior to Tatius in point of style, in which he exhibits a good deal of the sophist, but he far excels him in the probability and simplicity of his incidents—he also surpasses him in the general conduct of his work, since, as the romance advances, the interest increases to the end, and the fate of the characters is carefully concealed till the conclusion. Nor is it loaded with those episodes and lengthened descriptions which encumber the Clitophon and Leucippe of Tatius. The author is also more careful than his predecessor not to violate probability, and seems anxious to preserve an appearance of historical fidelity.

A considerable part of the commencement of the

#### CHAEREAS AND CALLIRHOE <sup>1</sup>

of Chariton has been lost, and the first incident we now meet with is the marriage of the hero and heroine. The other suitors of Callirhoe, enraged at the preference given to Chaereas, contrive to make him jealous of his wife. In a transport of passion he kicks her so violently that she swoons, and is believed dead [i. 5]. This incident is one of the worst imagined, to be met with in any of the Greek romances. It leaves such an impression of the brutality of the principal character, that we are not reconciled to him by all his subsequent grief and diligent search after Callir-

<sup>1</sup> Χαρίτωνος Ἀφροδισιεύς τῶν περὶ Χαίρειαν καὶ Καλλιρρόην ἐρωτικῶν διηγημάτων λόγιον. Chariton Aphrodisiensis is as little known as the other writers of Greek romance. Indeed, it has been suspected by some, that his graceful name is entirely fictitious; by others it has been conjectured that he was born at Aphrodisia, a city in Caria, and it is supposed, from the imperfection of his style, that the author, whoever he was, existed posterior to the age of Heliodorus or Tatius. His romance was published at Amsterdam, 1750, by D'Orville, from a copy, taken by his friend Antonio Cocchi, of a MS. found in a monastery at Florence. The Latin translation by Reiskius is executed with uncommon spirit and fidelity. The romance itself consists of 144 pages, and the notes added by d'Orville occupy 788. "Charitonis contextum," says he, "*paucis ubi opus videbatur illustrandum duxi.*" The trouble the commentator has taken is the more extraordinary, as he seems to have entertained but an indifferent opinion of the merit of the romance, "*et vere dicere licet, Charitonem potius insignibus vitiis carere, quam magnis virtutibus esse commendabilem.*" In 1753, there appeared an Italian translation, through the medium of which the English one (Lond. 1764) has been executed.



rhoe;—our disgust might perhaps have been lessened, had the author made him employ a dagger or poison.

After her supposed death, Callirrhoe is buried along with a great quantity of treasure. It was customary in Greece that effects of a value proportioned to the rank of the deceased should be deposited in tombs. It is mentioned in Strabo, [l. 8, c. 6], that the persons who were sent by Cæsar to colonize Corinth, left no tomb unexplored; *οὐδενα τάφον ἀσκενώρητον*;—an anecdote which evinces the existence of that species of depredation which forms a leading incident in this and so many of the other Greek romances.<sup>1</sup> Callirrhoe revives soon after her interment, and at this critical moment, Theron, a pirate, who had witnessed the concealment of the treasure [i. 7], breaks open the sepulchre, which was placed near the shore, and sets sail with the booty and Callirrhoe [i. 11]. At Miletus he sells her to Dionysius, an Ionian prince, who soon becomes enamoured of his slave [ii. 3]. Chariton is the first writer of romance who has introduced an interesting male character. Dionysius is represented generous, learned, valiant, and tender;—nor was there any thing improper in his attachment to Callirrhoe, as she disclosed the nobleness of her birth, but concealed that she was the wife of another;—he makes love to her with all possible delicacy, and imposes no restraint on her inclinations. Callirrhoe, having already one husband, feels some scruples at accepting a second; but at length agrees to espouse Dionysius, with the view of giving a nominal father to the child of which she was pregnant [ii. 11].

The following portion of the romance is occupied with the attempts of Mithridates, satrap of Caria, to obtain possession of Callirrhoe [iv. 3], for whom he had conceived a violent affection—the search made by Chaereas for his wife after discovering that she was innocent, and yet alive [iii. 4]—and his arrival in Asia to reclaim her from Dionysius [iv. 4].

<sup>1</sup> See in this connection the seventy-six epigrams of St. Gregory Nazianzen against the despoilers of the dead. (Anth. Gr. viii. 179-254.)—Lieb. This episode of the plundering of the tomb has been borrowed (according to Rohde) by Chariton. (See his Romance, next described.)

At length all parties are summoned to Babylon, to maintain their cause before Artaxerxes. Mithridates and Chaereas appear first, and afterwards Dionysius arrives, accompanied by Callirrhoe [v. 3]. There is no part of the romance so unnatural as the account of the extraordinary effects produced by the beauty of Callirrhoe on the beholders at Babylon, and the regions through which she passed on her journey; but after her arrival, the flattery which we may suppose paid to a despot in an eastern court, by satraps and eunuchs, is finely touched [vi. 3]; and the meeting of Chaereas with Callirrhoe in the palace, while the cause is under cognizance, is happily imagined. Artaxerxes, as was to be expected, having become enamoured of the object of dispute, defers giving any decision, in order to protract her stay in Babylon [vi. 2]. Accounts, meanwhile, arrive of a revolt of the Egyptians, and their invasion of Syria. The king, accompanied by Dionysius, proceeds against them, and, according to the custom of the Persian monarchs, takes the ladies of the court, among whom Callirrhoe was now numbered, along with him [vi. 9]. But, as they are found to be cumbersome on the march, they are left at Ardo, an island at a short distance from the continent [vii. 4]. Chaereas, exasperated by a false report that the king had bestowed Callirrhoe on Dionysius [vii. 1], joins the Egyptian forces, takes Tyre by stratagem [vii. 4], and, in consideration of his talents as a general, is appointed to command the fleet [vii. 5]. Having destroyed the Persian navy soon after his elevation, in a great battle which was fought near Arado, he takes possession of the island, and recovers Callirrhoe [viii. 1]. In the course of the night succeeding the day which had been so propitious to the love and glory of Chaereas, a messenger arrives at Arado with accounts of the total overthrow of the Egyptian army, which had been chiefly effected by the skill and valour of Dionysius [vii. 5]. To him Callirrhoe writes a very handsome letter, and returns with Chaereas to Syracuse [viii. 6].

About the time of Chariton, there lived three persons of the name of Xenophon,<sup>1</sup> each of whom wrote a romance.

<sup>1</sup> Peerlkamp (in his edition of Xenophon, the Ephesian, Harleml, 1818) is of opinion that this name, as well as those of Achilles, Tatus,

These authors were distinguished by the names of Antiochenus, Cyprius, and Ephesius. Antiochenus, in imitation of Iamblichus, called his romance, *BABYLONICA*:<sup>1</sup> the second Xenophon entitled his work, (which relates the loves of Cinyras, Myrrha, and Adonis,) *CYPRIACA*.

The Ephesiaca (which alone is known to us,) consists of ten books, and comprehends the loves of

### HABROCOMAS AND ANTHIA.<sup>2</sup>

In this work the incidents are extremely similar to those that occur in the preceding romances. The hero and heroine become enamoured in the temple of Diana [i. c. 2, 3]; they are married early in the work, but in obedience to an oracle of Apollo, are forced by their parents to travel, and in the course of their wanderings experience the accustomed adventures with robbers and pirates. On one occasion Anthia, when separated from her husband by a series of misfortunes, falls into the hands of banditti [ii. 11], from whom she is rescued by a young nobleman, named Perilaus, who becomes enamoured of her. Anthia, fearing violence, affects a consent to marry him [ii. 13]; but on the arrival of the appointed time swallows a soporific draught<sup>3</sup> which she had procured from a physician [iii. 6], who was the

Longus, and Chariton, were assumed. (Mueller, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* iii. p. 354.)

<sup>1</sup> According to Peerlkamp (p. 66), the names *βαβυλωνικά* and *κυπριακά* were given to the romances of the two other Xenophons, from the birth-place of the principal characters. The information respecting these authors is derived from Suidas. This system of nomenclature is very common in Greek romances; cf. *Æthiopica* of Heliodorus, *Lesbiaca* of Longus (Daphnis and Chloe), *Babylonica* of Iamblichus, etc.—H. JENNER.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἐφεσιακά τα κατὰ Ἀνθίαν καὶ Ἀβροκόμην*; or rather *five* books. The number given in the text is taken from Huet, in whose time the romance was, for the most part, only known from Suidas, who certainly gives ten books. Angelo Poliziano, in his *Liber. Miscell.*, ch. li., had already mentioned the work; and in 1723 an Italian translation appeared. The Greek was first printed in 1726. (See also Chardon de la Rochette, *Mélanges*, etc., p. 70, and Peerlkamp's edition of Xenophon.) Peerlkamp suggests that under ten books Suidas included another work by Xenophon.—H. JENNER.

<sup>3</sup> On Soporifics, see note to Massuccio di Salerno's third novel, in vol. ii.

friend of Perilaus, and to whom she had intrusted the secret of her story. Much lamentation is made for her death, and she is conveyed with great pomp to a sepulchre. As she had only drunk a sleeping potion, she soon awakes in the tomb, which is plundered by pirates for the sake of the treasure it contained [iii. 8].<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Douce, in his *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, has pointed out the resemblance between this adventure and the leading incident of the tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet*. The *Ephesiaca*, he acknowledges, was not published at the time when Luigi da Porto wrote the novel, supposed to be Shakspeare's original, but he thinks it very probable he had met with the manuscript of the Greek romance.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the work the author of the *Ephesiaca* seems to think it necessary that every woman who sees Habrocomas, should fall in love with him, and that all the male characters should become enamoured of Anthia. The story also is extremely complicated; and a remark which was formerly made respecting Heliodorus may be applied with double force to Xenophon; the changes of fortune in his romance are too numerous, and too much of the same nature. Xenophon, however, has received much commendation from the critics, for the elegance of his style, which is said to bear a strong resemblance to that of Longus, and is declared by Politian to be smooth as that of a more renowned Xenophon. "*Sic utique Xenophon scribit, non quidem Atheniensis ille, sed alter eo non insuavior Ephesius.*"—(Polit. Misc. c. 15.)<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Lapaume (Præf. ad Erot. de Apoll. Tyr. Fab. p. 603). Other incidents recall Heliodorus. Habrocomas is saved from the already ignited pyre (iv. 2) in a miraculous way; and Chariclea (viii. 9) is saved by similar agency (see p. 27); cf. Parthenius, 5, Muller Fr. Hist. i. p. 41. Cases of Divine interposition in similar situations are recorded in the acts of the Christian martyrs (*e.g.* Acta Pauli et Theclæ, c. 22), and reports of these marvels may have been seized by the novelists as matter for their compositions. (See the Propugnatore, vi.)

<sup>2</sup> Recent criticism does not coincide in this view. (See *infra*, Masuccio di Salerno's third novel).

<sup>3</sup> Rohde (p. 401), on the other hand, judges it for the most part curt and bald, as if a mere outline or abstract of a narrative had been jotted down. Chassang, following Koræes, considers its triviality indicates the period of decadence as near the date of the author; while Rohde (p. 390-404), from his description of the Temple of Diana of Ephesus,



After the age in which Chariton and the Xenophons are supposed to have lived, more than three centuries elapsed without the production of any fictitious narrative deserving attention. The first romance that appeared at the end of this long interval, was of a totally different nature from those which preceded it. The love it breathes is not of an earthly, but a heavenly nature; and its incidents consist not in the adventures of heroes, but the sufferings of martyrs.

In the times which succeeded the earliest ages of Christianity, the spirit of the new religion appears to have been but imperfectly understood by many of its most zealous ministers; and it is to the dispassionate investigation of modern times, that we are indebted for the restoration of its primitive simplicity and purity.

As the first corruption of the doctrines of Christianity was owing to the eastern gnostics, so, with the *Therapeutæ*, and other oriental sects, was developed the notion that the renunciation of the Creator's bounties in this world is the best title to an immeasurable beatitude in the next.<sup>1</sup>

With a view of promoting a taste for monastic seclusion, St. John of Damascus (a monk of Syria, who lived in the eighth century, during the reign of the emperor Leo Isauricus,) appears to have written his *Lives of*

laid waste with the city in A.D. 263, and of which no mention is found subsequent to about 235, and from other internal evidence is inclined to place him somewhere about the end of the second century, and between Iamblichus and Heliodorus, and earlier than Chariton. It may further be observed that the toleration of unnatural love in Habrocomas and Anthia as in Leucippe and Clitophon, and in Daphnis and Chloe, would seem to stamp them as essentially pagan works, and refer them to an earlier period than Chæreas and Callirrhoe, Hysmine and Hysminias, of Eumathius Macrembolites (published by Hirschig), and the History of Apollonius of Tyre, in which no trace of this vice is found, doubtless in deference to the growing influence of Christianity.

Rohde (p. 398) remarks that Xenophon of Ephesus is the first extant romancist who has confined the scene of his narrative to Egypt, Asia Minor, and a few districts in Italia Inferior and Sicily, and is inclined to discern in this restriction to some of the best civilized provinces of the Roman Empire, a tendency to eschew the fantastic in favour of the civilian romance.

<sup>1</sup> See Migne, Dictionnaire d'Ascetisme, *sub voce* Thérapeutes.



BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT.<sup>1</sup>

He states that the incidents had been told to him by certain pious Ethiopians, by which he means Indians, who had found them related by engravings on tablets of unsuspected veracity.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἱστορία ψυχωελῆς κ.τ.λ. ἐν ᾗ ο βίος βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἰωσαφ*, first published in Greek by Boissonade, Paris, 1829. There are at least two Latin editions of the fifteenth century. At Bagdad, at the court of that Khalif Almansur, where Abdallah ibn Almokaffa translated the fables of Kalila and Dimna from Persian into Arabic, there lived a Christian, by name Sergius, who was for many years high treasurer to the Khalif. His son, to whom he gave the best education then to be had—his chief tutor being Cosmas, an Italian monk, who had been captured and sold as a slave by the Saracens—upon the death of Sergius succeeded him for some time as the Khalif's chief councillor; but suddenly, influenced, no doubt, by the teachings of Cosmas, he resolved to withdraw from the world, and joined the monastery of St. Saba, near Jerusalem, where he soon earned a fame for piety and theological learning which has given him a place among the saints of both the Eastern and Western Churches. He must have known Arabic, and probably Persian; his mastery of Greek won him the epithet of Chrysorrhoeas, or gold-flowing. He became famous as the defender of sacred images, and as the opponent of the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, about 726.

St. John Damascene, whom tradition and probability alike indicate (Max Mueller, *Chips*, iv. p. 176) as the author of Barlaam and Josaphat, evidently took his hero and his story from an Indian source. The early life of Josaphat is exactly the same as that of Gautama Sâkyamuni, best known to us under the name of Buddha. In the *Lalita Vistara* (French trans. by P. E. Foucaux, 1884), the life, though no doubt the legendary life of Buddha, Buddha's father is a king, and after the birth of a son, an astrologer, the Brahman Asita, predicts an alternative of earthly glory or religious sanctity. His father vainly seeks to keep from him the cognizance of mundane miseries. He drives out: on one drive he sees two men, one maimed, the other blind, and returns home saddened with a knowledge of the existence of disease; on another drive, from sight of a decrepit old man, he learns of infirmity and decline; a third drive gives him knowledge of death, as he passes a corpse; and on a fourth he meets an ascetic, whose sort of life he decides to adopt, as "it will," he says, "lead us to a real life, to happiness and immortality." No wonder that the illustrious and cultured St. John Damascene availed himself of such a narrative to enforce that doctrine, in obedience to which he had quitted a high station at a pagan court. Fa Hian, three centuries prior to the time of Damascenus, saw still standing among the ruins of Kapilavastu the towers which commemorated Gautama Buddha's drives, so celebrated in the Buddhist scriptures. The (see Bigandet's "Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese," two vols., 1880, published in Trübner's Oriental Series) coincidences between the Indian and

This story, which is supposed to be the model of our spiritual romances, is said, and with some probability, to be founded in truth; though the prophetic orthodoxy of Damascenus has anticipated discussions which were not agitated for centuries after the era of his saints.

To a carnal mind, the tale in itself is destitute of interest. Martyrs and magicians, theological arguments and triumphs over infidelity, alternately occupy the narrator, while Satan and his agents lie in wait for every opportunity to entrap the unwary Neophytes.

The style of the work is formed on the sacred writings, and it is not altogether without reason that the origin of spiritual romance has been traced to the apocryphal books of Scripture. The long discourses of Barlaam abound with parabolical allusions—in agreeable and ingenious similitudes. Indeed, in so long a composition, and of such a species, it is surprising that the author should have con-

the Christian story are so palpable, that they have been pointed out independently of each other, by M. Laboulaye (*Débats*, 1859, July 21 and 26), Dr. Liebrecht (*Die Quellen des Barlaam*, etc., *Jahrb. für Roman. und Engl. Litteratur*, 1860, ii. p. 314), and Mr. S. Beal (*Travels of Fahhian and Sung-Yun, Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India* (400 A.D. 518 A.D., translated from the Chinese 1869). Possibly even a proper name may have been transferred from the sacred canon of the Buddhists to the pages of the Greek writer. Buddha's coachman is called Chandaka, in Burmese, Sanna. Barlaam's companion, is called Zardan. Reinaud, in his *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 91 (1849), was the first, it seems, to point out that Youdasaf, mentioned by Massoudi as the founder of the Sabæan religion, and Youasaf, mentioned as the founder of Buddhism by the author of the *Kitáb-al-Fihrist*, are both meant for Bodhisattva, a corruption quite intelligible with the system of transcribing that name with Persian letters. Professor Benfey (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xxiv. p. 480) has identified Theudas, the sorcerer, in Barlaam and Joseph, with the Devadatta of the Buddhist scriptures. The story of Barlaam and Josaphat, through the Latin translation (attributed to George of Trebizond), and quoted by Vincent of Beauvais in the middle of the thirteenth century, became immensely popular in the middle ages, and seems to have been translated into nearly all the European languages, as well as into Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Hebrew, and Syriac. The Russian Early Texts Society has recently (1881) published a Serbian Version made from the Greek in the fifteenth century by the Serbian writer Pachomius.

See Professor Max Mueller's Essay on the Migration of Fables, from which the preceding remarks have been chiefly taken (Max Mueller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, 1875, vol. iv. p. 145, etc.).

trived so much to enliven the dialogue, and render it so little tedious.

When the Christian religion had spread abroad in Egypt, and the fame of the sanctity of its teachers reached even to India, where many, relinquishing their property, dedicated themselves to the solitary worship of God, there reigned in the east a certain king, named Abenner. This personage was distinguished by the elegance of his form, and success in war, but darkened his other bright qualities by a superstitious regard to idols. All things prospered under his hands, and the want of children alone appears to have reminded him of the inadequacy of his power for securing happiness.

In the midst of this prosperity, Abenner was annoyed by the troops of monks and Christians, who, by their zeal in preaching, brought over from the worship of idols many of the most considerable nobles of the country. Enraged at this defection, and unacquainted with the truth of the doctrines disseminated, the king instituted a grievous persecution against all who professed the new religion. Many of the ordinary worshippers tottered in their faith; but the monastic class, by suffering martyrdom, enjoyed a glorious opportunity of showing their zeal [c. 1]. A distinguished satrap, moreover, unterrified by the sufferings of the Christians, embraced the occasion for declaring his conversion, and in an elaborate speech endeavoured to seduce the king. His majesty, however, with rare forbearance, dismissed him, without conferring the crown of martyrdom; but as a testimony of the inefficacy of his preaching, increased the rigour of his persecution, and bestowed new honours on the worshippers of idols [c. 2].

After these aberrations a son is born to Abenner of singular beauty; overjoyed by the accomplishment of his strongest wish, he proclaims a great festival, and assembles about fifty of the most eminent of the astrologers skilled in the learning of the Chaldeans. These sages predict that the young prince would surpass in wealth, power, and glory, all his predecessors.<sup>1</sup> Daniel alone of their number

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Liebrecht, who has published a German edition of the romance translated from the Greek, states that in the original no name is given to the astrologer.

foretells his distinguished zeal for the Christian religion, and declares that the glory to which he was destined was reserved for him in another and a better world.

The king, dismayed by this prophecy, bethinks himself of human means to avert its completion. For this purpose he builds a splendid palace, in which he places his son, and where, by providing him with teachers and attendants of the most healthy and beautiful appearance, he is careful that no symptoms of death, or disease, or poverty, or anything that could molest him, should fall under his observation.

After these arrangements, so well calculated for the good education of a young prince, finding that some of the monks still survived, Abenner renews the persecution [c. 3], and on two of their number he bestows the crown of martyrdom, which indeed they appear to have eagerly solicited [c. 4].

Meanwhile Prince Josaphat waxed strong, and possessing great ingenuity, and a prodigious love of learning, gives much disquietude to his teachers, whom he frequently puzzles by his questions.

Notwithstanding the anxiety of the king, to keep the mind of his son unacquainted with every idea productive of pain, the irksomeness of his confinement, and a desire to learn its cause, harass and distress him. Having, therefore, persuaded one of his attendants to inform him of the prediction of the astrologer, and the cause of the persecution of the Christians, he obtains permission from the king to leave his prison, his guards receiving instructions that wherever he went he should be surrounded with all imaginable delights: But in spite of the vigilance of those about him, to remove all unseemly objects from his sight, he one day steals a glance at a leper, and soon after has a full view of an old man in the last stage of decrepitude, by which means he gradually acquires the ideas of disease and of death [c. 5].

In these days the word of God came to Barlaam, a pious monk, who dwelt in the wilderness of Sennaar, and moved him to attempt the conversion of Josaphat. Having, therefore, girt himself with worldly vesture, he journeyed, in disguise of a merchant, towards India, till he arrived at



the residence of the young prince. Here he insinuated himself into the confidence of the attendant who had revealed to Josaphat the prediction of the astrologer. He informed this person that he wished to present the prince with a gem which was of great price, and was endowed with many virtues. Under this similitude of a worldly jewel, he typified the beauties of the gospel; and the prince having heard the story of the merchant, ordered him to be instantly introduced [c. 6]. Barlaam having thus gained admittance, premises his instructions with a summary of sacred history, from the fall of Adam to the resurrection of our Saviour; and, having in this way excited the attention and curiosity of Josaphat, who conjectures that this is the jewel of the merchant [c. 7, 8], he gradually proceeds to unfold all the mysteries and inculcate all the *credenda* of Christianity.

The sacrament of baptism [c. 8], and the communion under both species—faith—works—and the resurrection, with all the various topics such subjects involve, are successively expounded and illustrated. Josaphat yields implicit assent to the doctrines of Barlaam, and is admitted to a knowledge of all the questions which agitated the church in these early periods.

The consideration of the seclusion of the monks, and the efficacy of retirement in withdrawing their minds from this world, with a warm eulogy on this species of martyrdom [c. 12], prepare the way for Barlaam to throw off the terrestrial habiliments of the merchant, and to appear before his pupil in all the luxury of spiritual cleanness. An ancient goat-skin (from the effect of the sun, almost incorporated with his fleshless bones) served him as a shirt, a rough and ragged hair-cloth descended from his loins to his knees, and a cloak of the same texture suspended from the shoulders composed the upper garment of this disciple of St. Anthony.

Unappalled by the horror of this picture, Josaphat entreats the monk to release him from confinement, and to accept him as a companion in the desert; but is dissuaded by the prudence of Barlaam, who fears that, by the failure of such a premature step, he might be debarred from the completion of his pious work [c. 18].



Having, therefore, baptized Josaphat, and left him his leathern doublet and hair-cloth as memorials of his conversion, and to ward off the attacks of Satan, he departs to the deserts after a profusion of prayer for the prince's perseverance in well-doing [c. 21].

During his absence, Josaphat continues to manifest his zeal by every kind of mortification and prayer. Unfortunately, however, Zardan, one of his attendants, who was apprised of his conversion, uneasy at the neglect of his trust, reveals to the king the visits of Barlaam.

Forthwith Abenner, being grievously enraged and troubled, betakes himself to Arachis, a celebrated astrologer, to whom he discovers the lamentable predicament of his son.

Arachis soon restores composure to the king, by proposing two expedients for the removal of this grievance. The first of these was to lay hold of Barlaam, and, by threatening the torture, to compel him to confess the falsehood of his doctrine. Should Barlaam escape, he next proposed to persuade Nachor, an ancient *mathematician*, who had a strong resemblance to the monk, to allow himself to be discomfited in a disputation on the truth of Christianity; by which means he expects that Josaphat will without difficulty come over to the triumphant party.

In their endeavours to overtake Barlaam the Impious are unsuccessful; but the king again suffers his wrath against the monks to overpower his humanity, and seventeen of these ascetics, who refuse, with many contemptuous reproaches, to discover the retreat of Barlaam, are tortured and put to death [c. 22, 23].

Recourse was now had to the second expedient of Arachis, who, having arranged matters with Nachor, signifies that he had got hold of Barlaam; and the king having proclaimed an amnesty, invites the Christians, with the most learned of the heathen, to be present at a public disputation with the hermit, on the merits of the new faith.

The invitation to the Christians, however, appears not to have been accepted, for, with the exception of Barachias (who will appear in a still more dignified situation hereafter), no one comes forward in behalf of the pretended Barlaam [c. 26]. Spite of this untoward circumstance,

the false Barlaam, like the celebrated Balaam of old [4 Moses, xxii.], instead of cursing the king's enemies, blesses them altogether [c. 27]. The menaces of Josaphat, who, having discovered the imposition, threatened to tear out the heart and tongue of Nachor with his own hands, should he be overcome in the argument, appear to have operated on him as the flaming sword of the angel on the prudent and patient monitor of Balaam [c. 26]. However this may be, to the astonishment and displeasure of Abenner, Nachor, in his reply to the idolaters, proves the errors of their tenets, and the divine nature of Christianity.

Dividing the different religions into three classes, the worship of the gods, the Jewish faith, and the belief in Christ, he exposes the absurdity of the two first, and concludes his harangue by demonstrating the superiority of the New Religion. All this the Magi are unable to refute, and the king, after many vain attempts to remind Nachor of his instructions, is obliged to dissolve the assembly, with the intention of renewing the conference on the following day [c. 27]. Josaphat, however, in the course of the night completes the conversion of Nachor, who betakes himself in the morning to the wilderness, to work out his salvation in private.

When these things come to the knowledge of the king, he is, as usual, much irritated; and the prudent monks being no longer exposed to his resentment, his wise men and astrologers are flogged, and dismissed with disgrace. But, spite of these tokens of impartiality, his time was not yet come, though he no longer offers sacrifice to the gods, nor holds their ministers in honour [c. 28].

The servants of the idols perceiving the estrangement of the king, and fearing the loss of offerings he was wont to make to the gods, call to their aid Theudas, a celebrated magician, by whose instigation Abenner is again induced to interfere with the tranquillity of his son.

Presuming on the influence of the sexual passion, Abenner [c. 29], by advice of Theudas, orders the attendants of the prince to be removed, and in their room damsels of most alluring beauty are placed around him. Josaphat appears to have borne their assaults with wonderful fortitude, though the proceedings of one of them

were so violent, that the pious Damascenus ascribes them to the operation of demons, who were understood by the primitive Christians to be the authors and patrons of idolatry.<sup>1</sup>

A more dangerous trial, however, is yet reserved for Josaphat. The most beautiful of his maiden attendants was a young princess, a captive of Abenner. In this damsel the prince takes a peculiar interest, and, reflecting on her misfortunes, he uses every endeavour to solace her by conversion to Christianity. Instigated by the demons, she promises to accede to this change of religion, on condition that the prince should espouse her; and on his declining a tie incompatible with his vow of celibacy, she labours to convince him of its innocence, supporting her arguments by the example of the patriarchs, and others distinguished by their piety. Josaphat, however, is determined against this formal breach of his engagements; and the princess is at length compelled to promise that she will embrace Christianity on more moderate terms. This was too much for the piety of Josaphat to resist, and the glory of redeeming the soul of the damsel, appeared to him to atone for the corporeal defilement, on which she insisted as a preliminary.

At this perilous crisis, and when the princess seems to have been on the brink of conversion, Josaphat bethinks himself of prayer. After some hours spent in tears and supplications, he falls into a profound sleep, during which it appeared to him that he was conveyed to an immense meadow, adorned with beautiful and fragrant flowers, and with trees bearing every species of fruit, whose leaves, when shaken by the breeze, produced at once celestial melody and delicious odour. The eyes were refreshed by streams which glided along more pure than crystal, while couches, scattered through the meadow and luxuriously prepared, invited to repose. Thence he was carried into a city which shone with ineffable splendour. The walls were formed of burnished gold, and the bulwarks, which towered above them, were of precious stones, superior to those produced in the mines of this world. A supernatural light, diffused

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Barlaam et Jos., c. 32, c. 33, c. 35; Milton's "Paradise Lost," i. v. 376-522; and Turpin's Chronicle, c. 4.—LIEB.

from above, illumined the streets. Ætherial bands, clothed in shining vestments, chaunted strains which had never yet reached the ear of mortal, and a voice was heard saying, "This is the rest of the just, this is the joy of those who have pleased the Lord." His guides refusing the request of Josaphat to remain in one of the corners of this city, he was again carried across the meadow, and on the opposite side he entered dark and gloomy caverns, through which whirlwinds blew with unceasing violence, and the worm and serpent rioted on the souls of sinners in a furnace blown to fury by the breath of demons.

Josaphat awakens greatly exhausted by this vision, and fortified in his virtuous resolutions by the very striking contrast which had been exhibited. At the same period likewise, the demons (as afterwards appeared from their own confession), had been put to flight by a sign of the cross which the prince had fortunately made, and thus left him to combat with his earthly antagonist alone.

The scheme of the idolaters having thus failed, and the captive princess being abandoned to virginity and reprobation, Theudas attempts in a conference to shake the faith of Josaphat; but the latter victoriously converts the magician, and sends him, like Nachor, to the desert, where he is baptized, and passes the remainder of his life in venting tears and groans, and in producing other fruits of repentance [c. 31, 32].

At length the king determines no longer to harass his son on the score of religion; but, by the advice of Arachis, divides his kingdom with him, hoping that the cares of government may withdraw him from his ascetic habits. The first use, however, which Josaphat makes of his new-acquired power, is to erect the cross on every tower of the city where he dwells, while the temples and the altars of the idols are levelled with the dust; he also dedicates to our Saviour a magnificent cathedral, where he preaches the gospel to his subjects, calls many from darkness to light, and distributes his treasures among the poor. Now God (says the pious author of this history) was with him whithersoever he walked, and all that he did prospered under his hands; but it was not so with the household of Abenner, which daily waxed weaker and weaker [c. 33].



Presuming that this distinction would not have been made without a cause, the king finally allows himself to be converted by Josaphat; whose spiritual son he thus becomes, to the unutterable edification and comfort of the monks; and then retires from the government of his kingdom to a solitary place, where he chiefly employs himself in throwing dust on his head, and at length gives up the ghost after a long course of penitence and mortification [c. 35].

Josaphat being now left without check, resolves to retire from the world, and pass the remainder of his days with Barlaam in the desert. Having therefore harangued his people, and compelled Barachias, the person who stood forward to defend the false Barlaam, to ascend the vacant throne, much against the inclination of the prince elect, he escapes with some difficulty from his subjects [c. 36].

After a painful pilgrimage of many days, in the course of which he meets with numberless demons, tempting him sometimes in the form of springs of water, and sometimes in the less acceptable shape of wild beasts and serpents [c. 37], he arrives at the cell of Barlaam [c. 38].

There, after due preparation by devout exercises, the old man dies, and is buried by Josaphat, who spends thirty-five years in supplications to heaven, for a speedy removal from this life. The holy men of these times indeed appear to have passed their existence, as if they had been brought into this world only for the purpose of praying for their deliverance from its thralldom [c. 39].

The prayers of Josaphat are at length heard, and he is buried by a neighbouring hermit in the grave of Barlaam.

When the account of his demise reaches his successor, Barachias, he comes with a great retinue to the desert; and having raised the bodies of Josaphat and Barlaam, which he finds perfectly entire, and (which could not have been expected in the lifetime of the saints) emitting a most grateful odour, he transports them to his metropolis. There they are deposited in a magnificent church, in which they continued to work miracles, as they had done in the course of their journey, and before they were again interred [c. 40].

Such is the principal story of Josaphat and Barlaam,

but the romance is interspersed with many beautiful parables and apologues, most of which bear evident marks of oriental origin. These are chiefly introduced as having been told by Barlaam to the young prince, in order to illustrate and embellish the sacred doctrines which he was inculcating.

A man flying from an unicorn, by which he was pursued, had nearly fallen into a deep pit, but saved himself by grasping the twigs of a slender shrub which grew on the side [c. 12]. While he hung suspended over the abyss by this feeble hold, he observed two mice, the one white and the other black, gnawing the root of the plant to which he had trusted. At the bottom of the gulf he saw a monstrous dragon, breathing forth flames, and preparing to devour him; while by this time the unicorn was looking at him over the verge of the precipice. In this situation he perceived honey distilling from the branches to which he clung, and, unmindful of the horrors by which he was surrounded, he satiated himself with the sweets which were dropping from the boughs.—Here the unicorn typifies death, by which all men are pursued; the pit is the world, full of evils; the shrub, of which the root was corroded by the white and black mouse, is life, diminished, and at length consumed, by the hours of day and night; the dragon is hell; and the honey temporal pleasures, which we eagerly follow, regardless of the snares which are everywhere spread for our destruction.<sup>1</sup>

In order to inculcate the wisdom of laying up treasures in heaven, we are told [c. 14], that a certain state observed the custom of choosing a foreigner for its king, and after allowing him to pass a certain time in all imaginable delights, drove him, by a general insurrection, into a remote and desert island. One of these monarchs, learning how frail was the tenure by which he held the sovereignty,

<sup>1</sup> This parable, which forms chap. iv. of the *Kalilah ve Dimnah*, has found its way from Indian sources into almost every literature in the world. See Max Mueller's "Chips from a German Workshop," 1875 ed., vol. iv. p. 178. Cf. Benfey, *Panschatantra*, i. 80, ii. 528; S. Julien, *Avadânas*, i. 132, 191; *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. 168; *Homâyun Nameh*, caput iv.; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, vol. ii. p. 798; F. Liebrecht, *Jahrbücher für Rom. und Engl. Literatur*, 1860; Loiseleur Deslongchamps, *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes*, p. 64, &c.

instead of consuming his time, like his predecessors, in feasts and carousals, employed himself in amassing heaps of gold and silver and precious stones, which he transmitted to the island to which he expected to be conveyed. Thither (when the period of banishment at length arrived) he betook himself without pain or reluctance, and while he saw his foolish predecessors perishing with want, he passed the remainder of his days in joy and abundance.<sup>1</sup>

A powerful and magnificent king, during an excursion through the streets of his capital [c. 16], observed a glimmering light, and looking through a chink of the door whence it issued, he perceived a subterraneous habitation, in which was seated a man clothed in rags, and apparently in the last extremity of want. By him sat his wife, holding an earthen cup in her hand, but singing and delighting her husband with all sorts of merriment. The king expressing his wonder at the thoughtlessness of those who could rejoice in such penury, his minister embraced the opportunity of teaching him, that princes who exult in splendid palaces and royal vestments, appear still more thoughtless to the glorified inhabitants of the eternal mansions.

There is also related a story [c. 13], which has been frequently imitated, of a person who was prosecuted for a debt due to the crown, and who, on applying to friends whom he had supported, or for whom he had exposed his life, is repulsed by them all, but is at length relieved by an enemy, whom he had oppressed and persecuted.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This parable is likewise of Oriental extraction, and is essentially the same as No. 1509 of Achmed Ben Arabschah, given by Cardonne, in *Mélanges de Litt. orient.*, i. 68. F. W. V. Schmidt (Wien. Jahrb. xxvi. 41) gives further references to the various forms of this parable; it is, moreover, the source of the 40th chapter of the *Conde Lucanor*.—LIEB.

<sup>2</sup> Upon this parable see Val. Schmidt's remarks in his *Comment. Discipl. Cler.*, p. 95, *et seqq.* An imitation of it is found in T. Wright's "Selection of Latin Stories" from MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, London, 1842, No. 108.

Among other parables in Barlaam and Jos. is that (c. 6) of the caskets immortalized by Shakspere in the *Merchant of Venice*. See upon this Schmidt's remarks in *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie*, p. 100.

A king seeing two emaciated men in ragged clothes, descends from his carriage and throws himself at their feet. The magnates of the king-

It was probably in consequence of the number and beauty of these parables that Josaphat and Barlaam became so great a favourite, and was so frequently imitated during the middle ages. In a later period it gave rise to more than one of the tales of Boccaccio, as will appear when we come to treat of the Italian novelists; and it was unquestionably the model of that species of spiritual fiction, which was so prevalent in France during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Josaphat and Barlaam, however, was the last example of this species of composition produced during the existence of the eastern empire; the only Greek romance by which it was succeeded, being formed on the model of Theagenes

dom evince displeasure, and the king's brother gives expression to the same sentiment. It was the custom of the land to send a herald to sound a blast on his trumpet at the doors of such as were condemned to death. The king despatches a messenger of this kind to his brother, who presents himself with his family before the prince, with all the signs of despair. "Fool," says the King to him, "thou fearest the messenger of thy brother, although thou art not conscious of any offence, and yet thou blamest me for humbly greeting the heralds of my God, who with clear sound announced my death and the awful approach of the Lord, before whom I am guilty of great and numerous sins." In order to abash the magnates, he causes four caskets to be made. Two richly gilt but filled with stinking bones, with gold locks; two covered with pitch, bound with cords, filled with precious stones, pearls, and fragrant ointments. The reproachful grandees, upon being commanded to choose, select the gilt coffers, and the King exclaims, "I knew it, for ye see the outward with the eyes of sense." What in Boccaccio (x. 1), where the caskets are not differenced, is laid to the caprice of fortune, is here ascribed to spiritual blindness and perversity of judgment. For an account of this legend and its remote origin, see *infra*. Boccaccio's "Decameron," day x. story 1, and note.

Upon the parable (c. 10) of the bird, and to three lessons, see Val. Schmidt notes to *Discipl. Cler.* p. 151, and to Straparola, p. 288, and Graesse on No. 167 of the *Gesta Rom.*

The parable (c. 29 or 30) popularized by Boccaccio (page iv, Introduction) is translated almost literally from Barlaam, in No. 13 of the *Cento Novelle Antiche*, while another reproduction is found in *Cornazano's Proverbi*, Prov. 9. Hans Sachs, 4, 2, 125, tells the story just as it is in Barlaam, but of the son of the Swedish King Haldan. See F. W. V. Schmidt, *Beiträge*, p. 27, also V. d. Hagen *Gesammtabenteuer*, No. 23, T. Wright, *Latin Stories*, Nos. 3 and 78, and Herolt, *Promptuarium exemplorum*, No. 24. According to Du Ménil, *Histoire de la Poésie Scandinave*, p. 348, the story of this attempted seduction as narrated by Boccaccio bears a close resemblance with an episode of the *Ramayana* called the Seduction of Rikyafrüga (Chézy Sacountala, p. 278).—LIEB.



and Chariclea, or rather of the Clitophon and Leucippe. Indeed, in this last and feeble example of Grecian fiction, we seldom meet with an incident of which we have not the prototype in the romances of Heliodorus or Tatius. It is entitled :

### HYSMENE AND HYSMENIAS,<sup>1</sup>

and was written by Eustathius, sometimes called Eumathius,<sup>2</sup> who flourished, as Huet terms it, in the 12th century, during the reign of the emperor Emanuel Comnenus. The commencement of the story, and the mode in which the hero and heroine become acquainted, is evidently taken from Heliodorus. Ismenias or Hysmenias is sent as a herald from his native city, Eurycomis, for the performance of some annual ceremony, to Aulycomis, where he is hospitably entertained by Sosthenes, the father of Ismene or Hysmene. This young lady is seized with a passion for the herald, on seeing him for the first time at dinner; she presses his hand, makes love to him under shelter of the table, and at length proceeds so far that Ismenias bursts into laughter [l. i.]. Heliodorus has painted his Arsace, and Tatius his Melite, as women of this description; but Eustathius is the first who has introduced his heroine avowing love without modesty and without delicacy.<sup>3</sup> To her advances

<sup>1</sup> Τὸ καθ' Ὑσμινίαν καὶ Ὑσμίνην δράμα, ποίημα Εὐσταθίου προτονωβελιστίμου καὶ μεγάλου χαρτοφύλακος τοῦ παρεμβολίτου (some MSS. have μακρεμβολίτου, the meaning of the epithet seems in either case to be unknown. Graesse, p. 768, infers Eustathius to have been a Christian from a passage resembling part of Psalm cxxxix., which, however, Rohde (p. 523) shows is imitated rather from his usual model Achilles Tatius. Indeed, the whole story is, according to Rohde (p. 525), merely a caricature of the work of Tatius. See Graesse, Lehrb. Bd. i. p. 768.

<sup>2</sup> As in the Vatican Codex, 114, see xii. or xiii., which is, however, the best of the MSS., above twenty in number, which are known. The work is in eleven books. Eustathius, it is considered, cannot have written before 865, as in his collection of riddles mention is made of the Russian people, whose first contact with Byzantium is referred to that year. See Nicolai, Griechische Literaturgeschichte, iii. pp. 359, 60, where an account of the various MSS. and editions will be found. It has been suspected that Gaulmin, who published the work with a Latin translation in 1618, adopted the name of Eustathius, in order to make the public believe that the romance was written by the commentator on Homer of that name.

<sup>3</sup> This forwardness M. Gidel looks upon as an outcome of the exces-

Ismenias at length makes some return [l. iv.], and the period of his embassy being expired, he departs to his native place, Eurycomis, accompanied by Sosthenes and his daughter Ismene, whom he entertains in his father's house [l. v.]. One day, at dinner, Sosthenes accidentally mentions that his daughter is speedily to be married. Ismene, who appears to have been previously unacquainted with this projected change in her situation, insists, in the course of the following night, on an immediate elopement with Ismenias. She dragged me along (says Ismenias, who relates the story), nor would she quit her hold, though I affirmed that the things necessary for her departure were not prepared. I with difficulty, at length, escaped from

sive deference and respect shown to women in the West and reflected in Eustathius' work.

In the romance of Aioul, a maiden presents herself at the couch of a knight and places herself at his discretion (*Histoire Littéraire de la France*, t. xxii.). In *I Reali di Francia* which is but a translation of divers French romances, the maidens behave similarly. Fegra Albano di Barbaria, Dusolina and Galeana are enamoured of Fioravante, and do not hesitate to tell him so. Galeana dies from grief at seeing herself despised (*Lib. ii. ch. iv.*). A captain's daughter falls in love with Gisberto upon hearing his praise, and resorts to him in prison (*Lib. iii. c. 8*). Druziana, daughter of King Erminione, declares her love to Buovo d'Antona (the Italian Sir Bevis of Hampton), *Lib. iv. cc. 10, 11*, etc. A. C. Gidel, *Etudes sur la Littérature grecque Moderne*, Paris, 1866, p. 14.

How early Western romances may have found readers in the East it would be difficult to determine. About 1410, however, a lord Beauchamp, travelling in the East, was hospitably received at Jerusalem by the Soldan's lieutenant, "who hearing that he was descended from the famous Guy of Warwick, *whose story they had in books of their own language*, invited him to his palace, etc." Baron. i. p. 243, col. i.; Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, 1871, vol. ii. p. 145 note.

Works such as *Λύβυστρος και 'Ροδάμνη*, *Βέλθανδρος και Χρυσάντζα* seem to have been works composed after Frankish models rather than translations. Belthandros is probably an Oriental form of Bertrand, 'Ροδόφιλος, his father's name, a felicitous equivalent of Rodolphe, and perhaps *Φίλαρμος*, brother of Belthandros, is for Willermus. In Byzantine historians Guillaume is sometimes rendered Γουλιαρμός. In the *Libystros*, the name *Βερδερίχος* is according to Crusius (*Turco-Græcidæ*, libri viii. p. 489), is Frederick, and in "*τώρα ἀποθνήσκες σκέλπε*," the last word is the German *Schelm*. He considers the romance may have been written at the time when the Germans, French, and Venetians, reigned at Constantinople under the Counts of Flanders. Gidel, *Etudes*, chap. iii.

her hands, calling all the gods to witness.—Ismenias, however, on leaving her, does not go to prepare for the elopement, but to sleep [l. vi.]; which, indeed, is the constant resource of the hero of this romance in every emergency. Throughout the whole work he consults his pillow, in circumstances which should have converted a sleeper of Ephesus into an Argus. At length, by the exertions of Cratisthenes, the friend of Ismenias, a vessel is procured, in which the lovers embark. A storm having arisen, and a victim being thought necessary by the sailors to appease Neptune, the lot falls on Ismene, who is accordingly thrown overboard. The wind of course is allayed; but as the lover of Ismene disturbs the crew with his lamentations, he is set ashore on the coast of Ethiopia [l. vii.]. After being thus disembarked, he experiences the usual adventures with pirates, and is at last sold as a slave at Daphnopolis, to a Greek master; who soon after goes as herald to another city in Greece, and carries Ismenias along with him [l. viii.]. The herald and his slave are received in the house of Sostratus, where Ismenias discovers Ismene, living in a servile condition. When thrown into the sea, she had been preserved by the exertions of a dolphin, and had afterwards been sold by pirates to Sostratus [l. ix. xi.]. This gentleman, with his daughter, and also Ismene, attend the master of Ismenias to Daphnopolis. In the middle of the night which followed their arrival in that city, the whole band proceed to worship in the temple of Apollo. Here the father and mother of Ismenias, and the parents of Ismene, are discovered tearing their hair, and lamenting in full chorus. The lovers are recognized by their parents, and redeemed from servitude, after the heroine has been subjected to the usual trial of chastity.

In this romance, which consists of eleven books, no distressing incident (except indeed to the reader) occurs till the sixth, in which Ismene's intended marriage is first alluded to by her father. The five preceding books present one continued scene of jollity, and the long descriptions of festivity are seldom interrupted, except by still longer accounts of dreams, which are represented as having been infinitely more agreeable than could be expected, from

the loaded stomachs of the sleepers. As the work advances, these dreams become quite ridiculous, from their accurate minuteness, and the long reasonings carried on in them by persons whose stock of logic, even when awake, does not appear to have been very extensive.

The story of Ismene and Ismenias is not intricate in itself, but is perplexed by the similarity of names. The reader must be far advanced in the work before he learns to distinguish the hero from the heroine; especially as the latter acts a part which in most romances is assigned to the former. Eurycomis is the city from which Ismenias is sent as herald. In Aulycomis he is received by Sosthenes, the father of Ismene; and is sold to a Greek master at Daphnopolis, who goes as herald to Artycomis, where he is entertained by Sostratus. Eustathius has perhaps fallen into this blemish by imitating Heliodorus, in whose romance Chaereas, Calasiris, and Cnemon are the names of the principal characters.

Eustathius resembles the author of Clitophon and Leucippe, in his fondness for descriptions of paintings. The second and fourth books are full of accounts of allegorical pictures in the temples and summer-house of the garden of Sosthenes, which were hung with representations of the four cardinal virtues, and also with emblems of each of the twelve months of the year. A reaper is drawn for July; a person bathing for August; and one sitting by the fire for February. Some of these allegories, however, are rather far-fetched; thus it is not very apposite to make a soldier the emblem of March, because that month is the most favourable for military expeditions. From Tatius also the author of Ismene and Ismenias borrows that ticklish experiment, which winds up the fable of so many of the Greek romances, with such honour to the heroines, and such satisfaction to their lovers. From Longus, according to Huet, he has taken that celebrated piece of gallantry,<sup>1</sup> which consists in drinking from the part of a goblet which had been touched by the lips of a mistress. But this artifice, which has been introduced in so many amatory compositions,<sup>2</sup> may be traced much higher than the Daphnis

<sup>1</sup> *Elegans urbanitatis genus.*—Huet, *Orig. Fab.*

<sup>2</sup> Moore's ode: *The Fall of Hebe.*



and Chloe of Longus. It is one of the counsels given by Ovid in his *Art of Love*: (*de Art. Amat. lib. i. 575.*)

*Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis*

*Pocula : quaque bibit parte puella, bibe.*

Lucian, too, in one of his dialogues,<sup>1</sup> makes Jupiter pay this compliment to Ganymede; and the same conceit may be found in a collection of letters by the sophist Philostratus, who wrote in the second century. “Drink to me,” says he, “with thine eyes only, or if thou wilt, putting the cup to thy lips, fill it with kisses, and so bestow it upon me.”<sup>2</sup>

On account of his numerous plagiarisms, Eustathius is violently attacked by Huet, who says that he rather transcribes than imitates the work of Tatius. “Indeed,” continues he, “there can be nothing more frigid than this romance, nothing meaner, nothing more unpleasant and disgusting. In the whole there is no decency, no probability, no invention, no happy disposition of incident. The author introduces the hero relating his own adventures; but one cannot discover whom he addresses, or why he is discoursing. Ismene is first enamoured, she first confesses and offers love without modesty, without shame, and without art. Ismenias takes no hint from these caresses, nor does he make any return. This may be praiseworthy in morals or philosophy, but is wretched in romance. In short, the whole is the work of some raw school-boy, or unskilful sophist, from whose hands the birch ought never to have been withdrawn.”

These remarks of Huet may in general be well founded, but his censure of Eustathius for not having created a character to whom the hero recounts his history would be applicable, if just, not only to the work he criticises, but to many of our best modern novels and romances. The method adopted by Achilles Tatius, of introducing a listener,

<sup>1</sup> Dialog. Deor. vol. i. p. 129.

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<sup>2</sup> Εμοι ἐε μόνοις πρόπιτε τοῖς ὄμμασιν. Ἐε ἐε βέλει τοῖς χεῖλεσι προσφύεσσα πλήρη φιλημάτων τὸ ἐκπωμα, καὶ ὥτως διδῶ. 24. This idea, along with many other far-fetched conceits of Philostratus, has been imitated by Ben Jonson, in his poem entitled the Forest :—

“Drink to me only with thine eyes,  
And I will pledge with mine;  
Or leave a kiss but in the cup,  
And I'll not look for wine.”

seems now exploded; and if we fancy that the hero or heroine speaks, the narration must be regarded as a soliloquy from beginning to end. But in the modern novel, and in the Greek romance of Ismene and Ismenias, the persons who relate their story are neither conceived to address a friend, nor to report their adventures to themselves, but are supposed to have written what the reader peruses.

Notwithstanding its defects, Ismene and Ismenias has been imitated by subsequent poets and writers of romance. D'Urfé, in particular, has taken the description of the fountain of love introduced in the *Astrea*,<sup>1</sup> from that of Diana at Artycomis [l. 8]; and many of the incidents and names in the work of Eustathius have been transferred to the Spanish pastoral of Montemayor.

Besides those Greek romances that have been enumerated, there is one entitled *DOSICLES AND RHODANTES*, by Theodorus Prodromus, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, and was nearly contemporary with Eustathius, but which shall not be farther mentioned; as, besides being very indifferently written, it is in iambics, and is rather a poem than a romance.<sup>2</sup> It was followed by a great many others of a similar description, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, all of which are written in iambics; and contain a series of wandering adventures, strung together with little art or invention, as the loves of *CHARICLES AND DROSSILLA*, by Nicetas Eugenianus, etc.

Of all these an account has been given by Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Græca* [l. 5. c. 6.], but the only one deserving of notice or attention, is

#### THE HISTORY OF APOLLONIUS OF TYRE,

which is written in such barbarous verse, that I can scarcely be considered as breaking through my plan, by giving a short account of it.<sup>3</sup> The original Greek, I believe, has only

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, *Astrée*.

<sup>2</sup> Gaulmin also edited the *Dosicles and Rhodantes*, a MS. copy of which was transmitted to him by Salmasius, and printed at Paris in 1615. The author of this romance, he informs us, was originally from Russia, but became soon after his arrival in Greece, a priest, a physician, and a philosopher.

<sup>3</sup> Dunlop has mistaken the Neo-Hellenic version of Gabriel Kontianos from the Latin, published circ. 1500, for the original Greek work, no

been recently edited, but a Latin prose translation, formed as early as the eleventh century, was published soon after the invention of printing, under the title of *Apollonii Tyrii Historia*. In this romance, we are told that Antiochus, king of Syria, who entertained towards his daughter warmer sentiments than those of paternal affection, in order to retain her in his own palace, propounded to her numerous suitors a riddle to be explained as the price of her hand. Apollonius, king of Tyre, having fallen in love with the princess by report, arrives at the capital of Antiochus, and solves the enigma, which contained an allusion to the criminal passion of the father. The king of Syria lays snares for the destruction of Apollonius, who escapes from his dominions, and after various adventures is driven by a storm into the states of a monarch, where his regal descent being discovered by the majesty of his appearance, and the variety of his accomplishments, the king's daughter

text of which is known. That the novel is a translation appears from the numerous Græcisms found in it (Riese, p. xi-xiii). In c. 34, one pound of gold is coined into fifty pieces, which was the custom since the time of Caracalla, while after Constantine it became usual to go by *solidi*, whence the original would appear to have been composed in the time between Caracalla and Constantine (W. Christ. Trans. of the Munich Acad. Phil. Hist., Cl. 1872, p. 4). The translation must have been composed after Symposius (circ. 500) whose enigmas are inserted, and before the treatise *De Dubiis Nominibus* (sæc. vii.), in which the novel is quoted. It is also mentioned in a catalogue of books of the abbey of St. Wandrille, in Normandy, A.D. 747. (Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, ii. p. 287. Ward, *Cat.*, p. 161.) The author of the original work was a native of Asia Minor (W. Teuffel. *Rh. Mus.* xxvii, 104), and a pagan. The translator dressed up the work, though carelessly, in a Christian garb, and at the same time barbarized, enlarged, and, towards the end, abbreviated the original work. The sentences are freely built up in a plebeian manner and diction, the style is without any literary culture, and there are words and phrases which belong to the *sermo plebeius* and remind us greatly of the Romance languages (Riese, p. xiii-xv). About 100 MSS. of the tale are known. It was very freely dealt with, and arbitrarily abridged or altered. Three principal reductions have been traced. See further W. S. Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.*, p. 560; also Rohde *der Griech. Rom.*, p. 408, etc.; Villemain, *Essai sur les Romains grecs*; Chassang, *Hist. du Rom.*, p. 411; and Nicolai, *Geschichte Griech.* iii. p. 362-3. The popularity of this romance in the west was due to the combination of mediæval romantic elements, both Greek and Eastern, which it presented in a dress adapted to frankish taste Cholevius *Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie nach ihren antiken Elementen*, i. p. 152; Th. Grasse *Die Grossen Sagenkreise des Mittelalters*, ii. 3.

falls in love with him, and, in order to protract his stay, requests that he may be appointed her preceptor in those arts in which he had shown himself so skilful. In the course of his instructions, Apollonius forgets the princess of Syria, and lays claim to the hand of his fair pupil. Some months after the marriage had been solemnized, intelligence arrives that Antiochus and his daughter had been struck dead by lightning, and that the appearance of Apollonius in Syria would be the signal of a general declaration in his favour. With the view of obtaining this vacant sovereignty, he sets sail with his wife, who gives birth to a daughter during the voyage; but while in a swoon, into which she had soon after fallen, she is believed dead, and from the superstition of the crew with regard to the malignant influence of corpses at sea, she is immediately thrown overboard in a chest. Apollonius lands in a state of despair on the coast of Syria, where he entrusts his infant daughter to persons on whose fidelity he could depend, and then sets out as a wanderer on the face of the earth. When his daughter grows up she is carried off by pirates, and sold at a Grecian city, where she is preserved from infamy by the compassion and continence of a young man, called Athenagoras, to whose embraces she was presented by her purchaser. She continues to earn a subsistence by her skill in music, till her father, who in the course of his wanderings had arrived at that city, in a mourning and dejected habit, attracted by the heavenly melody of her voice, enters her humble dwelling. For his solace and recreation, she sung with exquisite pathos the unhappy story of her infancy, from which Apollonius discovered that she was indeed his daughter. He affianced her to Athenagoras, to whom she had been indebted for more than the preservation of life, and then, warned by a celestial vision, he departed for Ephesus. There he found his long-lost queen, who, having been wafted to that coast when thrown overboard, had been picked up by a physician, who at length succeeded in restoring the almost extinguished animation.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the Latin prose version already mentioned, the

<sup>1</sup> A version of the History of Apollonius is found in a Neo-Hellenic folk-tale, No. 50 of Hahn's collection; in the South Slavonic countries



romance, or history of Apollonius, was translated into Latin verse about the end of the twelfth century, by Godfrey of Viterbo, who introduced it in his *Pantheon*, or *Universal Chronicle*, as part of the history of Antiochus the Third of Syria. It was also inserted in the *Gesta Romanorum* [c. 150], which was written in the fourteenth century, and became soon after the subject of a French prose romance, which was the origin of the English *Kynge Apolyne of Tyre*, printed by Wynkin de Worde in 1510.<sup>1</sup> It was from the metrical version, however, of Godfrey of Viterbo,<sup>2</sup> that the story came to Gower, who has told it with little variation in his *Confessio Amantis*. Gower is introduced as speaking the prologue to each of the five acts of *Pericles*, prince of Tyre; whence it may be presumed that the author of that play derived his plot from the English poet. The drama of *Pericles*, as is well known, has been the subject of much discussion;<sup>3</sup> the composition of the whole, or greater part of it, having been attributed to Shakspeare, by some of his commentators, chiefly on the authority of Dryden:—

Your Ben and Fletcher in their first young flight,  
Did no Volpone, no Arbaces write;  
Shakspeare's own muse his *Pericles* first bore,  
The Prince of Tyre is elder than the Moor.

Besides the romances which have been enumerated, there appeared during the existence of the eastern empire, a number of Greek tales, chiefly derived from mythological stories, and resembling those of Parthenius Nicenus; but

several confused versions are also current, for one variant of which see *Tales from Twelve Tongues*, London, 1882; *The Miller's Daughter*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> In the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, there is an Anglo-Saxon version of the Apollonius, which was edited by B. Thorpe, in 1834. It has a gap in the middle of it and the Riddles are thus lost. Ward, *Cat.* p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Chaplain and Clerk to the Emperors Conrad III. (1138), Frederick I. (1152), and Henry VI. (1190-1198). This metrical version is part of a chronicle entitled the "*Pantheon*," dedicated to Pope Urban III. (1185-1187).—Ward, *Cat.*, p. 163 and 169.

<sup>3</sup> Shakspeare is also supposed to have been indebted to Lawrence Twayne's compilation: "*The Patterne of painefull Adventures*," first published probably in 1576. The story in a modern dress was published by M. le Brun in 1710, under the title of *Avantures d'Apollonius de Thyr*. Warton, *Hist. Poet.*, ii. p. 303 note.

sometimes combined with long discussions on the nature of love.<sup>1</sup> However, as these are not written according to the rules of romance, but are founded on heathen fables, they are not included in the plan that I have adopted.

A curious account is given by Huet, of a romance of disputed authenticity, which appeared under the name of Athenagoras, entitled, *Du Vrai et Parfait Amour*. A copy of this work, written in French, was sent, in the year 1569, to M. Lamané, by Martin Fumée, who professes himself to be merely the translator. He informs us in the preface that he received the Greek copy from this M. Lamané, who was protonotary to the cardinal of Armagnac; that he had never seen any other manuscript of the work, and adds, that it is the production of that Athenagoras, who addressed an apology for the Christian religion to the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, which would make him considerably prior to Heliodorus. In 1599, thirty years after it was written or translated by Fumée, the romance was published by Bernard of Sanjorrey, with a preface, in which he says that he found among his papers a copy of the work, transcribed from the manuscript which Fumée had sent to M. de Lamané.

Huet speaks of this romance at considerable length, in the work I have so often quoted. He in the first place extols the splendid and interesting manner in which the romance opens. "There," says he, "as in a picture, is represented the lofty triumph of Paulus Emilius, where, amidst so many remarkable objects, the king of Macedon is exhibited loaded with chains, and hurried along with his children before the chariot of his conqueror. There the enamoured Chariis, grieving beyond measure that she had fallen into the power of the Romans, and that she had been torn from Theogenes, her lover, is touched with delight, on unexpectedly beholding him; and at the same moment is affected with the most poignant anguish, be-

<sup>1</sup> Constantine Manasses, who lived in the reign of Manuel Comnenus, (1143-1180) composed a verse romance in nine books, *Τὰ κατ' Ἀρίσταν-δρον καὶ Καλλιθέαν*, known to us only from extracts contained in the *Ῥοδωνιά* of Macarius Chrysocephalos (see F. Boissonade, Marcian, 452). It exceeds, in absurdity of style and extravagance, all previous compositions of the Erotic School (Villoison, *Aned. Græc.*, ii. 75, etc.). For editions, etc., see Nicolai, *Griech. Literaturgeschichte*, p. 362.

cause she sees him among the captives." It is from the house of Octavius, a Roman general, into whose power she had fallen, that Charis views the triumph that excites such jarring emotions. Melangenia, who turns out to be an elderly gentlewoman of Carthage, but was at that time the slave of Octavius, is sent to console her. These two females recount to each other their early loves and misfortunes, the recital of which occupies the first six books of the romance, and the remaining four contain the adventures of Charis after she had obtained her freedom from Octavius, which are in the usual style of those contained in the Greek romances.

As to the question of the authenticity of this production, the authors of the *Bibliothèque des Romans* seem to think it a genuine work, but do not enter into much discussion on the subject. Huet remarks, that the intimate knowledge shown by the author, of all those things which were discovered by the ancients, both in nature and art;—his wonderful acquaintance with the history of past times, and the ancient errors he adopts, into which a modern would scarcely have fallen; the Greek phraseology which shines even through the mist of translation; and, above all, the dignity and grace of antiquity, which cannot be easily imitated, and in which the whole work is clothed; all conspire to vindicate from the suspicion of forgery. The bishop then proceeds to unfold his arguments against the genuineness of the work, many of which are not more conclusive than those adduced in favour of its authenticity. The first reason for incredulity is, that the romance has not been mentioned in the dictionary of Photius; which, if admitted as a proof of fabrication, would render spurious the romances of Longus, Chariton, and the three Xenophons. Nor is the argument derived from the supposed imitation of Heliodorus altogether conclusive, since, upon the supposition that the work in question was a genuine production of Athenagoras, Theagenes and Chariclea may as probably have been derived from Charis and Theogenes, as these from the former appellations. The non-existence, however, of a Greek original of the romance *Du Vrai et parfait Amour*, necessarily throws the *onus probandi* of its authenticity on its defenders; and, until

produced, a strong presumption remains, that Charis and Theogenes is nothing more than a partial change of Theagenes and Chariclea.

The imposture, indeed, is clearly detected by the description of manners and institutions unknown in the age of Athenagoras. Thus the author conducts a criminal trial in the heart of Greece, according to the form of process before the parliament of Paris. The priests and virgins introduced in the romance, as consecrated to Hammon, live according to the fashion of the monks and nuns of the fifteenth century, and not like those who existed in the early ages of Christianity.<sup>1</sup>

Huet has mentioned, as the principal defect of the romance, that it is loaded with descriptions of buildings, and that the palaces are not raised by the magic hand of fiction, but by a professional architect. From this blemish Huet has drawn his chief argument against the authenticity of the work. "It is universally known," says he, "that the Cardinal Armagnac was much addicted to the study of architecture: Philander, the commentator on Vitruvius, was one of his devoted retainers, was the most scientific architect of his age, and was, besides, well informed in every branch of polite literature. Now, since the description of this Athenagoras are closely squared to the principles of architecture inculcated by him in his annotations on Vitruvius, may it not reasonably be suspected, that Philander was the deviser of this literary imposture, in order to support his own opinions by the authority of antiquity? The fraud might have been detected, had the work issued from the hands of Philander, or the palace of the cardinal. That he might remove suspicion from himself, and conduct the reader as it were to other ground, he wrote an amatory romance. There, as if incidentally, he inserted the precepts of his art, and, concealing his own name, he ingeniously employed that of Lamané, for the possessor of the manuscript, and Fumée for the French translator. "However it may be," he continues, "the romance is ingeniously contrived, artfully conducted, enlightened with unparalleled sentiments and

<sup>1</sup> Schöll, *Hist. de la Lit. Gr.*, and Pauli, *Real. Encycl. s. v. Athenagoras*, reject the work as spurious.



precepts of morality, and adorned with a profusion of delightful images, most skilfully disposed. The incidents are probable, the episodes are deduced from the main subject, the language is perspicuous, and modesty is scrupulously observed. Here there is nothing mean, nothing unnatural or affected, nothing that has the appearance of childishness or sophistry." Huet, however, complains that the conclusion of the fable of this romance is far removed from the excellence of the introduction.

I have now taken a successive view of the Greek romances, and have attempted to furnish such an analysis of them as may enable the reader to form some notion of their nature and qualities.

One quality, it is obvious, pervades them all, and it is the characteristic not only of Greek romance, but of the first attempt at prose fiction in every country: The interest of each work almost wholly consists in a succession of strange, and often improbable adventures. Indeed, as the primary object of the narrator was to surprise by the incidents he rehearsed, the strangeness of these was the chief object to which he directed his attention. For the creation of these marvels sufficient scope was afforded him, because, as little intercourse took place in society, the limits of probability were not precisely ascertained. The seclusion, also, of females in these early times gave a certain uniformity to existence, and prevented the novelist from painting those minute and almost imperceptible traits of feeling and character, all those developments, which render a well-written modern novel so agreeable and interesting. Still, amid all their imperfections, the Greek romances are extremely pleasing, since they may be considered as almost the first productions in which woman is in any degree represented as assuming her proper station of the friend and the companion of man. Hitherto she had been considered almost in the light of a slave, ready to bestow her affections on whatever master might happen to obtain her; but, in Heliodorus and his followers, we see her an affectionate guide and adviser—we behold an union of hearts painted as a main-spring of our conduct in life—we are delighted with pictures of fidelity, constancy, and chastity, and are encouraged to persevere in a life of virtue by the happy

consequences to which it leads. The Greek romances are less valuable than they might have been, from giving too much to adventure, and too little to manners and character;—but these have not been altogether neglected, and several pleasing pictures are delineated of ancient customs and feelings. In short, these early fictions are such as might have been expected at the first effort, and must be considered as not merely valuable in themselves, but as highly estimable in pointing out the method of awaking the most pleasing sympathies of our nature, and affecting most powerfully the fancy and the heart.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Phlegon of Tralles in Lydia, one of Hadrian's freedmen, may further be mentioned before dismissing the present subject. Under his name the Emperor, as is supposed, wrote his own biography (*Spartiani Vita Hadriani*, c. 16). His work *περὶ θαυμασίων* (printed in *Jac. Gronovii Thes. Graec. Anth.* viii. p. 2694) consists of a collection of marvellous tales and ghost stories, not altogether unlike those which have been so popular in the German literature of the present century. The first portion of the book is lost, and therewith the commencement of the story of Philinnion returned from the grave (borrowed by Phlegon from a letter of Hipparchus, Philipp's Commandant of Amphipolis, to Arrhidaeus, see *Rohde*, p. 391), which Goethe adapted in his *Bride of Corinth*. The tale of Phlegon is undoubtedly connected with the tales current in south-eastern Europe of vampyres, and dead who rise from their graves and suck the blood of the living, especially of their nearest relatives, and called in modern Greek *Buthrolakkas*, or *Burkolassas* [*βουρόλακκας*].

Here, too, are found the stories of the Succubi (*ἐμπουσαι*), or female sprites (*Alp.*). See *Dobeneck*, *Des Deutschen Mittelalters Volksglaube*, i. 32, who cites a pre-Christian example of this kind of being from *Philostratus*.

See, further, note on *Morgant le Géant*, *Chassang*, p. 400, the tables of *Lamiae*, *Gorgons*, *Ephialta*, *Mormolyce*, *Manducus*.

Another fictionist unmentioned by *Dunlop* is *Damascius*, recorded by *Photius* (cod. 130), but without any biographical information about him. He was probably a Christian at a time when Christianity had become generally diffused. *Photius* gives only the titles of his books which are:—*Of Incredible Stories*, 352 chapters; *Tales of Demons*, 52 chapters; *Wonderful Stories of Apparitions*, 63 chapters, and of *Incredible Natures*, 105 chapters. *Photius* pronounces them to have been full of extravagances, and of gloomy Pagan superstition, but composed in a clear and elegant style.—*LIEB*.

A contemporary of *Theodorus Prodrumus*, *Constantine Manasses*, composed the metrical romance of *Aristander* and *Callithea* in nine books. The only extracts from this work which have come down show it to have contained the usual accumulation of adventures and vicissitudes found in the Greek romances.

In general, remarks F. W. V. Schmidt (Wien. Jahrb. Bd. 26, p. 46), speaking of the later Greek romances, and especially the works of Eustathius, Theodorus Prodromus, and Nicetas Eugenianos, the perusal of these works, important as they are for the knowledge of philology and literature, leaves upon the reader the impression conveyed by seeing an old man in his dotage.

The contact with the western nations effected by the Crusades with the effete civilization of Byzantium, and French domination in the Morea, substituted Frankish romances for ancient models, or poor imitations thereof, and narrative literature received themes from both east and west, as the stories of the Pankytranta and Sindibad had already been introduced into the popular Byzantine literature; separate French compositions were now translated, such as stories from the Round Table, of la Belle Maguelonne, Flores and Blanchefleur, etc. Many of these stories became in this way so popularized that they are still recognizable in the modern Greek folk tales. (See note to Apollonius, p. 83, and Nicolai, *Gesch. des Neugriech. Literatur.* p. 11.) An instance is the story of the good Florentia, or the history of the faithful wife vainly tempted by her brother-in-law during her husband's absence, then turned adrift, resisting the amorous proposals of divers men whom she meets, who subsequently come to be healed at a monastery whither she had retired, and where she had become celebrated for miraculous cures, and whom she heals from their ailments upon their confessing their guilt; whereupon she is reconciled to her husband. For an account of the variants of this story of the good Florentia of Rome, see Graesse, *Literärsgeschichte*, iii. i. 286, 287. The same story is current with but little difference in Janina Hahn, *Griech. Märchen*, N. 16 (1, p. 140, etc.). The legend probably found its way in the popular mouth from some Greek version of a Frankish original. The ultimate source of the Saga (which is found in various forms, such as that of Genoveva, of Crescentia, see v. d. Hagen *Gesammtabentener*, vii. and i. 101; also Cæsterley, on Kirchhof's *Wendunnuth*, 2, 23; G. Rom. 249, p. 747, of Hildegard; Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, N. 437) is to be found in the Indian cycle of the Papageienbuch in the oldest form of that collection which is accessible to us, Night 33, as well as in the Turkish Tooti Nameh: Rose, i. 89-108. See Rohde, p. 533, etc., and Gidel, *Etudes*. For further information on the perpetuation of popular fiction among the Greeks, the following works may be consulted: Berington's "Literary History of the Middle Ages," Appendix I. Bikelas, *Die Griechen des Mittelalters und ihre Einfluss auf die Europäische Cultur*, Güttersloh, 1878. Nicolai, *Geschichte der Neugriechischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1876. Gidel, *Etudes—Nouvelles Etudes sur la Littérature grecque moderne*, 1866, 1878. Schmidt, Bernhardt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen und das Hellenische Alterthum*, Leipzig, 1871, and the same author's *Griechische Märchen*, etc., 1877. Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, 1864. Miss J. E. Harrison's "Myths of the Odyssey in Art and Literature," London, 1882. Gerland, *Altgriechische Märchen in der Odyssee*, Magdeburg, 1869. Geldart, *Folklore of Modern Greece*, London, 1882. W. Wagner, *Shakespeare in Griechenland*, Leipzig, and chaps. 21, 28-30, of Rev. H. F. Tozer's "Researches in the Highlands of Turkey."

## CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTION OF THE MILESIAN TALES INTO ITALY.—LATIN ROMANCES.—PETRONIUS ARBITER.—APULEIUS, ETC.

THE Milesian Fables had found their way into Italy even before they flourished in Greece. They had been received with eagerness, and imitated by the Sybarites, the most voluptuous nation in the west of Europe; whose stories obtained the same celebrity in Rome, that the Milesian tales had acquired in Greece and Asia. It is not easy to specify the exact nature of the western imitations, but if we may judge from a solitary specimen transmitted by Ælian in his *Variæ Historiæ* (l. 14. c. 20), they were of a facetious description, and intended to promote merriment. A pedagogue of the Sybarite nation conducted his pupil through the streets of a town. The boy happened to get hold of a fig, which he was proceeding to eat, when his tutor interrupted him by a long declamation against luxury, and then snatching the dainty from his hand, devoured it with the utmost greed. This tale Ælian says he had read in the Sybarite stories (*σοφιαὶ συβαριτικαὶ*), and had been so much entertained that he got it by heart, and committed it to writing, as he did not grudge mankind a hearty laugh!

Many of the Romans, it would appear, were as easily amused as Ælian, since the Sybarite stories for a long while enjoyed great popularity; and, at length, in the time of Sylla, the Milesian tales of Aristides were translated into Latin by Sisenna, who was prætor of Sicily, and author of a history of Rome. Plutarch informs us in his life of Crassus [c. 32], that when that general was defeated by the Parthians, the conquerors found copies of Milesian and Sybarite tales in the tents of the Roman soldiers; whence Surena expressed his contempt for the effeminacy and licentiousness of his enemies, who, even in time of war, could not refrain from the perusal of such compositions.



The taste for the Sybarite and Milesian fables increased during the reign of the emperors. Many imitators of Aristides appeared, particularly Clodius Albinus, the competitor of the Emperor Severus, whose stories have not reached posterity, but are said to have obtained a celebrity to which their merit hardly entitled them.<sup>1</sup> It is strange that Severus, in a letter to the senate, in which he upbraids its members for the honours they had heaped on his rival, and the support they had given to his pretensions, should, amid accusations that concerned him more nearly, have expressed his chief mortification to arise from their having distinguished that person as learned, who had grown hoary in the study of old wives' tales, such as the Milesian-Punic fables.—Major fuit dolor, quod illum pro literato laudandum plerique duxistis, cum ille neniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus, inter Milesias Punicas Apuleii suit, et ludicra literaria consenesceret.<sup>2</sup>

But the most celebrated fable of ancient Rome is the work of Petronius Arbiter, perhaps the most remarkable fiction which has dishonoured the literary history of any nation. It is the only fable of that period now extant,<sup>3</sup> but is a strong proof of the monstrous corruption of the times in which such a production could be tolerated, though, no doubt, writings of bad moral tendency might be circulated before the invention of printing, without arguing the depravity they would have evinced, if presented to the world subsequent to that period.

The work of Petronius is in the form of a satire, and, according to some commentators, is directed against the vices of the court of Nero, who is thought to be delineated under the names of Trimalchio and Agamemnon; an opinion

<sup>1</sup> Milesias nonnulli ejusdem esse dicunt, quarum fama non ignobilis habetur, quamvis mediocriter scriptæ sunt.—Capitolinus vit. Clod. Albini.. c. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. c. 12.

<sup>3</sup> And extant only in a fragmentary form. Being employed for excerpts in anthologies, the work itself was all the sooner lost, which it appears to have been as early as the seventh century. The MSS. known have on the whole the same gaps and corruptions, and must therefore be derived from, and the same original MSS., which contained only excerpts from the complete works of Petronius.—Teuffel. His. Rom. Lit. ii. p. 88.

which has been justly ridiculed by Voltaire [Ecrivains franç. du Siècle de Louis XIV. s. v. Nodot]. The satire is written in a manner which was first introduced by Varro; verses are intermixed with prose, and jests with serious remark. It has much the air of a romance, both in the incidents and their disposition; but the story is too well known, and too scandalous, to be particularly detailed. The scene is laid in Magna Græcia; Eucolpius [c. 91], is the chief character in the work, and the narrator of events;—he commences by a lamentation on the decline of eloquence [c. 2], and while listening to the reply of Agamemnon, a professor of oratory, he loses his companion Ascylos. Wandering through the town in search of him [c. 6], he is finally conducted by an old woman to a retirement where the incidents that occur are analogous to the scene. The subsequent adventures—the feast of Trimalchio—the defection and return of Giton—the amour of Eumolpus in Bythinia—the voyage in the vessel of Lycus—the passion and disappointment of Circe, follow each other without much art of arrangement; an apparent defect which may arise from the mutilated form in which the satire has descended to us.

The style of Petronius has been much applauded for its elegance—it certainly possesses considerable *naïveté* and grace, and is by much too fine a veil for so deformed a body.<sup>1</sup> Some of the verses also are extremely beautiful. The best part of the prose, however, is the well-known episode of the matron of Ephesus [c. 111, 112], which, I have little doubt, was originally a Milesian or Sybarite fable. A lady of Ephesus, on the death of her husband, not contented with the usual demonstrations of grief, descended with the corpse into the vault in which it was entombed, resolving there to perish with sorrow. From this design no entreaties of her own or her husband's friends could dissuade her. But at length a common soldier, who had been appointed to watch the bodies of malefactors crucified in the vicinity, lest they should be taken down by their relations, perceiving a light, descended into the vault,

<sup>1</sup> The council of Trent declined to put the work on the Index on account of its Latinity. For a very readable account of Petronius, who is now generally considered to have been a contemporary of Nero, see Sincx, Latin Literature, ii. 83.

where he gazed on the beauty of the mourner, whom he soon persuaded to eat, to drink, and to live. That very night, in her funeral garments, in the commencement of her grief, and in the tomb of her husband, she was united to this new and unknown lover. When the soldier ascended from this bridal chamber, he found that the body of a criminal had been carried off. He returned to his mistress to deplore the punishment that awaited him for his neglect, but she immediately relieved his disquiet, by proposing that the corpse of the husband, whose funeral she had so vehemently mourned, should be raised, and nailed to the cross in room of the malefactor.

A story nearly the same with that in Petronius exists, under title of the Widow who was Comforted, in the book known in this country by name of the Seven wise Masters,<sup>1</sup> which is one of the oldest collections of oriental stories. There, however, the levity of the widow is aggravated by the circumstance that the husband had died in consequence of alarm at a danger to which his wife had been exposed, and that she consented to mutilate his body, in order to give it a perfect resemblance to that of the malefactor which had been taken down from the cross.

This story of female levity has frequently been imitated, both in its classical and oriental circumstances.<sup>2</sup> It is the *Fabliau De la femme qui se fist putain sur la fosse de son mari*. The *Père du Halde*, in his *History of China*, informs us that it is a common story in that empire;<sup>3</sup> but the most singular place for the introduction of such a tale was the *Rule and Exercise of holy Dying*, by Jeremy

<sup>1</sup> See Beufey Pancha, i. 460.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Cento Novelle antiche*, No. 56, Sercambi, Nov. 16, Annibale Compeggi and Eustazio Manfredi; in French by St. Evremond, *Œuvres* Meslés, i. 236, London, 1705; *Tragicomedie de Pierre Brinon*, Paris, 1614; *Hist. Théât. franc.* iv. 188; La Fontaine, *La Matrone d'Ephèse*; Voltaire in *Zadig*, c. 2, *Le Nez Coupé*. It is also the subject of *The Widow's Tears*, a comedy of the beginning of the seventeenth century, Dodsley's Collection, vol. vi. It also occurs in the *De Nugis Curialium* (l. viii. c. 11) of John of Salisbury.

<sup>3</sup> A wise man of Song, Chouang-tse by name, meets in a burial-place a young widow who is fanning her husband's grave with her fan. In reply to Chouang-tse's inquiries, she explains in tears, and without desisting, as courtesy required, from her exercise, that she had promised her husband upon his death-bed not to enter wedlock anew until the mould

Taylor, where it forms part of the 5th chapter, entitled, Of the Contingencies of Death and Treating our Dead.

The Latin writers of fiction seem to have been uniformly more happy in their episodes than in the principal subject. This remark is particularly applicable to the

### GOLDEN ASS

of Apuleius, its readers, on account of its excellence, as is generally supposed, having added the epithet of Golden. Warburton, however, conjectures, from the beginning of one of Pliny's epistles, that *Aurice* was the common title given to the Milesian, and such tales as strollers used to tell for a piece of money to the rabble in a circle: "*Assem para et accipe auream fabulam*" [l. ii. ep. 20]. These Milesian fables were much in vogue in the age of Apuleius. Accordingly, in the commencement of his work, he allures his readers with the promise of a fashionable composition,<sup>1</sup>

at one end of the grave-mound was quite dry, a desiccation she devoutly wished and assiduously promoted by the unflagging employment of her fan. Upon Chouang's proffer of assistance she produced another fan and handed it to him.

The sage, on returning home, relates his adventure to his wife Tien, who reviles the widow, and protests that she herself after such bereavement would never re-marry. Shortly afterwards Chouang dies, and his widow is at first inconsolable. However, a former pupil of Chouang's puts in an appearance, and desires at once to pay the last tribute of respect to the remains of his deceased master, and then to avail himself of his books to prosecute his studies. The widow receives him into her house, falls in love with him, and their marriage is forthwith celebrated, while the body of Chouang is thrust into a wretched shed. When about to climb into the nuptial couch the bridegroom is seized with cramps, which his servant says can only be cured by a potion composed of wine mixed with human brain. The bride, providing herself with an axe, hastens to the place where the corpse of her late husband lay, hews open the coffin, and is about to proceed as summarily with the skull, when Chouang awakes from a long trance, and returns home with her. The hollowness of her previous protestations evinced by the festal signs visible in the house, Tien hangs herself for shame, while her husband sets the dwelling and all within it, including her body, on fire, the scholar and his servant have, however, secured their safety by flight. Chouang thenceforward devoted himself to travel and philosophy—and celibacy.—The General History of China, iii. pp. 134-155, London, 1736. This story is also iii. and No. 3 of *Contes Chinois traduits*, published by Rémusat, Paris, 1827.

<sup>1</sup> At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram, auresque tuas benevolas lepido susurro permulceam.



though he early insinuates that he has deeper intentions than their amusement.

The fable is related in the person of the author, who commences his story with representing himself as a young man, sensible of the advantages of virtue, but immoderately addicted to pleasure, and curious of magic. He informs the reader, that on account of some domestic affairs, he was obliged to travel into Thessaly, the country whence his family had its origin. At his entrance into one of the towns, called Hypata, he enquired for a person of the name of Milo, and being directed to his house, rapped at the door. On what security do you intend to borrow? said a servant, cautiously unbolting it; we only lend on pledges of gold or silver. Being at last introduced to the master, Apuleius presented letters of recommendation from Demeas, a friend of the miser, and was in consequence asked to remain in the house. Milo having dismissed his wife, desired his guest to sit down on the couch in her place, apologizing for the want of seats of a more portable description, on account of his fear of robbers. Apuleius having accepted the invitation to reside in the miser's house, went out to the public bath, and on the way reflecting on the parsimony of his host, he bought some fish for supper. On coming out from the market he met Pithias, who had been his school-fellow at Athens, but was at that time ædile of Hypata, and had the superintendence of provisions. This magistrate having examined the fish his friend had purchased, condemned them as bad, ordered them to be destroyed, and having merely reprimanded the vendor, left his old companion dismayed at the loss of his supper and money, and by no means satisfied with the mode of administering justice in Thessaly.

After having visited the bath, Apuleius returned to sleep at Milo's [l. 1], and rose next morning with the design of seeing whatever was curious in the city. Thessaly was the country whence magic derived its origin; and of the nature of this art he had heard and even witnessed something on his journey from Rome. Hence he imagined that every thing he saw was changed from its natural form, by the force of enchantment; he expected to behold the statues walk, and to hear the oxen prophesy. While roaming

through the town he met with a lady, called Byrrhena, who, having been a friend of his mother, invited him to lodge at her house. This he could not agree to, as he had already accepted an apartment at Milo's, but he consented to accompany her home to supper. The great hall in this lady's palace is splendidly described, and an animated account is given of a statue of Victory, and a piece of sculpture representing Diana, surrounded by her dogs. Apuleius is warned by Byrrhena to beware of Pamphile, the wife of Milo, who was the most dangerous magician in Thessaly. She informs him that this hag spares no charms to fascinate a young man for whom she conceives a passion, and does not scruple to metamorphose those who oppose her inclinations. Apuleius returned home, hesitating whether to attach himself to Pamphile, in order to be instructed in magic, or to her servant Fotis. The superior beauty of the latter speedily fixed his resolution, and he consoled himself for the many privations he endured in the house of Milo, by carrying on an intrigue with this damsel, who acted as the handmaid of Pamphile, and the valet of her parsimonious husband.

One night, while supping at the house of Byrrhena, Apuleius was informed that the following day being the festival of Momus, he ought to honour that divinity by some merry invention.

Returning home somewhat intoxicated, he perceived through the dusk three large figures attacking the door of Milo with much fury. Suspecting them to be robbers, who intended to break in, he ran his sword through them in succession, and, leaving them as dead, escaped into the house [l. 2]. Next morning he is arrested on account of the triple homicide, and is brought to trial in a crowded and open court. The accuser is called by a herald. An old man, who acted in this capacity, pronounced a harangue, of which the duration was limited by a clepsydra, as the old sermons were measured by hour-glasses. Two women in deep mourning were introduced; one lamented the death of her husband, the other of her son, and both called loudly for vengeance on the murderer. Apuleius was found guilty of the death of three citizens; but previous to his execution it was resolved he should be put to

the torture, to force a discovery of his accomplices, and the necessary preparations were accordingly completed. What had chiefly astonished Apuleius during this scene, was, that the whole court, and among others his host Milo, were all the while convulsed with laughter. One of the women in mourning now demanded that the dead bodies, which were in court, should be uncovered, in order that, the compassion of the judges being excited, the tortures might be increased. The demand was complied with, and the task assigned to Apuleius himself. The risibility of the audience is now accounted for, as he sees, to his utter astonishment, three immense leather bottles, which, on the preceding night, he had mistaken for robbers. The imaginary criminal is then dismissed, after being informed that this mock trial was in honour of the god Momus.

On returning home the matter was more fully explained by Fotis, who informs Apuleius that she had been employed by her mistress to procure the hair of a young Bœotian, of whom she was enamoured, in order to prepare a charm which would bring him to her house: that having failed in obtaining this ingredient, and fearing the resentment of her mistress, she had brought her some goat's hair which had fallen from the scissors of a bottle-shearer. These hairs being burned by the sorceress, with the usual incantations, had (instead of leading the Bœotian to her house,) given animation to the skins to which they formerly adhered, and which being then in the form of bottles, appeared, in their desire of entrance, to assault the door of Milo. The above story of the bottles probably suggested to Cervantes the dreadful combat which took place at an inn between Don Quixote and the wine skins, which he hacked to pieces, supposing all the while that he was cleaving down giants (book iv. c. 4).

Apuleius agreed to forgive Fotis the uneasiness she had occasioned, if she would promise to exhibit her mistress to him while engaged in one of her magical operations. On the following night Fotis came to him in great agitation, and informed him that her mistress was about to assume the shape of a bird, to fly to some object of her affections. Looking through an opening in the door, he saw Pamphile take out several bottles, and rub herself with an ointment

contained in one of them. Then having muttered certain words, her body is covered with feathers, her nails are lengthened into claws; and forthwith, in shape of an owl, she flies out of her chamber. Apuleius next requested Fotis that she would favour him with some of the ointment, that he might follow her mistress in the same form, to his restoration from which he understood nothing farther was necessary than a draught of spring water, mixed with anise and laurel leaves. Fotis, however, gave him a different ointment from that which she had intended, so that, instead of being changed into a bird, he assumed the figure of an Ass. In this shape he retains his former feelings and understanding, but is told by Fotis that he cannot be restored to the human form but by eating rose leaves.

The remainder of the story is occupied with the search of Apuleius after this valuable article, and the hardships he suffers under the degraded form to which he was reduced; a part of the work, which seems in its literal signification to have suggested the idea of such compositions as the Adventures of a Lap-dog, the Perambulations of a Mouse, &c.

Apuleius in the first place descended to the stable, where he was very roughly treated by his own horse, and the ass of Milo. In a corner of his new habitation he perceived the shrine of Hippona, the goddess of stables, adorned with fresh-gathered roses; but in attempting to pluck them he was beat back with many blows by his own groom, who felt indignant at the meditated sacrilege.

At this instant Milo's dwelling was broken into by robbers, who, having pillaged the house, loaded the horse and the two asses which they found in the stable with the booty. Apuleius observed several rose bushes in a garden through which he passed on his way to the habitation of the banditti; but restrained himself from partaking of their flowers, lest he should be murdered by his new masters on resuming the human figure [l. 3]. After a long journey, and when almost ready to sink under the weight of his burden, he arrived at the abode of the robbers. This residence is described in a manner extremely similar to the habitations of banditti, in all modern romances. We have the rugged mountain, impenetrable forest, inaccessible



rocks, and even the solid and lofty tower, with the subterraneous cavern. In this frightful abode supper was served up by an old woman, who was the only domestic; and during the repast another troop arrived bearing a rich booty.

At daybreak the band set out on a new expedition, and returned a few hours afterwards with a young lady as their prize, whom they consigned to the care of the old woman. She informed this hag that she had been carried off on the day of her nuptials with a young man, to whom she was much attached. The old woman, to alleviate her distress, entertained her with a story which she said was taken from the Milesian fables, and which is the celebrated tale of Cupid and Psyche [l. 4].<sup>1</sup>

Apuleius was employed in different expeditions with the robbers; he also made several attempts to escape from their power, which proved abortive [l. 6]. At length, one of their number, who had been left in the town where Milo resided, returned to his band, and informed them that they were not not suspected of the robbery, which had been laid to the charge of a person of the name of Apuleius, who had forged letters from a friend of Milo, and had disappeared after pillaging the house. He also introduced a stranger, who represented himself as the celebrated robber Hemus, the terror of all Thessaly; and who, of consequence, was gladly chosen the leader of the banditti. Apuleius, by attending to the conversation which passed between this person and the young lady, discovered that the pretended outlaw was her husband, who had assumed a false character, in order to effect her escape. This he accomplished one evening by intoxicating his companions, when, having bound them with cords, and placed his bride on the back of Apuleius, he returned with her to the town in which she had formerly resided.

There is a striking coincidence of the occurrences at the habitation of the robbers with some of the early incidents in *Gil Blas*. The gloomy habitation of the robbers—the manner in which it is secured—the revelry of the banditti—the old woman by whom they are attended—the arrival

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 107, etc.

of a new troop during the entertainment—the captivity of the young lady and final escape, are, I think, resemblances too strong to have been merely accidental.

The new master of Apuleius, in gratitude for the service he had rendered, determined he should be sent to his mares in the country, to aid in the propagation of mules. Unfortunately the groom he was entrusted to had a wife, who totally marred the amorous expectations of Apuleius, by setting him to turn a mill. Nor was his situation improved when the groom, at length recollecting his orders, sent him on the service to which he was originally destined; as he met with a most inhospitable reception from some horses who were his fellow suitors.

After this mortification, Apuleius was employed to bring burdens of wood from the mountains, under the guidance of a boy, who treated him with the utmost cruelty, and spread such a report of his mischievous disposition, that he was at the point of being for ever disqualified for the multiplication of mules [l. 7]. Intelligence, however, opportunely arrived that his master had been treacherously murdered by a former lover of his wife's, and that this lady, after taking a savage revenge on her perfidious admirer, had laid violent hands on herself. On receiving this intelligence, the groom pillaged his master's house in the country, loaded Apuleius with the booty, and fled with the rustics who were his accomplices. In the course of their journey through a wild and desolate country, they met with various adventures; and at length arrived in a populous town, where the groom resolved to fix his residence. Here Apuleius was purchased by an old eunuch, one of the priests of the Syrian goddess. While in his possession he was witness to the dreadful debaucheries of the ministers of that divinity; and inadvertently braying with astonishment at their excesses, one of the neighbours, who had lost an ass, burst into the house, which rendered public the infamy of these wretches.

In consequence of this exposure, the eunuchs were obliged to remove to another town, whither Apuleius, bearing the statue of the Syrian goddess, accompanied them. Here they lodged in the house of one of the inhabitants, who had a great veneration for that deity. A dog

unfortunately ran off with a haunch of venison, with which he had intended to entertain her votaries. The cook proposed to hang himself in despair, but his wife persuaded him to leave that operation as his last resource, and meanwhile to substitute an ass's leg in room of the one he had lost. Apuleius having understood that he was the intended victim [l. 8], rushed into the hall where the host was entertaining the priest, and overset the tables. A report having been circulated that a mad dog had been seen in the stable, this act of Apuleius was ascribed to hydrophobia; and he would have been sacrificed to this suspicion, if he had not instantly drunk some water from a vase.

The eunuchs soon after removed, and in travelling about with them, Apuleius heard the recital of the tale concerning the tub which forms the second story of the seventh day of the Decameron. Apuleius at length was sold at the market of one of the towns through which he passed, to a baker, who meets with the adventure related by Boccaccio in the tenth novel of the fifth day [l. 9]. He next fell into the possession of a gardener, from whom he was forcibly carried off by a Roman soldier, and sold to two brothers who lived together; the one being the cook, and the other the pastry-cook, of a man of wealth and importance. When they went out they made it a rule to lock the door of the tent in which they baked and dressed victuals, and left only their ass in it. At their return they invariably found that the pastry and other provisions had disappeared. As the ass always left his corn and hay unconsumed, he became an object of suspicion; and being watched one day by the brothers, was detected at his dainty repast. The cooks were much entertained with the spectacle, and the account of this piece of epicurism having reached the ears of their master, Thyasus, Apuleius was purchased by him, and taught a variety of tricks by one of his freedmen. The possession of this singular animal threw much lustre on the proprietor, in the estimation of his fellow-citizens, and he was in consequence appointed chief magistrate of Corinth for five consecutive years.

Apuleius was also of great value to the freedman who had charge of him, as he was exhibited for money to the

inhabitants. He received besides frequent visits from ladies, which, at their solicitation, he was privately sent to return.<sup>1</sup>

A splendid fête was now given by his master, in honour of his election to the magistracy. The judgment of Paris was represented, and Apuleius was destined to act a principal part in a species of afterpiece, which was by no means consonant to his feelings as a public exhibition.

He fled, unperceived, to the fields, and having galloped for three leagues, he came to a retired spot on the shore of the sea. The moon, which was in full splendour, and the awful silence of the night, inspired him with sentiments of devotion. He purified himself in the manner prescribed by Pythagoras, and addressed a long prayer to the great goddess Isis. In the course of the night she appeared to him in a dream; and, after giving a strange account of herself, announced to him the end of his misfortunes; but demanded, in return, the consecration of his whole life to her service. When he awakens from this dream, he feels confirmed in the resolution of aspiring to a life of virtue. On this change of disposition, and conquest over his passions, the author finely represents all Nature as assuming a new face of cheerfulness and gaiety. “*Tanta hilaritudine, præter peculiarem meam, gestire mihi cuncta videbantur, ut pecua etiam cujuscemodi, et totas domos, et ipsam diem serena facie gaudere sentirem*” [l. 11].

While in this frame of mind, Apuleius perceived an innumerable multitude advancing towards the shore, to celebrate the festival of Isis. Amid the crowd of priests he remarked the sovereign pontiff, with a crown of roses on his head; and approached to pluck them. The pontiff, yielding to a secret inspiration, held forth the garland. Apuleius resumed his former figure, and the promise of the goddess was fulfilled. He was then initiated into her rites, returned to Rome, and devoted himself to her service. This information, he remarks, will not surprise those who know that he is decurion of the temple of Osiris,

<sup>1</sup> See *La Pucelle*, chant. xx. note 4. “*L’âne d’Apulée (says Voltaire) ne parla point; il ne put jamais prononcer que Oh et non: mais il eut une bonne fortune avec une dame, comme on peut le voir dans l’Apuleius en deux volumes in 4° cum notis ad usum Delphini.*”—LIEB.



and who are not ignorant that Isis and Osiris are one divinity [l. 11].<sup>1</sup>

Apuleius was finally invited to a more mystic and solemn initiation, by the goddess herself, who rewarded him for his accumulated piety, by an abundance of temporal blessings.

Such is the general outline of the subject of the Golden Ass, which the contemporaries of the author, and critics of the succeeding age, regarded as a trivial fable, written with the sole intention of amusing the vulgar: "Quibus fabulis," says Macrobius, "Apuleium nonnunquam lusisse miramur." At an early, though subsequent period, a very different opinion was adopted. It was no longer questioned that Apuleius had some profound intention; but it was not agreed in what his aim consisted. St. Augustine [De Civ. Dei. xviii., 18,] permitted himself to doubt whether the account given by Apuleius of his change into an ass, was not a true relation. "Aut *indicavit*," says he, "aut *finxit*." The popular sentiment was, that the work was chiefly intended as a satire on the vices of the author's countrymen; and that, in imitation of a great predecessor, he had been too anxious to particularize the maladies which he wished to remedy. Beroaldus, the learned commentator on Apuleius, imagines the transformation into an ass to signify that man becomes brutified when immersed in sensual pleasures; but that when roses are tasted, by which science and wisdom are typified, he returns to religion and virtue;—a change which is allegorically painted by a restoration to the human form.

In his "Divine Legation of Moses" [Book iv. § 4], Dr. Warburton has entered into much learned and ingenious, though often far-fetched speculation, on this subject. He introduces this topic, (which, at first sight, seems to bear a very remote analogy to the mission of the Jewish legislator,) while attempting to demonstrate that all nations

<sup>1</sup> The remark placed in the mouth of Apuleius by Dunlop probably refers to the passage (Ed. Oudendorp, l. xi. p. 817):—"Osiris . . . ne sacris suis gregi cetero permixtus deservirem, in collegium me Pastophorum suorum, immo inter ipsos Decurionum quinquennales elegit." And (ibid., p. 811) "Connexa, immo vero unica ratio numinis religionisque."  
—LIEB.

have inculcated the general doctrine of a Providence, and the belief in a future state of rewards and punishments, by some circumstantial and popular method, as the Institution of Mysteries. The learned prelate contends that the author had conceived an inveterate dislike to the Christian religion. He proves, from several passages in the *Apology*, another work of Apuleius, that his brother-in-law, by whom he was prosecuted on a charge of magic, was of this persuasion; and in the *Golden Ass*, the vices of the baker's wife are summed up, by informing us that she was a Christian [l. 9];—hence his prepossession in favour of the pagan worship was increased, and he was induced to compose a work for the express purpose of extolling this superstition, and recommending an initiation into its mysteries, as a remedy for all vices whatever. On this system, the author of the *Divine Legation* proceeds to explain the prominent incidents of the romance. The ancients believed that a deliverance from a living death of brutality and vice, and a return to a new existence of virtue and happiness, which form the principal subject of the *Golden Ass*, might be effected by initiation into the mysteries. Byrrhena is the representation of virtue; Apuleius refuses her invitation, and gives way to his passion for pleasure and magic, till the crimes and follies into which they lead him, end in his transformation to a brute; in which shape every change of condition makes his situation more wretched and contemptible. The description of the enormities committed by the priests of Cybele is intended as a contrast to the pure rites of Isis. Roses, by which the restoration to the human form is effected, were, among the ancients, symbols of silence; a requisite quality of the initiated, particularly among the Egyptians, who worshipped Harpocrates, the first-born of Isis:—hence the statues of Isis were crowned with chaplets of these flowers, and hence the phrase, “under the rose,” has become in modern times proverbial. The solemn initiation, which is fully described, and the account of which concludes the work, agrees with what other writers have delivered concerning the mysteries.

If the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius was written, as Warburton believes, in support of the pagan worship, it is

perhaps strange that its author should have chosen, as a prototype, the Ass of Lucian; which, like many other works of that satirist, was intended to ridicule the heathen mythology. Both compositions derived their origin from the writings of Lucius Patrensis,<sup>1</sup> which are not now extant; but are supposed to have been an account of metamorphoses according to the popular theology. One of these transformations was, for the sake of ridicule, adopted by Lucian in his Ass; which, though the leading incidents are the same, is a mere sketch or outline of the Golden Ass of the Roman. Thus Apuleius has added the story of the assassination of the bottles, and the mock trial which ensued. He has also given a serious and sacred air to the restoration to the human form, which Lucian accidentally effects by plucking some roses from a bystander, when condemned to an exhibition similar to that from which Apuleius escaped. The long description of the initiation into the mysteries, is substituted for the ludicrous incident which terminates the adventures of Lucian; who having, in his original shape, sought refuge with a lady in whose sight he often found favour as an ass, was turned out with disgrace on account of the diminution of his charms.

The Golden Ass is also enriched with numerous episodes, which are the invention of Apuleius, or at least are not to be found in the work of Lucian. Of these, the best known, and by far the most beautiful, is the story of

### CUPID AND PSYCHE,

which is related by the female servant of the banditti to the young lady whom they had taken captive [l. 4, 5, 6].

A certain king had three daughters, of whom the youngest and most lovely was named Psyche. Her charms indeed were so wonderful, that her father's subjects began to adore and pay her the homage which should have been reserved for Venus. The exasperated goddess commands her son to avenge her on this rival, by inspiring Psyche with a passion for some unworthy object; but while employed in this design, Cupid himself becomes enamoured

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 16.

of the princess. Meanwhile, in obedience to the response of an oracle, Psyche is exposed on a barren rock, where she is destined to become the prey of a monster. From this hapless situation she is borne by the commissioned Zephyr, who wafts her to a green and delightful valley. Here she enjoys a refreshing sleep; and on awakening perceives a grove, in the centre of which was a fountain, and near the fountain a splendid palace. The roof of this structure was supported by golden pillars, the walls were covered with silver, and every species of animal was represented in exquisite statuary at the portal: Psyche enters this edifice, where a splendid feast is prepared; she hears a voice inviting her to partake of this repast, but no one appears. After this sumptuous banquet is removed, she listens to a delightful concert, which proceeds from unseen musicians. In this enchanting residence she is espoused and visited every night by Cupid. Her husband, who was ever invisible, forbids her to attempt to see him; adding, that her happiness depended on obedience to the prohibition. In these circumstances Cupid, at her earnest solicitation, reluctantly agrees to bring her sisters to the palace. These relatives, being envious of the happiness of their younger sister, try to persuade her that her husband is a serpent, by whom she would be ultimately devoured. Psyche, though by this time she should have been sufficiently qualified to judge how far this suspicion was well founded, resolves to satisfy herself of the truth by oracular demonstration. Bearing a lamp in one hand, and a dagger in the other to destroy him should he prove a monster, she approaches the couch of her husband while he is asleep. In the agitation produced by the view of his angelic form, she allows a drop of scalding oil to fall on his shoulder. The irritated god flies from her presence, and leaves her a prey to remorse and despair. The enchanted garden and the gorgeous palace vanish along with him. Psyche finds herself alone and solitary on the banks of a river. Under the protection of Pan she wanders through the country, and successively arrives at the kingdom of her sisters, by each of whom she is repulsed. The victim equally of the rage of Venus and of her son, she roams through all regions of the earth in search of the celestial lover whose favour



she had forfeited. She is also subjected to various trials by Venus, one of which is to bring water from a fountain guarded by ever-watchful dragons. Jupiter, at length, takes pity on her misfortunes, endows her with immortality, and confirms her union with her forgiving husband. On this occasion the Hours empurple the sky with roses; the Graces shed aromatic odours through the celestial halls; Apollo accompanies the lyre with his voice; the god of Arcadia touches his sylvan reeds; and the Muses join in the chorus.

This allegory is supposed by some writers to be founded on an obscure tradition of the fall of man, and to form an emblem of his temptation, transgression, repentance, and subsequent reception into the favour of the godhead. Its meaning, however, is probably more restricted, and only comprehends the progress of the soul to perfection, the possession of divine love, and reward of immortality. From the earliest times the influence of religious sentiments has been typified by the hopes and fears of an amatory attachment. This style of composition was adopted by the rhapsodists of Hindostan and Persia, and bewitched the luxuriant imagination of the wisest of mankind.<sup>1</sup> Bryant, in his *Analysis of Ancient Mythology* (vol. ii. 388), informs us that one of the emblems among the Egyptians was Psyche ( $\Psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ ), who, though represented as a beautiful female, was originally no other than the Aurelia, or butterfly, an insect which remains in a state of torpor during winter, but at the return of spring comes forth with new life, and in beautiful attire. This was deemed a picture of the soul of man, and of the immortality to which he aspired; and more particularly of Osiris, who, after being confined in a coffin, enjoyed a renewal of life. This second birth is described under the character of Psyche, and as it was the fruit of divine love, of which Eros was

<sup>1</sup> See Benfey *Pantschatantra*, i. 255. Schopenhauer was led to the same conclusion upon internal evidence (*Parerga*, ii. 444). Niehbuhr (*Kleine Schriften*, 2te Samml., p. 263) seems to consider Italy as the original home of the fable. Dr. Zinzow (*Rohde ueber Lucian*, p. 18) sees a radically Greek impress in the legend, and considers it is, at least in the form it is found in in Apuleius, as genuinely Milesian. There is said to be a distinct parallel to the Story of Eros and Psyche in the folk tales of Zululand. See also, *infra*, note to Perrault.

the emblem, we find him often introduced as a concomitant of Psyche<sup>1</sup>.

Whatever may be the concealed meaning of the allegory, the story of Cupid and Psyche is certainly a beautiful fiction. Of this, the number of translations and imitations may be considered as a proof. Mr. Rose, in the notes to his version of *Partenopex de Blois*, has pointed out its striking resemblance to that romance, as also to the *Three Calendars*, and to one of the *Persian Tales*.<sup>2</sup> The prohibi-

<sup>1</sup> The archæological as well as the symbolical aspect of the legend will be found treated at length in Dr. A. Zinzow's "*Psyche und Eros*," *Ein Milesisches Märchen*, etc., Halle, 1881. The fable has been explained in many ways ever since the interpretation of Fulgentius (sect. vi.), which is the earliest that has come down to us.

<sup>2</sup> The parallelism which has been pointed out by Grimm and others between the classic Romance and the tale of the Woodcutter's Daughter appended to the collection of Indian stories, called *Somadeva Bhatta* (German translation by H. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1843, Th. ii. p. 190), cannot be overlooked. See also Hildebrand's edition of *Apuleius*, p. xxvii., etc.

The story of the woodcutter's daughter is here given for the English reader :—

In an Eastern realm lived a poor woodcutter, Nur Singh, with his wife and his daughter Tulisa. When the beautiful Tulisa was grown up she went one day into the wood, and as she approached a ruined fountain, a voice called her by name, and asked thrice if she would be his wife. She sought her father, who consented, in view of the wealth which was promised to him. As the nuptial day drew nigh precious bridal gifts were borne into the hut by unseen hands. The bride, beautifully arrayed, came with her parents to the fountain. First, the father had to place upon Tulisa's finger a ring, which came floating through the air. Then a splendid repast was made in tent hard by; and at last appeared a litter, which the bride entered with fear and hesitation. Unseen carriers bore her away. The parents followed, and arrived at a valley where stood a great palace, through whose doors the litter disappeared; so they turned back home, with their minds at ease.

The woodcutter became rich, but was calumniated by his envious neighbours, thrown into prison, and condemned by the king to death. On the morrow, when the sentence was to be enforced, all the inhabitants were slain by serpents. The woodcutter and the king alone in the city remained alive. Upon the prayer of the king, the woodcutter summoned his invisible son-in-law; and the serpents were commanded to revive the slain by the means known alone to them (in Spring time).

Meanwhile Tulisa lived very happily with her spouse, whom she (like Psyche) saw only at night; she was not at liberty to quit the palace, where, however, all delights were provided for her. Once she rescued a

tion of Cupid, and the transgression of Psyche, has suggested the *Serpentin Vert* of *Mad. d'Aulnoy*; indeed the labours to which Psyche is subjected seem to be the origin

squirrel which she saw pursued by a larger animal, and the squirrel became her friend. Nevertheless she languished for intercourse with mortals. One day she beheld from her window an old woman, who implored her to be allowed to enter. She was moved by her entreaties, and let down a sheet from the window, by means of which the old woman mounted. The old woman counselled her to beg her husband to eat out of the same dish with her. In the evening *Tulisa* did so. Her spouse consented, but eat nothing. Some time afterwards another old woman came in the same way to her, who counselled her to ask her husband to give her as a sign of his love a betel leaf to chew, and hand her food. But again he evaded her. A third old woman advised her to ask her husband his name. He conjured her to refrain from doing this, as it would bring ruin upon her: but she persisted. At last he brought her to a river brink, and, as she still persisted in her question, he went slowly, ever repeating his request, into the water, until only his head and shoulders were visible. And as she still persevered, he cried out, "My name is *Basnak Dow*!" Then a serpent's head rose from the water, and he sank in the stream; and we see the nether god of Light thus sinks beneath the flood, separated from her by the earth goddess.

*Tulisa* now stood again (in her earthly nature) in her torn garments; her palace had disappeared, and she found her parents, too, in their old poverty. Their complaints and reproaches pained her in the poverty to which she had grown unaccustomed, and still more she herself yearned for the bliss she had lost. Once she fell asleep in the forest, whither she had returned as of yore to collect wood, and there, as she awoke, she heard two squirrels conversing. From them she learned that the wicked mother of her husband had regained all her power, in consequence of the mortal spouse of her son having been persuaded by her confederate *Sarkasoukis*, disguised as an old woman, to ask after his name; that he had now, according to his netherworld nature, become King of Snakes; and there was but one means to give back to *Basnak Dow* his former power, viz., for *Tulisa* (as Goddess of Moonlight) to go eastwards, until she reached a broad stream teeming with snakes. This she must swim across, and seek on the opposite bank the nest of the bird *Huma*, and place its egg in her breast until it should be hatched. Then she must go to the palace of her wicked mother-in-law, the goddess of the under world, and offer her services. If she is unable to perform the task exacted of her, she will be devoured by serpents, and remain with her husband in the under world, according to her earthly nature.

*Tulisa* set out on her (Moon) wandering as she reached the Snake River (*Milky Way*), which she crossed unharmed on a raft, which she constructed of reeds and pitchers, and encouraged by two squirrels. Bees and squirrels conducted her to the *Huma's* nest, whose egg she disposed of as directed. At last she reaches the palace of the queen, whom she finds lying upon cushions, with the green snake round her neck. *Tulisa's* first (Spring) task, to collect in a crystal vase the

of all fairy tales, particularly *Gracieuse et Percinet*.<sup>1</sup> The whole story has also been beautifully versified by Marino in his poem *L'Adone*. Cupid is introduced in the fourth book relating it for the amusement of Adonis, and he tells it in such a manner as to form the most pleasing episode of that delightful poem. I need not mention the well-known imitation by Fontaine, nor the drama of *Psyche*, which was performed with the utmost magnificence at Paris in 1670, and is usually published in the works of Molière, but was in fact the effort of the united genius of that author, Corneille, Quinault, and Lulli.

Nor have the fine arts less contributed to the embellishment of this fable: the marriage of Cupid and *Psyche* has furnished Raphael with a series of paintings, which are among the finest of his works, and which adorn the walls of the Farnese Palace in the vicinity of Rome. In one compartment he has represented the council of the gods deliberating on the nuptials—in another the festival of the reconciliation. The frieze and casements are painted with the sufferings of *Psyche*, and the triumphs of Cupid over each individual god.

The monuments, too, of ancient sculpture represented Cupid and *Psyche* in the various circumstances of their adventures.<sup>2</sup> It is from an ancient intaglio, a fine onyx in

fragrance of a thousand blossoms, which grew in a garden enclosed with high walls. Unnumbered bees brought each their little bag of scent, and the vase was soon filled. Next day a large vessel of seed was given her, from which she was to make a set of jewels. Squirrels came trooping to her, put gems in the vessel, and took a similar number of seeds out, so that every seed on the earth was changed to a gem. This second task fulfilled, Tulisa learns from her friends the squirrels that Sarkasukis can only be prevented from entering the castle by burning certain herbs. Tulisa fumigates incessantly, until the young Huma, the Spring-bird-god, is hatched. He grew with incredible rapidity; flew to the queen's shoulder; pecked out the eyes of the green (Winter) serpent. The queen shrieked; Sarkasukis fell to earth as a hideous devil. Long processions of genii, of (new born) squirrels, and (moulted snakes) bore their ruler, Basnak Dow (the new-born Spring-god of Light and the Earth), up from the deep (to his recovered throne). And Tulisa is reunited with him as queen of a spiritual world (in heaven and on earth), and her parents received their lost wealth again. See *supp. note*.

<sup>1</sup> See *Cinderella*, *La Belle au Bois*, Ranking, Streams, Lond. 1872.

<sup>2</sup> In this connection should be mentioned the *Eros* in the British Museum, which has been ascribed to Praxiteles, and the *Psyche* in the



possession of the Duke of Marlborough, and from another, of which there is a print in Spence's "Polymetis," that Darwin has drawn his beautiful picture in the fourth canto of the *Botanic Garden* :—

So pure, so soft, with sweet attraction shone  
 Fair Psyche kneeling at the ethereal throne,  
 Won with coy smile the admiring court of Jove,  
 And warmed the bosom of unconquered Love.  
 Beneath a moving shade of fruits and flowers,  
 Onward they march to Hymen's sacred bowers ;  
 With lifted torch he lights the festive train  
 Sublime, and leads them in his golden chain ;  
 Joins the fond pair, indulgent to their vows,  
 And hides with mystic veil their blushing brows.  
 Round their fair forms their mingling arms they fling,  
 Meet with warm lip, and clasp with rustling wing.

Museum at Naples, a fine example of Græco-Roman art. Both works are unfortunately mutilated.

The first rendering of Apuleius into English was not until the year 1566, but the book must have taken a very speedy hold upon the public fancy. For shortly after 1579 we find Stephen Gosson, a precursor of Prynne and Jeremy Collier, stigmatizing the *Golden Asse* amongst the books which he mentions as having "been thoroughly ransackt to furnish the Playhouses." There seems no evidence, however, for this sweeping statement of any greater foundation than the fact, for which he vouches, of a play on the subject of Cupid and Psyche having been "played at Paules," and probably no other portion of the book was dramatized.

The quarto first edition of 1566, translated by William Adlington, was reprinted in 1571, 1596, 1600, and 1639. An octavo edition, now very rare, was published in 1582. A translation by J. Lockman was published in 1744, another by Thomas Taylor in 1822, and another by Sir G. Head in 1851. An English edition of the works of Apuleius was published in 1853 by Mr. Bohn. Of the poetical treatment of the Myth in England, the first instance (apart from that lost play cited above) would seem to be Cupid's Courtship; or, the Celebration of a Marriage between the God of Love and Psyche, mentioned by Hazlitt. This was followed in 1637 by S. Marmion's "A Morall Poem, intituled the Legend of Cupid and Psyche, etc.," and in 1799 by a now forgotten poem by Mr. Hudson Gurney. Mrs. Tighe, in the year 1805, produced a poem on the same subject, which went through two later editions. This, as well as Mr. Gurney's poem, are affixed to Mr. Bohn's edition, already mentioned. But it was reserved for our own times to give the worthy rendering of the story in the poem of Cupid and Psyche, with which Mr. William Morris opens the second volume of his *Earthly Paradise*. See B. M. Ranking, *Streams from Hidden Sources*. Lond., 1872. See *supp. note* at end of vol.

## CHAPTER III.

ORIGIN OF ROMANTIC FICTION IN EUROPE.—ROMANCES OF CHIVALRY RELATING TO THE EARLY AND FABULOUS HISTORY OF BRITAIN, PARTICULARLY TO ARTHUR AND THE KNIGHTS OF THE ROUND TABLE.—MERLIN.—SAINT-GRAAL.—PERCEVAL.—LANCELOT DU LAC.—MELIADUS.—TRISTAN.—ISAIE LE TRISTE.—ARTUS.—GYRON.—PERCEFOREST.—ARTUS DE LA BRETAGNE.—CLERIADUS.

FABULOUS narrative, we have seen in a former part of this work, like almost every one of the arts of man, originated in the desire of perfecting and improving nature, of rendering the great more vast, the rich more splendid, and the gay more beautiful. It removed, as it were, from the hands of fortune the destinies of mankind, rewarded virtue and valour with success, and covered treachery and baseness with opprobrium.

It was soon perceived that men sympathize not with armies or nations, but with individuals; and the poet who sung the fall of empires, was forced to place a few in a prominent light, with whose success or misfortunes his hearers might be affected, while they were altogether indifferent to the rout or dissection of the crowds by which they were followed. At length, it was thought, that narratives might be composed where the interest should only be demanded for one or two individuals, whose adventures, happiness, or misery, might of themselves afford delight. The experiment was attended with success; and as men sympathize most readily with events which may occur to themselves, or the situations in which they have been, or may be, the incidents of fiction derived their character from the manners of the age. In a gay and luxurious country stories of love became acceptable. Hence the Grecian novels were composed, and as, in relating the ad-

ventures of the lovers, it was natural to depict what might really have taken place, the general features of the times, the inroads of pirates, religious ceremonies, etc. were chiefly delineated. The ascetic habits of the monks in like manner gave rise to spiritual romance, and the notion of tranquillity in the fields of Greece may have suggested the beautiful rural images portrayed in the pastoral of Longus.

Now, when, by some great convulsion, a vast change is effected in manners, the incidents of fiction will necessarily be changed also; first, because the former occurrences become less natural, and, secondly, give less delight. From the very nature then of domestic fiction, it must vary with the forms and habits and customs of society, which it must picture as they occur successively,

“And catch the manners living as they rise.”

Never, in the annals of the human race, did a greater change of manners take place than in the middle ages, and accordingly, we must be prepared to expect a prodigious alteration in the character of fictitious literature, which, we have seen, may be expected to vary with the manners it would describe. But not only was there a change in the nature of the characters themselves, and the adventures which occurred to them, but a very peculiar style of embellishment was adopted, which, as it does not seem to have any necessary connection with the characters or adventures it was employed to adorn, has given the historians of literature no little labour to explain. The species of machinery, such as giants, dragons, and enchanted castles, which forms the seasoning of the adventures of chivalry, has been distinguished by the name of Romantic Fiction; and we shall now proceed to discuss the various systems which have been formed to account for its origin.

Different theories have been suggested for the purpose of explaining the origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe. The subject is curious, but is involved in much darkness and uncertainty.

To the northern Scalds, to the Arabians, to the people of Armorica or Britany, and to the classical tales of antiquity, has been successively ascribed the origin of those

extraordinary fables, which have been "so wildly disfigured in the romances of chivalry, and so elegantly adorned by the Italian Muse."

In the investigation of this subject, a considerable confusion seems to have arisen, from the supporters of the respective systems having blended those elements of romance which ought to be referred to separate origins. They have mixed together, or at least they have made no proper distinction between, three things, which seem, in their elementary principles at least, to be totally unconnected. 1. The arbitrary fictions of romance, by which I mean the embellishments of dragons, enchanters, etc. 2. That spirit of enterprise and adventure which pervaded all the tales of chivalry. 3. The historical materials, if they deserve that name, relating to Arthur and Charlemagne, which form the ground-work of so large a proportion of this class of compositions.

In treating this subject it will therefore be proper to consider, 1. The origin of those wild and improbable fictions, those supernatural ornaments, which form the machinery of Romance, and which alone should be termed Romantic Fiction. 2. The rise of that spirit of chivalry which gave birth to the eagerness for single combat, the fondness for roaming in search of adventures, and the obligation of protecting and avenging the fair; and, lastly, we shall consider how these fabulous embellishments, and this spirit of adventure, were appropriated to the story of individual knights, and treat of those materials concerning Arthur and the Round Table, and the Peers of Charlemagne, whose exploits, real or fictitious, have formed the subject of romance.

I. One theory (which, I believe, was first adopted by M. Mallet<sup>1</sup>) is, that what are termed the arbitrary fictions of romance, have been exclusively derived from the northern Scalds. This system has been strenuously maintained by subsequent writers, and particularly by Dr. Percy,<sup>2</sup> who observes, that the Scalds originally performed the functions of historians, by recording the victories and genealogies of their princes in a kind of narrative song. When history,

<sup>1</sup> Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarck.

<sup>2</sup> Reliques of Ant. Eng. Poetry, vol. iii. p. 3.



by being committed to prose, assumed a more stable and more simple form, and was taken out of their hands, it became their business chiefly to entertain and delight. Hence they embellished their recitals with marvellous fictions, calculated to allure the gross and ignorant minds of their audience. Long before the time of the crusades, they believed in the existence of giants and dwarfs, in spells and enchantments. These became the ornaments of their works of imagination, and they also invented combats with dragons and monsters, and related stories of the adventures of knights with giants and sorcerers.

Besides this assumption, Dr. Percy also maintains, that the spirit of chivalry, the eagerness after adventure, and the extravagant courtesy, which are its chief characteristics, existed among the northern nations long before the introduction of the feudal system, or the establishment of knighthood as a regular order.

These fictions and ideas, he asserts, were introduced into Normandy by the Scalds, who probably attended the army of Rollo in its migration to that province from the north. The skill of these bards was transmitted to their successors the minstrels, who adopted the religion and opinions of the new countries. In place of their pagan ancestors they substituted the heroes of Christendom, whose feats they embellished with the Scaldic fictions of giants and enchanters. Such stories were speedily propagated through France, and by an easy transition passed into England after the Norman Conquest.

A *second hypothesis*, which was first suggested by Salmasius,<sup>1</sup> and which has been followed out by Mr. T. Warton,<sup>2</sup> ascribes to the Saracens the foundation of romantic fiction. It had at one time been a received opinion in Europe, that the wonders of Arabian imagination were first communicated to the western world by means of the crusades; but Mr. Warton, while he argues that these expeditions tended greatly to propagate this mode of fabling, contends that these fictions were introduced at a much earlier period by the Arabians, who, in the beginning of the eighth century, settled in Spain. Through

<sup>1</sup> See Huet, de l'Orig. d. Rom., p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. i. pp. 91, etc. ed. 1871.

that country they disseminated those extravagant inventions peculiar to their fertile genius. Those creations of fancy, the natural offspring of a warm and luxuriant climate, were eagerly received, and colder imaginations were kindled by the presence of these enlivening visitors. The ideal tales of the eastern invaders, recommended by a brilliancy of description hitherto unknown to the barren fancy of those who inhabited a western region, were rapidly diffused through the continent of Europe. From Spain, by the communication of commercial intercourse through the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, they passed into France. In the latter kingdom they received the earliest and most welcome reception in the district of Armorica or Britany. That province had been largely peopled by a colony of Welsh, who had emigrated thither in the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> Hence a close connection subsisted between Wales and Britany for many ages. The fables current in the latter country were collected by W. Map, Archdeacon of Oxford, who presented them to Geoffrey of Monmouth. His Latin Chronicle, compiled from these materials, forms one of the principal sources of tales of chivalry, and consists entirely of Arabian inventions.

Mr. Warton [p. 103, etc.] next proceeds to point out the coincidence between fictions undoubtedly Arabic, and the machinery of the early romances. He concludes with maintaining, that if Europe was in any way indebted to the Scalds for the extravagant stories of giants and monsters, these fables must still be referred to an eastern origin, and must have found their way into the north of Europe along with an Asiatic nation, who, soon after Mithridates had been overthrown by Pompey, fled from the dominion of the Romans, and under the conduct of Odin settled in Scandinavia.

These two systems, which may be termed the Gothic and the Arabian, are those which have found the most numerous supporters. As far as relates to the supernatural

<sup>1</sup> The Chronicle of Mont St. Michael Abbey gives 513 as the period of this flight. "Anno 513, venerunt transmarini Britanni in Armoriam, id est Minorem Britanniam." The ancient Saxon poet (apud Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Script.* ii. p. 148) also peoples Bretagne after the Saxon conquest.—TURNER.

ornaments of romance (for it is this branch alone that is at present to be considered,) the two theories, though very different, are by no means incompatible. From a view of the character of Arabian and Gothic fiction, it appears that neither is exclusively entitled to the credit of having given birth to the wonders of romance. The early framers of the tales of chivalry may be indebted to the northern bards for those wild and terrible images congenial to a frozen region, and owe to Arabian invention that magnificence and splendour, those glowing descriptions and luxuriant ornaments, suggested by the enchanting scenery of an eastern climate.

And wonders wild of Arabesque combine  
With Gothic imagery of darker shade.

Warton's hypothesis of the flight of Odin from the Roman power to Scandinavia, and which exclusively assigns to the eastern nations all the fictions of romance, seems to rest on no solid foundation. Indeed Richardson, in the Preface to his Persian Dictionary, maintains that the whole was a mere Scaldic fable, invented to trace the origin of Gothic and Roman enmity, as the story of Dido and Æneas was supposed to account for the irreconcilable antipathy of Rome and Carthage.<sup>1</sup> Besides, no modification of climate and manners, strong as their influence may be, could have produced the prodigious difference that now appears between Oriental and Gothic or Northern fictions; for it cannot be denied, and indeed has been acknowledged by Mr. Warton,<sup>2</sup> that the fictions of the Arabians and Scalds are totally different. The fables and superstitions of the northern bards are of a darker shade, and more savage complexion, than those of the Arabians. There is something in their fictions that chills the imagination. The formidable objects of nature with which they were familiarized in their northern solitudes, their precipices, and frozen mountains, and gloomy forests, acted on their fancy, and gave a tincture of horror to their imagery. Spirits, who send storms over the deep, who rejoice in the shriek of the drowning mariner, or diffuse irresistible pestilence;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Herodotus, Bk. i. c. 1-6. where a similar account is given of the origin of the enmity of the Greeks and Persians.—LIEB.

<sup>2</sup> Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poet.*, pp. 115, etc. ed. 1871.

spells which preserve from poison, blunt the weapons of an enemy, or call up the dead from their tombs—these are the ornaments of northern poetry. The Arabian fictions are of a more splendid nature; they are less terrible indeed, but possess more variety and magnificence; they lead us through delightful forests, and raise up palaces glittering with gold and diamonds.<sup>1</sup>

But while it seems impossible to trace the wilder fictions of the north to an eastern source, it may be observed, on the other hand, that, allowing the early *Scaldic* odes to be genuine, we find in them no dragons, giants, magic rings, or enchanted castles.<sup>2</sup> These are only to be met with in the compositions of the bards, who flourished after the native vein of *Runic* fabling had been enriched by the tales of the *Arabians*. But if we look in vain to the early *Gothic* poetry for many of those fables which adorn the works of romancers, we shall easily find them in the ample field of oriental fiction. Thus the *Asiatic* romances and chemical works of the *Arabians* are full of enchantments, similar to those described in the *Spanish*, and even in the *French*, tales of chivalry. Magical rings were an important part of the eastern philosophy, and seem to have given rise to those which are of so much service to the *Italian* poets. In the eastern *Peris* we may trace the origin of the *European* fairies in their qualities, and perhaps in their name. The griffin, or hippogriff, of the *Italian* writers, seems to be the famous *Simurgh* of the *Persians*, which makes such a figure in the epic poems of *Saadi* and *Ferdusi*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Warton's "Hist. of Eng. Poetry."

<sup>2</sup> There is scarcely need to tell the reader of to-day that Dunlop's supposition that there are no dragons, giants, etc., in *Teutonic* mythology is erroneous. As will be evident upon perusal of the author's text, he envisages his subject entirely from its romance aspect, seldom troubling about *Germanic* fiction, and, indeed, apparently unacquainted with it. (See Appendix on German Fiction.) With reference to the difference between *Eastern* and *Western* Fiction, see *Grimm*, *Teutonic Mythology*, pp. 978, 980, 998, etc. Lond., 1883.

<sup>3</sup> "The bird *Simurg* has its marvellous nest upon *Mount Albur*, upon a peak that touches the sky, and which no man has ever yet seen. The child *Sal* is exposed upon this mountain; the *Simurg* hears his cry, pities him, and carries him to its solitary peak. When the boy grows up, and departs, the bird gives him one of its feathers which he is to burn, when in danger, and the *Simurg* will come to his assistance, and take



A great number of these romantic wonders were collected in the east by the numberless pilgrims and palmers who visited the Holy Land through curiosity, restlessness, or devotion, and who, returning from so great a distance, imposed every fiction on a believing audience. They were subsequently introduced into Europe by the fablers of France who took up arms, and followed their barons to the conquest of Jerusalem. At their return they imported into Europe the wonders they had heard, and enriched romance with an infinite variety of oriental fictions.

This mode of introduction of the eastern fables into Europe is much more natural than that pointed out by Mr. Warton. The Arabians were not only secluded from the other inhabitants of Spain, but were the objects of their deepest animosity; and hence the Castilians would not readily imbibe the fictions of their enemies. It is unfortunate too that the intermediate station from the Moorish dominions in Spain should be fixed in Armorica, one of the provinces of France most remote from Grenada.<sup>1</sup>

But if Armorica cannot without difficulty be adopted as a resting-place of romantic fiction, far less can it be considered its native soil, as has been assumed in a *third hypothesis*, maintained by Mr. Leyden in his Introduction to the Complaynt of Scotland. It is there argued, that a colony of Britons took refuge in Armorica during the fifth century, from the tyranny of the Saxons, and carried with them the archives which had escaped the fury of their conquerors.<sup>2</sup> The memory of Arthur and his knights was thus preserved in Armorica as fresh as in Wales or Cornwall; and the inhabitants of Armorica were the first people in France with whom the Normans had a friendly intercourse. Besides, the class of French romances relating to Charlemagne ascribed to that monarch the feats of Charles Martel, an Armorican chief, whose exploits would more probably be celebrated by the minstrels of his own country than by Turpin, or any other writer of fabulous

him back to his kingdom. The bird then carries the young hero to his father's palace." Cf. the Pentamerone, bk. iv. story 3. De Gubernatis, Zoological Mythology, Lond. 1872, ii. p. 190.

<sup>1</sup> But see, *infra*, Spanish Romance.

<sup>2</sup> See notes, pp. 118 and 144 of this vol.

chronicles. In short, all the French romances originated in Britany, and all the nations of Europe derived their tales of chivalry from the French.

I am far from meaning to deny that copious materials of fiction were amassed in Britany, and were thence disseminated through France and England; but it cannot be believed that the machinery of romance was created in a country, which, on the most favourable supposition, can only be regarded as a link in the chain of fiction; and far less can it be thought that this pitiful kingdom was the only cradle of that spirit of chivalry, which at one time pervaded all the nations of Europe.

In short, this Armorican system seems to have arisen from mistaking the collection of materials for the sources whence they derived their embellishment.<sup>1</sup>

IV. A *fourth hypothesis* has been suggested, which represents the machinery and colouring of fiction, the stories of enchanted gardens,<sup>2</sup> monsters, and winged steeds, which have been introduced into romance, as derived from the classical and mythological authors; and as being merely the ancient stories of Greece, grafted on modern manners, and modified by the customs of the day. The classical authors, it is true, were in the middle ages scarcely known; but the superstitions they inculcated had been prevalent for too long a period, and had made too deep impression on the mind, to be easily obliterated. The mythological ideas which still lingered behind, were diffused in a multitude of popular works. In the Travels of Sir John Mandeville,

<sup>1</sup> See San Marthe (*Die Arthur-Sage und die Märchen des Rothen Buchs von Hergest*, pp. 37, etc.), who, with De la Rue in his *Essai sur les Bardes et Jongleurs Anglo-Normands*. p. 57, and Villemarqué (*Contes*, i. p. 11, etc.), considers the home of these romantic fictions to be Britany, where they, as well as their fabulous embellishments, arose from the popular beliefs. (See Huet, *Orig. des Rom.*, p. 155; Ritson, *Ancient Metrical Romances*, i. p. xix, etc.)

See also Caylus, *Orig. de l'ancienne Chevalerie et des anciens Romans*, in *Hist. de l'Acad. des Insc.*, t. xxiii. p. 237. See also Warton's "*History of English Poetry*," ed. by W. C. Hazlitt, London, 1871, vol. i. p. 91, note, and T. Wright, *Latin Stories*, Berington, pp. 230-31, and Hallam, *Introduction to Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth centuries*. § 54, etc.

<sup>2</sup> See Notes on Albertus Magnus, *Decameron of Boccaccio*, x. 5, and *supra*, p. 51.

there are frequent allusions to ancient fable; and, as Middleton<sup>1</sup> has shown that a great number of the rites of the Latin Church were derived from pagan ceremonies, it is scarcely to be doubted that many classical were converted into romantic fictions. This, at least, is certain, that the classical system presents the most numerous and least exceptionable prototypes of the fables of romance.

In many of the tales of chivalry there is a knight detained from his quest, by the enticements of a sorceress, and who is nothing more than the Calypso or Circe of Homer. The story of Andromeda might give rise to the fable of damsels being rescued by their favourite knight when on the point of being devoured by a sea-monster. The heroes of the *Iliad* and *Æneid* were both furnished with enchanted armour; and, in the story of Polyphemus, a giant and his cave are exhibited. Herodotus, in his history [iii. 116], speaks of the Arimaspi, a race of Cyclops who inhabited the north, and waged perpetual war with the tribe of griffons, which guarded quantities of gold. The expedition of Jason in search of the golden fleece; the apples of the Hesperides, watched by a dragon; the king's daughter who is an enchantress, who falls in love with and saves the knight, are akin to the marvels of romantic fiction; especially of that sort supposed to have been introduced by the Arabians. Some of the less familiar fables of classical mythology, as the image in the *Theogony* of Hesiod of the murky prisons in which the Titans were pent up by Jupiter, under the custody of strong armed giants, bear a striking resemblance to the more wild sublimity of the Gothic fictions.

Besides, a great number of those fables now considered as eastern, appear to have been originally Greek traditions, which were carried to Persia in the time of Alexander the Great, and were afterwards returned to Europe, with the modification they had received from oriental ideas.

Perhaps it may be considered as a confirmation of the classical theory, that, in the 13th century, many classical stories appeared both in prose and in a metrical form, veiled in the garb of romantic fiction. Of this sort are the

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Rome, etc., vol. 5.

Latin works of Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis, concerning the wars of Troy; and the still more ample chronicle of Guido de Colonna, formed from these authors through the medium of the French metrical work of Benoît de Saint More. But these and similar compositions will be more particularly mentioned when we come to treat of the classical romances in which Achilles, Jason, and Hercules, were adopted into chivalry, and celebrated in common with Lancelot, Roland, and Amadis, whom they so nearly resembled in the extravagance of their adventures.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Ritson<sup>2</sup> has successively attempted to ridicule the Gothic, Arabian, and Classical systems; and has maintained, that the origin of romance, in every age or country, must be sought in the different sorts of superstition which have from time to time prevailed. It is, he contends, a vain and futile endeavour, to seek elsewhere for the origin of fable. The French tales of chivalry, in particular, are too ancient to be indebted for their existence to any barbarous nation whatever. In all climes where genius has inspired, fiction has been its earliest product, and every nation in the globe abounds in romances of its own invention, and which it owes to itself alone.

And, in fact, after all, a great proportion of the wonders of romance must be attributed to the imagination of the authors. A belief in superhuman agency seems to have prevailed in every age and country; and monsters of all sorts have been created by exaggeration or fear. It was natural for the vulgar, in an ignorant age, as we see from the Turks even of the present day, to believe a palace, surpassingly beautiful, to be the work of enchanters. To this we must join the supernatural wonders conjured up by a superstitious fancy, and the natural ones supplied by a mind unacquainted with the constitution of things. Thus to the deceptions of sight, produced by certain dispositions of light and shade—to the reflecting and magnifying power, possessed by mists and clouds, may be partly attributed the prevalence of stories of ghosts, giants, &c., in hilly or cloudy regions intersected by deep valleys and lakes, or by woods, rocks, and rivers.

<sup>1</sup> See L. F. A. Maury, *Croyances, etc.*, and E. Lévêque, *Les Mythes, etc.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ancient English Metrical Romance*, vol. i. p. xix, etc.



Jam tum Religio pavidos terrebat agrestes  
 Dira loci ; jam tum sylvam saxumque tremebant.  
 Hoc nemus, hunc, inquit, frondoso vertice collem,  
 (Quis Deus, incertum est) habitat deus. Arcades ipsum  
 Credunt se vidisse Jovem : cum sæpe nigrantem  
 Ægida concuteret dextra, nimbosque ciceret.

*Æneis*, viii. 349, etc.

To all this must be added the chimeras produced by indulgence in frolicsome combination. Such were the emblematic cherub of the Hebrews [Ezekiel i. and x.], the compound images of the Egyptians, and the monster of mythology, which was described as

Prima leo, postrema draco, media inde capella.

*Lucret.* V. v. 901.

In like manner the griffin is compounded of the lion and eagle ; the snake and lizard comprise the analysis, and may have suggested the notion of a dragon.<sup>1</sup> The idea once

<sup>1</sup> "This solution of the origin of dragons was very ingenious until the progress of geology in modern times brought to light the pterodactyl and ichthyosaurus. The former is almost the exact dragon of fiction. For a discussion on this subject, see a review of Mrs. Jameson's 'Sacred and Legendary Art,' by the Rev. Charles Kingsley, in Fraser's Magazine, March, 1849, reprinted in his 'Miscellanies,' vol. i."—H. Jenner.

It has been suggested, but upon scarcely sufficient grounds, that the representations of dragons in Chinese art, due, as they doubtless are, to traditions of extreme antiquity, are derived originally from memories of animal forms long since extinct. In this connection we may refer to an article on birds with teeth, in the Popular Science Review for 1875.

In Dr. Zachary Grey's notes on Hudibras (vol. i. p. 125) there is a story of a man making a dragon from a rat. "Mr. Jacob Bobart, botany professor of Oxford, did, about forty years ago, find a dead rat in the physical garden, which he made to resemble the common picture of dragons, by altering head and tail, and thrusting in taper sharp sticks, which distended the skin on each side, till it mimicked wings. He let it dry as hard as possible. The learned pronounced it a dragon ; and one of them sent an accurate description to Magliabecchi, librarian to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Several fine copies of verses were wrote on so rare a subject ; but at last Mr. Bobart owned the cheat. However, it was looked upon as a masterpiece of art, and, as such, deposited in the museum or anatomy school, where I saw it some years after." A truly appalling exhibition of terrific artificial monsters is to be seen at the Colonial Museum of the Hague. It consists of a collection of the most frightful combinations of different animals : winged serpents, reptiles with human heads, or with two or more heads, etc. These are constructed by the natives of some of the Dutch colonies. They are, indeed, well calculated to strike the beholder with terror and horror. The joint-

formed of a being of larger dimensions than his fellow-mortals, it was easy to increase his proportions, and to diversify his shape with every variety of monstrous attribute; and it was natural, as in the case of Goliath, to bestow a ferocity of disposition, corresponding to the terrors of aspect. When once the notion of an enchanter was conceived, it was not difficult to assign him more extensive powers, to render his spells more potent, and their effects more awful or splendid. "Impenetrable armour," says Mr. Hobbes, "enchanted castles—invulnerable bodies—iron men—flying horses, and other such things, are easily feigned by them that dare."

II. Although the theories which have now been detailed may be sufficient, separately or united, to explain the origin of the supernatural ornaments of romance, still they are to be considered merely as embellishments of those

ings are neatly effected, and the scales and other external appurtenances of the animals, which are carefully retained in these composite monsters, add, of course, to their repulsive realism.

A combination of diverse animal forms was one of the favourite resources of the mediæval artist for representing Satan and his imps; note also the fauns, satyrs, hippogriffs, etc., of classic mythology. That in its endeavour to evoke entirely new conceptions, the mind can after all but fall back upon known forms, and devise perverse distortions or incongruous combinations of them, is but a proof of the poverty of human invention and of the gulf between creature and Creator.

The dragon, according to Sir Walter Scott, was familiar to the Celtic tribes at an early period, and was borne on the banner of Pendragon, who from that circumstance derived his name. Arthur's standard was also a dragon. A description of this banner, the magical work of Merlin, occurs in the romance of Arthur and Merlin in the Auchinleck MS., printed for the Abbotsford Club, 1838:—

"Merlin bar her gonfanoun;  
Upon the top stode a *dragoun*,  
Swithe griseliche a litel croune,  
Fast him biheld al tho in the tounne,  
For the mouth he had grinningge  
And the tong out flatlinge  
That our kest sparkes of fer,  
Into the skies that flowen cler," etc.

The dragon is repeatedly mentioned in the Welsh triads. In a battle fought at Bedford, about 752, betwixt Ethelbald, king of Mercia, and Cuthred, king of Wessex, a golden dragon, the banner of the latter, was borne in front of the combat by Edelheim or Edelhun, a chief of the West Saxons. Notes on Sir Tristram, p. 290.—Park. (See Warton, i. p. 105.) See supp. note at end of vol.

chivalrous adventures which occupy by far the greatest proportion of romantic compilation.

The Classical System, allowing it to be well founded with regard to the introduction of giants, hippogriffs, or enchanters, cannot explain the enterprise, the gallantry, and romantic valour, attributed to the knights of chivalry. It is, no doubt, true, that a striking analogy subsists between the manners of the heroic and Gothic times. In both periods robbery was regarded as honourable; or, at least, was not the forerunner of infamy. Bastardy, in both ages, was in peculiar reputation: The most renowned knights of chivalry, as Roland and Amadis, were illegitimate; and the heroes of antiquity were the spurious offspring of demigods and nymphs. The martial games, too, may in their design and their effects be considered as analogous to tournaments. Equal encouragement was given to the bards of Greece, and the minstrels of the middle ages; while Hercules and Bacchus, who are represented as roaming through their country, inflicting punishment on robbers, and extirpating monsters, may be regarded as the knights errant of antiquity. But these resemblances arose merely from a corresponding state of manners; since, at a similar stage of the social progress, similar ideas and customs are prevalent amongst different nations.

Still less can it be believed that the spirit of chivalry received its impulse from the knight errantry of Arabia. This part of his system, Mr. Warton has but feebly urged. The nature of Arabian and chivalrous enterprise was by no means the same; nor is it probable that the Europeans derived the dominant part of their manners and institutions from a secluded and a hostile people.

But Dr. Percy, and other supporters of the Gothic system, have strenuously maintained that the ideas of chivalry, the soul and subject of romance, subsisted from the earliest period among the northern nations, and were thence transfused into the fictions of a subsequent age.<sup>1</sup> I

<sup>1</sup> *Quamquam severa illic matrimonia: nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris: nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine. sed ob nobilitatem, plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus,*

conceive, however, that although the rudiments of chivalry may have existed, these notions were not sufficiently general, nor developed, to have become, without farther preparation, the reigning topics of composition. Instances, too, of chivalrous gallantry would have been found in the earlier ages of the history of France, but the manners during the two first races of its monarchs, were far from exhibiting any symptoms of courtesy.

It was under the feudal establishments, subsequently erected in Europe, that chivalry received its vigour, and was invested with the privileges of a regular institution. The chivalry, therefore, unfolded in romance, was the offspring of existing manners, and was merely an exaggerated picture of the actual state of society, of which oppression, anarchy, and restless courage, were the characteristics, but which sometimes produced examples of virtue and enthusiasm.

On the fall of the Roman empire, the lands overrun by the barbarous nations being parcelled out amongst a number of independent chieftains, whose aims and interests frequently interfered, it became an object with every baron to assemble round his person, and to attach, by the strongest bonds, the greatest possible number of young men of rank and courage. The knight, or soldier, at the same time found it necessary to look to some superior for support, against the oppression of other chieftains.

That these ties might be rendered closer, and that the candidate for knighthood might be instructed in courtesy and the art of war, it was customary to remove him at an early age from his father's house to the court or castle of his future patron.

Those who were destined for this sort of life, first acted

offert, etc. Tacitus, *De Mor. Germ.* xviii., etc. "Plusque ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonæ leges," xix.

Ubi quis ex principibus [Germanorum] in concilio dixit, "Se ducem fore; qui sequi velint profiteantur;" consurgunt ii, qui et causam et hominem probant, suumque auxilium pollicentur, atque ab multitudine collaudantur: qui ex iis secuti non sunt, in desertorum ac proditorum numero ducuntur, omniumque iis rerum postea fides derogatur. Hospites violare, fas non putant; qui quaque de causa ad eos venerint, ab injuria prohibent, sanctosque habent: iis omnium domus patent, victusque communicatur."—Cæsar, *De Bello Gall.*, vi. 23.



as pages or varlets; they performed menial services, which at that time were not considered as degrading; they were initiated into the ceremonial of a court, and were at the same time instructed in those bodily exercises which were considered the best preparation for their future career.

The castle in which the candidate for knighthood received his education, was usually thronged with young persons of a different sex. The intercourse which he thus enjoyed was the best school for the refinements of courtesy: he was taught to select some lady as the mistress of his soul, to whom were referred all his sentiments and actions. Her image was implanted in his heart, amid the fairy scenes of childhood, and was afterwards blended with its recollections. In the middle ages, society was in an intermediate state, removed from the extremes of indigence and luxury, which is most favourable to love: and that passion was sometimes so nourished by obstacles, that it was exalted into a species of devotion.

Thus the service of a mistress became the future glory and occupation of the candidate for knighthood. At the same time that this duty was inculcated, the emulation of military excellence was excited by the example of his compeers and his patron. When the youth passed to the condition of squire, they attended their master abroad; if he engaged in battle they took no part in the rencounter, but remained spectators of the combat, and, by attention to the various movements, were instructed in the art of war.

Their time was also, in a great measure, devoted to those sports which were kindred to the occupations of war, and the knowledge of which was an essential preliminary to reception into the order of knighthood.

If that investiture be merely considered as a ceremony, by which young persons destined to the military profession received their arms, its institution, we are told, is as ancient as the age of Charlemagne; but, if considered as a dignity, which, by certain forms, conferred the first rank in the military order, it cannot easily be traced higher than the 11th century. In the forests of Germany, the initiation of a youth into the profession of a warrior, had been attended with appropriate ceremonies. The chieftain of the tribe decorated him with a sword and armour [Tacitus, Germ. c.

xiii.]—a simple form, which, in the progress of the feudal system, was converted into a mysterious and pompous rite.

On his reception into this order, the knight became bound to the observance of loyalty to his superior, to an impartial distribution of justice to his vassals, to an inviolable adherence to his word, and attention to a courtesy which embellished his other qualities, and softened his other duties. All those who were unjustly oppressed, or conceived themselves to be so, were entitled to claim his protection and succour. The ladies in this respect enjoyed the most ample privileges. Destitute of the means of support, and exposed to the outrages of avarice or passion, they were consigned to his special care, and placed under the guardship of his valiant arm.

The promotion of knights, which sometimes took place after the performance of military exploits, but more frequently on church festivals, coronations, baptisms, or the conclusion of peace, was generally followed by jousts and tournaments. Of these institutions (which were of French invention, and were introduced about the time of the first crusade,) the former was of a more private and inferior, the latter of a more pompous and public description. Both were contrived for the purpose of interesting the mind, when scenes of real warfare did not present themselves, and of displaying, at the same time, the magnificence of the prince or baron.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henry the Fowler, Emperor of Germany from 918 to 936, in his war with the Hungarians, was enabled, by the help of the nobles he had summoned to his aid, to conclude an armistice for a year. Fearing his auxiliaries might not be disposed to resume war at the expiry of the term if he allowed them to disperse, he proposed to them to remain at Magdeburg, and to enliven the tedium of the prolonged stay devised a sort of contest of skill—tournaments, in fact. The nobles fell into the plan, each adopting a peculiar colour or badge on his shield to distinguish him from the others. Some pushed these distinctions much farther, causing their retainers to wear their particular colours, or having their peculiar badge embroidered upon their dress; others again went to a whimsical extent by dressing up the men who held their shields when not actually in use, as stags, apes, lions, unicorns, or any other favourite animal, real or fictitious. When these persons held the shield so that it covered their heads, they were designated *supports*, but if their heads appeared above the shield then they were called *holders*, according to M. Genouillac, who discerns in this practice the origin of those figures of men or animals which are often placed on each side of an escutcheon, and are

Some time before the exhibition of a tournament, heralds were despatched through the country, to invite all knights to contend for prizes, and merit the affection of their mistresses.

After the tournaments were proclaimed, they frequently commenced with skirmishing between the squires; and those who particularly distinguished themselves were allowed to enter the lists with the knights. When it came to the turn of the latter, each knight usually declared himself the servant of some lady, who generally presented him with a token of favour, a veil, a scarf, a bracelet, or, as we are told by Chaucer in his story of Troilus, a pencil of her sleeve, with which he adorned his shield or helmet, and by means of which his person was recognized in all the vehemence of the conflict. If these marks of distinction were carried off during the contest, the lady sent him others to reanimate his courage, and invigorate his exertions.

In all these rencounters certain rules of combat were established, which it was considered infamous to violate. Thus, it was not lawful to wound an adversary's horse, nor to strike a knight who took off his visor or his helmet.

When the tournaments were concluded, the conquerors were conducted, with much solemnity, to the palace of the prince or baron, where they were attired in the most splendid habits of peace, and disarmed by the hands of the fair; their deeds were inscribed on the records of the heralds at arms, and formed the subject of the lays of the minstrel, which were spread through the neighbouring courts, to excite emulation or envy.

But it would be endless to describe those ceremonies by which tournaments were prepared, accompanied, or followed, and which occupy, I am sure, more than a fourth part of the romances of chivalry, which, in this respect, have merely presented an embellished picture of what actually occurred.

As the genius of chivalry had ever studied to represent now generally called supporters. The very terms *blazon* and *heraldry* are both of German origin, from *blasen*, to blow the trumpet which signalled the commencement of the spectacle, while the *herault* had to proclaim aloud (old German *haren*, "to cry," cf. "*harum* *searum*,") the names of the combatants and the conditions of the contest.

in tournaments a faithful picture of the labours and dangers of war, it had ever preserved in war an image of the courtesy which prevailed in tournaments. The desire of pleasing some lady, and of appearing worthy of her, was in the true, as in the fictitious combat, one of the strongest motives that prompted to heroic action. That champion who, while rushing into combat, expressed a wish, as we are told, that his lady beheld him, must also have been stimulated by the hope that she might one day listen to the report of his prowess. In real battle the knight was frequently decked with the device of his mistress, and seriously offered combat to an enemy (not, indeed, as a primary cause of quarrel, but where other grounds of hostility existed), to dispute the pre-eminence of the beauty of their mistresses, and the strength of their attachment. As the valour, too, of a single combatant was conspicuous, and had a considerable influence on the fortune of the day, the same individuals were led frequently to encounter each other, which gave rise to that peculiar species of combat painted in the fables of romance.

The policy which employed love, united with reverence for the ladies, and the thirst of glory, to inspire sentiments of bravery and honour, also joined the heroes of its creation by the ties of friendship. They became united for all their future exploits, or for the accomplishment of some exalted emprise, which had a limited object ;—and hence the fraternity of arms, by which knights are frequently associated in tales of chivalry.

The restless spirit of the feudal system, and the institutions of chivalry, stimulated their votaries to roam in quest of such adventures for the mere pleasure of achieving them. At their return, the knights were obliged by oath to give the heralds-at-arms a faithful account of their exploits ; an obligation which explains their declining no service of danger, though it was to be performed without witnesses, and might have been avoided without detection.

Enough, I trust, has been said to account for that passion for arms, that love of enterprise, and that extravagant species of gallantry, which were the inevitable consequence of the feudal principles, and are the characteristic features of romance.



Next to those encounters, sought from love of enterprise, or of the fair, the great proportion of combats described in romance may be termed judicial. These took place on a defiance of the challenger to the accepter, or an accusation against a third party in whom the accepter was interested, or whose cause he espoused from a spirit of chivalry. Such encounters were suggested by those judicial combats by which, during the middle ages, disputes in civil courts were actually decided. The judge, or magistrate, unable to restrain the violence of litigants, and wishing not to lose all shadow of authority, contented himself with superintending the ceremonies and regulating the forms of a mode of decision so consonant to their temper. This prompt appeal to the sword was also encouraged by a retributive principle in the human mind, which renders it natural to believe that guilt will be punished and innocence vindicated. The impatience of mankind led them to imagine that the intervention ought to take place in this world, and that a solemn appeal to Heaven would be followed by a discovery of its will; an opinion strengthened in those times by means of the clergy, whose interest it was to represent Divine power as dispensing with the laws of nature on the most frivolous occasions.

In consequence too of the well-known circumstances which tended to promote the influence of the church, the real knight was frequently characterized by the appearance at least of a warm and zealous devotion. His religious duties consisted in visiting holy places, in depositing his own arms, or those of conquered enemies, in monasteries or temples, in the observance of different festivals, or the practice of exercises of penitence. A bigoted veneration for the monastic profession, even induced many individuals, both knights and princes, to finish their days in spiritual seclusion. Hence a romance of chivalry, as will be afterwards seen, exhibits examples of the most superstitious devotion, and frequently terminates with the retirement of the principal character to a monastery or hermitage.

To the love of war, and of enterprise, to the extravagant gallantry, united with superstition, by which the order of knighthood was distinguished, may be traced the greater

proportion of the adventures delineated in romance. There we shall hardly find a motive of action which may not be referred to some of the principles by which society in those times was in reality actuated. On this favourable basis of manners and ideas, the credulity or fancy of the age grafted the supernatural wonders drawn from the sources that have already been traced; and the adventures of knights, embellished by these additional marvels, were exaggerated, extended, and multiplied to infinity by the imagination of romancers.

Such are probably the sources whence fablers have been supplied with the general adventures of chivalry, and the romantic embellishments by which they have been adorned.

III. We must now consider how these adventures and embellishments have been appropriated to individual knights, and turn our attention to the materials which have supplied the leading subjects and the principal characters of romantic composition.

At a time when chivalry excited such universal admiration, and when its effects were at least ostensibly directed to the public good, it was natural that history and fable should be ransacked to furnish examples which might increase emulation.

Arthur and Charlemagne, with their peers, were the heroes most early and most generally selected for this purpose. The tales concerning these warriors are the first specimens extant of this sort of composition, and from their early popularity, from the beauty of the fictions with which they were in the beginning supported, and from flattering the vanity of the two first nations in Europe, they long continued (diversified indeed, and enlarged by subsequent embellishments,) to be the prevalent and favourite topics.

And here it is proper to divide the prose romances, with which we shall be afterwards engaged, into four classes:—  
1. Those relating to Arthur and the knights of the Round Table. 2. Those connected with Charlemagne and his Paladins. 3. The Spanish and Portuguese romances, which chiefly contain the adventures of the imaginary families of Amadis and Palmerin. 4. What may be termed classical romances, which represent the heroes of antiquity in the guise of romantic fiction.

When we come to treat of the romances relating to Charlemagne, we shall consider the influence of the chronicle attributed to Turpin; but our attention is in the first place demanded by the romances of Arthur and the Round Table, as they form the most ancient and numerous class of which any trace remains. These originated in the early and chimerical legends of Armorica and Wales; the ancient Latin chronicles of this island, which have been founded on them; and the subsequent metrical romances of the English and Norman minstrels.

The Norman conquerors are said first to have become interested in the history and antiquities of Britain during the reign of Stephen, as by that period they had begun to consider themselves natives.

From the writings of Gildas or Nennius, however, they could not easily have extracted a consistent or probable story.

Gildas, or, as Mr. Gibbon has styled him, the British Jeremiah, is the author of Lamentations over the Destruction of Britain, which is a whining elegy, and of an epistle, which is a frantic satire on the vices of his countrymen: he has given exaggerated expressions, and distorted facts, instead of presenting an authentic narrative of our early annals, an important object which he might easily have accomplished; as, according to tradition, he was the son of Caw, a British prince, who lived in the sixth century, and was engaged along with his father in the wars carried on by his countrymen against the Northumbrian Saxons. After the defeat of the Britons at Cattraeth, he fled into Wales, and acted as schoolmaster at Bangor.<sup>1</sup>

Nennius is said to have lived about the middle of the ninth century: his work is merely a dry epitome; nor even of this abstract does there exist a pure and perfect copy. He is solicitous to quote his authorities, but unfortunately they are not of the most unexceptionable nature, as they consist of the lives of saints and ancient British traditions, on which he bestows credit in proportion to their absurdity. In one of his chapters he has given an outline of the story of Brut, which coincides with the account of Geoffrey of Monmouth; and in chapter fourth he commences a circum-

<sup>1</sup> About the personality of Gildas scarcely anything is positively known. See Smith's "Dict. of Christian Biography," ii. 672 (1880).

stantial detail of the life of Merlin, corresponding, in many respects, with the incidents of romance.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the lachrymal history of Gildas, and the jejune narrative of Nennius, there existed many Welsh traditions, which seem to have occupied the attention of Norman antiquaries.

The annals and poetry of Wales had long laboured in Arthur's commendation. Compelled to yield their country, the Welsh avenged themselves on the Saxons by creating, in the person of Arthur, not only a phantom of glory which towered above every warrior, but a political saviour, who like the Barbarossa of German popular superstition, was only temporarily hid, and would one day reappear and reassert the national independence. This apparition seems to have acquired its chief magnitude and terrors in the traditions and legends of Britany. Walter Calenius, or Gualtier, as he is sometimes called, Archdeacon of Oxford, of whom a good account will be found in Morley's "English Writers" (vol. i. pp. 584-600), amassed a great collection of these materials during an expedition to Armorica, or Britany, a province from which the royal ancestors of Arthur were believed to have originally issued. On his return to England, the archdeacon presented this medley of historical songs and traditions to Geoffrey of Monmouth,<sup>2</sup> who founded on them a chronicle

<sup>1</sup> Ellis's "Early Metrical Romances," vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, called in Welsh *Galfrai* or *Gruffydd ap Arthur*, was, as the Welsh name implies, the son of one Arthur, of whom nothing is known. It has indeed been supposed by some that he was nicknamed "Arthur," on account of the chief hero of his romance or history, this opinion being chiefly gathered from certain derogatory remarks of William of Newburgh (who died 1198). However, as he appears under the name of "Gaufridus Artur" in the foundation charter of Oseney Abbey in 1129 (for which see the Register of the Abbey, Cotton MS. Vitell. E. xv. f. 6), in company with his friend Walter the Archdeacon, it is evident that it was his real patronymic. Losing his father at an early age he was brought up by his uncle Uchtryd, Archdeacon, and afterwards Bishop of Llandaff. It is possible that he began his history somewhere about 1129, when, as we have seen, he was at Oxford with Archdeacon Walter, but, as he himself says, he had hardly got half way through it when Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, set him to translate the Prophecies of Merlin from Welsh into Latin, and this work, which is largely quoted by Ordericus Vitalis in his twelfth book, which was written in 1136 or 1137, must have been finished about that date. The first recension of



of Britain, which was written in Latin prose, and is supposed to have been finished about 1140. A notion has been adopted by some authors that Geoffrey composed, or invented, most part of the chronicle which he professed to

the history, which is now lost, is quoted by Henry of Huntingdon in 1139, as the work of Gaufridus Arturus, so it is probable that he did not become Archdeacon of Monmouth till 1140, when his uncle Uchtryd was made Bishop. Having lost his patrons, Robert of Gloucester, and Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, as well as his uncle Uchtryd in 1147-8, he seems to have sought for a patron at Stephen's Court, and to have addressed the poem known as the "*Vita Merlini*," to Robert de Chesney, the new Bishop of Lincoln, in 1149. He was ordained priest by Archbishop Theobald, February 15th, 1152, and on the 24th of the same month was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph, but as the Gwentian "*Brat y Twysoysogion*" says, he never entered upon his functions, but died at Llandaff, in 1154.

The existence of the Welsh original of Geoffrey's history has been doubted by some, principally on account of the playful tone of his epilogue. There are, however, good reasons for believing in its existence. Two of the Welsh versions have colophons stating that Walter the Archdeacon translated the work from Welsh into Latin in his younger days, and again in his old age translated from Latin into Welsh, and Geoffrey Gaimar states in the epilogue to his poem that he had taken passages from the good book of Oxford, "*Ki fust Walter l'arcediaen*." This last, however, may have been either the book brought out of Brittany, or a copy of Nennius. M. Paulin Paris thinks that the book from Brittany was nothing but a Nennius, and that that work was written on the Continent; this opinion, however, will hardly hold good. The *Historia Britonum*, originally ascribed to Gildas, but now to Nennius, a monk of Bangor, was compiled by several writers, the last of whom gives his date as 946, adds that this was the fifth year of Edmund, King of the English (see Rev. W. Gunn's edition of the Vatican MS. of the Chronicle). The other dates refer almost exclusively to the British Islands, and only one very slight mention is made of Armorica, and the composition, according to Mr. W. F. Skene (*Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, &c.), is markedly Welsh. Mr. Skene conjectures that it was made known to the Saxons through the conquests of King Edmund in Strathclyde in 945. William of Malmesbury refers to it as the "*Gesta Britonum*," and Henry of Huntingdon speaks of it as the work of Gildas. Geoffrey makes several quotations from Bede and Gildas, with or without acknowledgment, but though he makes far more considerable quotations from Nennius he never once mentions him, and on one occasion while using the words of Nennius about St. Germanus, he refers to Gildas, whose extant works do not mention that saint. The whole question is very ably discussed in Mr. H. L. D. Ward's Catalogue (vol. i. pp. 203-222), from which this note is chiefly borrowed. Mr. Ward is of opinion that the Breton book was not a mere copy of Nennius, but that much of the history was founded on it. The sites of the chief Arthurian events, viz. the twelve ballads, as given by Nennius, may be fairly iden-

translate from British originals. This idea was first started by Polydore Virgil [*Historia Anglicana*, Lugd. Bat. 1649, c. i. p. 25], who has been followed by later writers; but it has been satisfactorily shown by Mr. Ellis that there is no solid reason to doubt the repeated assertions of Geoffrey, that he has merely rendered into Latin the text of Breton authorities. His fabulous relations concerning Brut, Arthur, and Merlin, coincide with those contained in Nennius, or the *Lives of the Saints*, and therefore could not have been invented by Geoffrey. The history, too, bears internal

tified with places along the line of the Roman wall between Clyde and Forth (see Skene's "Four Ancient Books of Wales," vol. i. pp. 50-58); but the story of Arthur had travelled south before the days of Geoffrey. The monks of Laon, who visited Cornwall in 1113, were shown rocks called Arthur's Chair and Arthur's Oven (which still exist between Bodmin and Camelford, the latter being a Kistvaen), and were told that this was his native land, and they narrowly escaped assault at Bodmin for doubting that Arthur was yet alive. They also mention that similar legends existed in Brittany (see Hermannus, *De Miraculis S. Mariæ Laudunensis*, bk. ii. 15, 16, in Migne's "Patrologia Latina," tom. 156, col. 983). Thus, since also Geoffrey's Arthur is the grandson of an Armorican prince, and his Armorican cousin Hoel is his companion both at home and in Gaul, and Cadwalader finds a last hope for the degenerate Britons in Armorica, one can hardly doubt that Geoffrey derived much of the last part of his history from a Breton source.

As regards Walter the Archdeacon little is known. He is mentioned (according to White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough, *Laus*. MS. 935 in the British Museum) as Archdeacon of Oxford in 1104 and 1111. In 1115 he witnessed a grant, copied in the *Chronicon de Abingdon*, he acted as Justiciary at Winchester in 1123, and at Peterborough in 1125 (see *Chronicon de Abingdon*, Rolls edition, vol. ii. pp. 62, 63, 116, and Gunton's "History of the Church of Peterborough," p. 274). In 1129, he witnessed the foundation charter of Oseney (see above). His successor, Robert Foliot, was appointed in 1151. In documents of his own time he has no further designation, and he has been frequently confounded with another Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, the celebrated Walter Map, who held that office in 1196. Bale (*Scriptorum Brytanie Catalogus*, 1559) calls him Walter Calenius. This epithet some have connected with Calne, others with Calena, a corruption of "Callewa Atrebatum," generally identified with Silchester. In Leland's time Calena was taken to mean Oxford, in which sense Bale probably understood it. Camden, however, started a theory that Calena was a corruption of "Gwall Nen" (the old wall), stated by him to have been the British name of Wallingford. This view was adopted by Kennet, and from the latter by Le Neve in his *Fasti*, and thus, to quote Mr. Ward, "Archdeacon Walter is now commonly styled Walter of Wallingford."

For a fuller account of the History of Geoffrey of Monmouth, see Ward's "Catalogue."—H. JENNER.

evidence of its Armorican descent, as it ascribes to Hoel, a hero of that country, many of the victories which tradition attributes to Arthur.

But whether this celebrated chronicle be the invention of Geoffrey, or whether it presents a faithful picture of the traditions and fables at that period received as history, there can be no doubt, according to the expression of Mr. Ellis, who has given an analysis of the whole work, that it is one of the corner-stones of romance.

This chronicle consists of nine books, each of which is divided into chapters, and commences with the history of Brutus, the son of Sylvius, and grandson of Ascanius, who, being exiled from Italy in consequence of having accidentally slain his father, takes refuge in Greece. There he obtains the hand of Imogen, daughter of a king of that country, and a fleet, with which he arrives in Albion (then only inhabited by a few giants), and founds the kingdom called Britain from his name. There is next presented an account of the fabulous race of Brutus, particularly Arthur, and the whole concludes with the reign of Cadwallader, one of the descendants of that hero.

It would indeed be difficult to extract any authentic history from the chronicle of Geoffrey, but it stamped with the character of veracity the exploits of the early knights of chivalry, and authorized a compilation of the fables related of these fanciful heroes. In the age in which the chronicle appeared it was difficult to arrive at truth, and error was not easily detected. Criticism was hardly called into existence, and falsehood was adopted with an eagerness proportioned to its envelopment in the fascinating garb of wonder. The readers were more ignorant than the authors, and a credulous age readily grafted on stories that were evidently false, incidents that were physically impossible. These were drawn from the sources already pointed out, and were added, according to fancy, to unauthentic histories, which thus degenerated, or were exalted, into romance.

In the chronicle of Geoffrey, indeed, there is nothing said of the exploits of Tristran and Lancelot, or conquest of the Sangreal, or Holy Grail, which constitute so large a proportion of the Round Table romances. These were subsequent additions, but probably derived, like the chronicle, from

ancient British originals, as the names of the heroes, and the scenes of their adventures, are still British.

The work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and such traditional fables, were the foundation of those tales which appeared in a metrical form, the shape in which, it is acknowledged, romance was first exhibited.

It seems, also, unquestionable, that these metrical romances, though written in England, first appeared in the French language.

In its earliest signification, the term *Romance* was appropriated to the dialects spoken in the different European provinces that had been subjected to the Roman empire, and of which Latin was the basis, though other materials might enter into the construction. The romance was at one time the colloquial language of Gaul. Subsequently, indeed, various dialects were introduced into that country, but it was still preserved in Normandy; and thence was again diffused through the other provinces north of the Loire. Hence Romance was first merely a general designation applied to works written in the vernacular as opposed to those composed in Latin; and was often applied to real history. Its first application to an epic poem was in the title of Wace's "*Roman du Brut*."

The earliest specimens of northern French literature are metrical Lives of the Saints. These are supposed to have been translated from Latin compositions about the middle of the eleventh century. In the beginning of the next century they were followed by several didactic works, as the *Bestiarius*, a poem on natural history, by Philip de Thaun, addressed to the queen of Henry I. of England, and a metrical treatise on chronology by the same author. It is believed, however, that no trace of a professed work of fiction—no specimen of what we should now term a romance, is to be found before the middle of the twelfth century. Then, indeed, the minstrels introduced a great variety of their own compositions, and formed new combinations from the numerous materials in their possession.

Before this time the language in which they wrote had passed into England by means of the Norman Conquest. The English, indeed, previous to this event had been prepared for the reception of the French language. Edward



the Confessor had been educated in France, and, on his accession to the throne of England, promoted his continental favourites to the highest dignities. Under their influence the nation began to lay aside its English customs, and to imitate the language and manners of the French. (Ingulph. Hist. Croyl. p. 62, ed. Tyrwhitt, vol. iv., or Lond., 1843, p. xvii. n. 5.) These fashions having been adopted in compliance with the caprice of the reigning monarch, might probably have expired under his successors; but before this extirpation could be effected, the French language, by means of the Norman Conquest, became interwoven with the new political system. The king, the chief officers of state, and a great proportion of the nobility, were Normans, and understood no tongue but that of their own country. Hence the few Saxons who were still admitted at court had the strongest inducements to acquire the language of their conquerors. William the First also distributed a share of his acquisitions among his great barons who had attended him; and who, when it was in their power, retired from court to their feudal domains, followed by vassals from among their countrymen. Hence the language which was used in their common conversation and judicial proceedings, was diffused through the most distant provinces. All ecclesiastical preferments, too, were bestowed on Norman chaplains, and those who were promoted to abbacies were anxious to stock their monasteries with foreigners. Thus the higher orders of the clergy and laity spoke the French language, while the lower retained the use of their native tongue, but frequently added a knowledge of the dialect of the conquerors. Matters continued in this state with little variation during the reigns of the Norman kings and the first monarchs of the house of Plantagenet.

The Norman minstrels, accordingly, who had followed their barons to the English court, naturally wrote and recited their metrical compositions in the language which was most familiar to themselves, and which, being most prevalent, procured them the greatest number of readers of rank and distinction.

From the early connection of the Normans with the people of Britany, the minstrels had received from the

latter those traditions, the remains of which they brought over with them to England.<sup>1</sup>

These they found in a more perfect state among the Welsh of this island.<sup>2</sup> The invasion of the Normans, and the overthrow of the Saxons, were events beheld with exultation by the descendants of the *aboriginal* Britons, who readily associated with those who had avenged them on their bitterest enemies; while to the Normans the legends of the Welsh must have been more acceptable than those of the Saxons. In the long course of political intrigue, carried on between the period of the Norman invasion and final subjugation of Wales, an intercourse must have taken place between that country and England sufficient

<sup>1</sup> Ellis's "Early Metrical Romances," vol. i. p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> At the present time opinions diametrically opposite are held about the importance of the early Welsh traditions as a factor in the Romances of Chivalry. While Herr Schulz says that the poems of Aneurin, Taliessin, Hywarch, Meradin, &c., offer a direct reflection of the person of Arthur, Mr. Nash, with far deeper scholarship and sounder judgment, says, it is by no means clear that the Welsh had ever heard of Arthur as a king before the twelfth century, when Rhys ap Tewdwr brought the roll of the Round Table to Glamorganshire. There is not, says the same authority, a single ancient poem extant which relates to any warlike feat of Arthur against the Saxons (Taliessin, p. 328). The poetical (with, I suppose, the triadic) was undoubtedly the earliest unwritten form of Welsh literature. Now, Mr. W. D. Nash, in his *Taliessin, or the Bards and Druids of Britain, etc.*, Lond. 1858, points out as an unparalleled phenomenon in literary history that the bards, minstrels, and singers, who teemed among the Welsh, have not handed down one single love-song or one tale of adventure . . . in poetry. This has been done, however, in prose, hence he argues that such productions were a late foreign importation, and concludes that the Welsh probably derived more from, than they imparted to the Romantic literature of Europe. That the prose tales (in the *Mabinogion*, published by Lady Guest, new ed., London, 1877) contain many incidents which have a common origin with those found in the Romances of Chivalry is undeniable, but how far that pristine source is Celtic is far from determined. Mr. Matthew Arnold is willing to admit in the tales of the *Mabinogion* a reflection of astronomical and solar myths. The personages in these tales, he says, "belong to an older pagan mythological world. The very first thing," he truly adds, "that strikes one in reading the *Mabinogion* is, how evidently the mediæval story-teller [the oldest manuscript of these tales is of the fourteenth century] is pillaging an antiquity of which he does not fully possess the secret; he is like a peasant building his hut on the site of Hali-carnassus or Ephesus: he builds, but what he builds is full of materials of which he knows not the history."

to account for the interchange of any literary materials. The British lays communicated to the French minstrels in England were seldom committed to writing. Hence the same story was repeated with endless variations, and this system of traditional incident was added to the more stable relations contained in the chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

It seems to be generally believed that French romances in rhyme appeared in England and Normandy previous to any attempt of this nature at the court of Paris. This is evinced by the more liberal patronage of the English princes, the style and character of the romances themselves, and the persons to whom the poems were originally addressed.

The oldest of these French metrical romances is one founded on the chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and entitled *Le Brut*:<sup>1</sup> it was written in the year 1155, by Robert Wace, a native of Jersey, who brought down his work from the time of the imaginary Brutus to the death of Cadwallader, the æra where Geoffrey ends; but it was subsequently carried on by Gaimar<sup>2</sup> and others to the age of William Rufus. Wace is also the author of *Le Roman le Rou*, a fabulous and metrical history of the Dukes of Normandy from the time of Rollo. These metrical histories soon introduced compositions professedly fictitious, in which the indefatigable Wace first led the way. The *Chevalier au Lion*<sup>3</sup> seems to be one of the earliest romances in rhyme which has descended to our knowledge. In the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth

<sup>1</sup> Gaimar is believed to have been the first who translated Geoffrey of Monmouth into any modern language. At all events he obtained a copy of the *Historia Britonum* for that purpose from Walter Espec, who died in 1153. But Gaimar's "*Brut*," which was soon eclipsed by that of Wace (finished in 1155), has now disappeared, having been replaced by Wace's composition in the four extant copies of the *Estorie des Engles*, see British Museum Catalogue of Manuscript Romances, compiled by H. L. D. Ward, edited by E. M. Thompson, vol. i. p. 423.

<sup>2</sup> Gaimar wrote before Wace, so could hardly have been his continuator.—LIEB.

<sup>3</sup> This poem is not by Wace, but by Chrestien de Troyes. For an account of Wace and his works, see J. G. T. Grässe's "*Lehrbuch einer allgemeinen Literärgeschichte*," etc., Bd. 2, Abth. 3, p. 104 *et seq.*—LIEB.

century, an infinite variety of French metrical romances on the subject of Arthur and his knights of the Round Table<sup>1</sup> appeared in England and Normandy, as the *Sancreal*, *Perceval*, &c., written by Chrestien de Troyes, Menesier, and others.

About the same period a great number of French romances, in which classical heroes are celebrated, were founded on the history of the Trojan war. Few of these, however, at least at an early period, were converted into prose, while the metrical romances relating to the Round Table, either from accident or from flattering the vanity and prejudices of a nation by the celebration of its fictitious heroes, have, for the most part, been reduced into prose, and constituted, thus transformed, a formidable compilation, which came in time to supersede the metrical originals.

These prose romances, which form the proper subject of

<sup>1</sup> "He [Arthur] made the round table for their behoue  
yt none of them shold sitt aboue."

See *The Green Knight*, p. 224, l. 13, in Sir F. Madden's edition of "*Syr Gawayne*," 1839; he adds, p. 353, "the earliest authority for this tradition is Wace, who inserts it in his translation of Geoffrey, and adds that the round table was instituted by Arthur for the purpose of avoiding disputes of precedence among his knights."—See *Le Roux de Lincy's* edition of the *Roman de Brut*, 1836, l. 2, p. 74. Robert of Brunne translates this literally in the inedited portion of his *Chronicle* [MS. Inner Temple Library, No. 511, fo. 62b.]. Lazamon goes further, and not only gives the history of the Table at much greater length, but adds the narrative (for which he cites no source) of a quarrel which was the more immediate occasion of the institution. An inedited Arthurian romance preserved in the *Red Book of Bath* of the fifteenth century, contains some lines on this subject.

Precedence at table was a point of great importance and matter of legislation with the Welsh. In the laws of *Howel Dda*, all the officers of the palace have their places in the hall specified, some having their seats above and some below the partition, which is supposed to have corresponded with the *daïs* still seen at the upper end of baronial halls. See *Myv. Arch.* 2nd ed. ii. p. 104, etc. See also the account of Celtic banquets, by Posidonius, in *Athenæus Naucratis*, *Deipnosophistæ*, Lib. iv. c. 32. "Ὅταν δὲ πλείονες συνδειπνωσιν, κάθηνται μὲν ἐν κυκλῳ. μεσος δὲ ὁ κράτιστος ὡς ἂν κορυφαῖος χοροῦ, διαφέρων τῶν ἄλλων ἢ κατὰ τὴν πολεμικὴν εὐχερσίαν, ἢ κατὰ τὸ γένος, ἢ κατὰ πλοῦτον, etc."

From Britany the Institution of the Round Table or, at least, its tradition, was introduced into Celtic Britain by Rhys ap Tewdur, see Nash, *Taliesin*, p. 198.



our enquiry, were mostly written in the course of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. It is extremely difficult, however, to ascertain the precise date of the composition of each, or to point out the authors by whom they were written.

The *data* by which we might attempt to fix the chronology of the prose romances, and which, at first view, would appear to be at once easy and certain, are, 1. The antiquity of the language; 2. The manners represented; since in ancient romances a delineation is given not of the customs, ceremonies, or dress of the period in which the imaginary heroes are feigned to have existed, but of those which prevailed at the time of the composition of the work. The tournaments in particular, with a description of which every romance is filled, should assist in this research. Thus, at the institution of these spectacles, the persons who had been long admitted into the order of chivalry contended during the first day, and the new knights on the succeeding ones. In process of time the new knights opened the tournament, and the squires were allowed to joust with them, but at length the distinctions which had formerly existed between the knight and the squire became, in a great measure, confounded. The light, however, that might naturally be expected to be drawn hence, has been darkened by the authors of the prose romances having servilely copied, in some instances, their metrical prototypes, and thus, without warning, represented the manners of a preceding age. In most instances, I believe, the prose romances were accommodated to the opinions and manners subsisting at the period of this new fabrication; but it is impossible to say with certainty what has been adopted and what is original. 3. The name of the person to whom the romance is addressed, or at whose solicitation it is said to be written, may be of use in ascertaining the date. But the authors title their patrons in so general a way, that the inference to be drawn is vague and uncertain. Their works are written at the desire of King Henry or King Edward of England, and hence the period of their composition is only limited to the reign of one of the numerous monarchs who bore these names. 4. The date of the publication may be of assistance in fixing the chronology of some of

the later romances of chivalry. But even this trifling aid is in most instances denied, the earliest impression being generally without date. Hence I am afraid that these *data* will be found, in most cases, to afford but feeble and uncertain assistance.

With respect to the authors of the prose romances, it may be in the first place remarked, that these compositions were not announced to the reader as works of mere imagination, but, on the contrary, were always affirmed by their authors (who threw much opprobrium on the lying metrical romances), to contain matter of historical fact. Nor was this doubted by the simplicity of the readers; and the fables which had been disbelieved while in verse, were received without suspicion on their conversion into prose. Hence it became the interest of the real authors, in order to give their works the stamp of authority, to abjure the metrical romances, from which they were in fact compiled, and to feign either that these fables had been translated by them from Latin, or revised from ancient French prose, in which they had been originally written,—averments which should never be credited unless otherwise established to be true. Indeed, some writers, though theirs is not the general view, have supposed that this system of mendacity was carried still farther, and that fictitious names were generally assumed by the real authors.<sup>1</sup>

### MERLIN.<sup>2</sup>

The demons, alarmed at the number of victims which daily escaped their fangs since the birth of our Saviour, held a council of war. It was there resolved that one of their number should be sent to the world with instructions to engender on some virgin a child,<sup>3</sup> who might act as

<sup>1</sup> Ritson, *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, vol. i. p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Sensuyt le premier volume de Merlin. Qui est le premier liure de la Table ronde. Avec plusieurs choses moult recreative. P. le Noir, Paris, 1528. See supp. note.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Tobit, iii. 8, etc., and vi. 13, 14, etc. See also, *infra*, the story of Belphegor by Macchiavelli, and the Oriental Saga of the angels Harut and Marut, in the commentators on (Sura, ii. 96) the Koran. In the Chronicle of Philippe Mouskes, Bishop of Tournai, a diabolical

their vicegerent on earth, and thus counteract the great plan that had been laid for the salvation of mankind. With this view the infernal deputy, having assumed a human form, insinuated himself into the confidence, and obtained admittance into the house, of a wealthy Briton [i. fol. 1, Paris, 1528]. The fiend (though this was foreign from the purpose of his mission), could not resist embracing an early opportunity of strangling his host, and then proceeded to attempt the seduction of his three daughters, which was more peculiarly an object of his terrestrial sojourn. The youngest of the family alone resisted his artifices [i. fol. 4], but she at length experienced the fate of her sisters, while rendered unconscious by sleep. On awakening, she was much perplexed by what had occurred, and confessed herself to a holy man called Blaise, who had all along been her protector, but who acknowledged himself altogether incompetent to account for the events of the preceding night [i. f. 5].

The judges of the land, who soon after discovered the pregnancy of the young lady, were about to condemn her to death [i. f. 6], according to the law and custom of the country; <sup>1</sup> but Blaise represented that the execution should

origin is attributed to Eleonora of Aquitaine, who espoused Louis-le-Jeune, King of France, and J. Brompton has preserved (*Hist. Franc.*, xiii. 215) a similar legend, and in the *Livre de Baudouin* (p. 13) Comtesse Jeanne de Flandre is supposed to be a daughter of the evil spirit. See Reiffenberg, *Introduction to Chronicle of Philippe de Mouskes*, p. lxviii. See *supp. note*.

<sup>1</sup> In another old romance, a regulation of this sort is said to have existed in France. "C'estoit la coustume, en ce tems, telle, que quand une femme estoit grosse, que ce n'estoit de son Mari, ou qu'elle ne fust mariée, on l'ardoit." (*L. Hist. plaisante du noble Siperis de Vinevaux et de ses dix sept fils.*) In the *Orlando Furioso* this punishment is attributed to the law of Scotland;

"L'aspra legge di Scozia empia e severa" (*C. iv. st. 59, l. 425 Chalmers*).

Rinaldo on hearing of it, exclaims with indignation,

"Sia maladetto chi tal legge pose,  
E maladetto chi la può patire;  
Debitamente muore una Crudele,  
Non chi da vita al suo amator fidele" (*C. iv. st. 63*).

See also Jubinal, *Nouv. Rec. i. 9*. In later times, at all events, the laws were milder, under Saint Louis disinheritance was the punishment for fille noble qui s'est laissée engrosser. In Maine and Anjou, "les filles

be at least deferred, as the child who was about to come into the world ought not to be involved in the punishment of the mother. The criminal was accordingly shut up in a tower, where she gave birth to the celebrated Merlin,<sup>1</sup> whom Blaise instantly hurried to the baptismal font, and thus frustrated the hopes of the demons when on the verge of completion [i. f. 7]. Merlin, however, in spite of this timely redemption, retained many marks of

qui avaient atteint vingt-cinq ans pouvoient impunément devenir enceintes. La coutume alors donnoit tort aux parents ; elle supposoit que c'étoit leur faute, puisqu'ils avoient attendu si tard à marier leurs filles." See Le Grand d'Aussy's note to the *Fabliau du Voleur* que Notre Dame Sauva.—LIEB.

In Scotland a distinction is made between *Notour* and *simple* adultery. *Notour* is when the guilty parties live openly at bed and board and beget children. By a statute, 1551, c. 26, this crime was punished by loss of movables ; but afterwards by an act in 1563, cap. 74, it was rendered capital ; and during the seventeenth century in particular, several persons were actually executed for adultery. See the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, ed. by Sir D. Brewster, 1830, art. Adultery, where an account will be found of punishments for adultery, which were in many countries very severe. At Harlem, in Holland, is shown a kind of barrel open at either end, in which offenders against public morals were drawn through the town. In England "carting" was a punishment meted out to brothel-keepers. For instance, on Nov. 23rd, 1575, Elizabeth Hollande was sentenced to "be put into a carte at Newgate and be carted with a paper on her hed shewing her offence from thence to Smythfeilde, from thence to her howse, from thence to Cornehill, from thence to the Standard in Cheepe, from thence to Bridewell, and all the way basons to be runge before her, at Bridewell to be punished, and from thence to be brought to Newgate, there to remaine untill she have payed a fine of xl. li and put in sewerties for the same, and to be bounde for her good behaviour." On the first of January following Prudence Crispe was sentenced "to be had to Newgate and ther to be put into a carte, from thence to be carted to Smithefeilde, from thence to her howse, from thence to Cornehill, and from thence to the Standard in Cheepe, so to Bridewell, then to be whipped, then to Newgate, and fined at xl. li. and to be bound to her goode behaviour." (*Middlesex Sessions Rolls*. Published by the Middlesex County Records Society, vol. i. pp. 234, 235.)

<sup>1</sup> Surnamed Ambrose, and not to be confounded with a Merlin whose epoch is about a century later, and who is surnamed Wyllt (Silvester) and Calidonius (or perhaps more accurately Celidonius from the wood Kelidon or Celydon in Lincolnshire, or, according to Stuart Glennie (*Arthurian Localities*, p. lxxv\*) part of the Ettrick forest in the Scottish border to which he retired stricken by insanity). Both Merlins are, however, frequently confounded with each other. See Graesse, *Sagenkreise*, p. 197, etc. ; also San Marte *Arthursage*, p. 87, etc. ; and Villemarqué, *Contes Populaires des Anciens Bretons*, i. 42, etc.—LIEB.



his unearthly origin, of which his premature elocution afforded an early and unequivocal symptom. Immediately after his baptism, the mother took the child in her arms, and reproached him as the cause of the melancholy death she was about to suffer. But the infant smiling to her, replied, Fear not, my mother, you will not die on my account. Accordingly the prosecution being resumed, and Merlin, the *corpus delicti*, being produced in court, he addressed the judges, and revealed the illegitimacy of one of their number, who was not the son of his reputed father, but of a Prior; and who thus, out of regard to his own mother, was forced to prevent the condemnation of Merlin's [i. f. 11].

At this time there reigned in Britain a king called Constans, who had three sons, Moines, Pendragon, and Uter.<sup>1</sup> Moines, soon after his accession, which happened on the death of his father, was vanquished by the Saxons [i. f. 13], in consequence of being deserted by his seneschal Vortiger, formerly the chief support of his throne. Growing unpopular, through misfortune, he was soon after killed by his subjects, and the traitor Vortiger chosen in his place [i. f. 14].

As this newly-elected monarch was in constant dread of the preferable claims of Uter and Pendragon, the surviving sons of Constans, he began to construct a strong tower for defence. This bulwark, however, three times fell to the ground without any apparent cause, when brought by the workmen to a certain height. The king consulted seven *astronomers* on this phenomenon in architecture. These sages having studied the signs, avowed to each other that they could not solve the mystery. But in the course of their observations they had incidentally discovered that their lives were threatened by a child, who had lately come into the world without the intervention of a mortal father. They therefore resolved to deceive the king, in order to secure their own safety;<sup>2</sup> and announced to him, as the result of their calculations, that the edifice

<sup>1</sup> In Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Britonum* (vi. 7), Constans has two infant brothers, Uther Pendragon and Aurelius Ambrosius. Their father was Constantine.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Matth. ii.

would abide by the ordinary rules of architecture if the blood of a child of this genealogy were shed on the first stone of the foundation.<sup>1</sup>

Though the king could not doubt the efficacy of this expedient, his plans were not much promoted by the response, for the difficulty was to find a child of this anomalous lineage. That nothing, however, might be wanting on his part, he despatched messengers over all the kingdom [i. f. 17]. Two of his emissaries fell in with certain children who were playing at cricket.<sup>2</sup> Merlin was of the party, and, having divined the cause of their search, instantly made himself known to them. When brought before the king, he informed his majesty of the imposition of the astrologers, and showed that the instability of the tower was occasioned by two immense dragons which had fixed their residence under it, and, being rivals, shook its foundation with their mighty combats [i. f. 22]. The king invited all his barons to an ensuing contest announced by Merlin. Workmen having dug to an immense depth below the tower, discovered the den of these monsters, who gratified the court with the exhibition that was expected. The red dragon was totally defeated by his white opponent, and only survived for three days the effects of this terrible encounter.

These animals, however, had not been solely created for the amusement of the court, for, as Merlin afterwards explained [i. f. 25], they typified in the most unequivocal manner the invasion of Uter and Pendragon,<sup>3</sup> the surviving brothers of Moines. These two princes had escaped into Britany on the usurpation of Vortiger, but now made a descent upon England. Vortiger was defeated in a great battle, and afterwards burned alive in the castle he had taken such pains to construct [i. f. 31].

On the death of Vortiger, Pendragon ascended the throne. This prince had great confidence in the wisdom of Merlin, who became his chief adviser, and frequently entertained the king, while he astonished his brother Uter, who was

<sup>1</sup> See supp. note, Merlin; see *infra*, i. pp. 156, 157.

<sup>2</sup> "Ilz virenten ung châp ung tropeau de garçons qui sesbatoyent & iouyent a la crosse."

<sup>3</sup> See note, p. 126.

not aware of his qualifications, by his skill in necromancy [i. f. 34].

About this time a dreadful war arose between the Saxons and Britons. Merlin obliged the royal brothers to swear fidelity to each other, but foretold that one of the two must fall in the first battle [i. f. 36]. The Saxons were totally routed in the fight, and Pendragon, having fulfilled the prediction of Merlin, was succeeded by Uter, who now assumed, in addition to his own name, the appellation of Pendragon [i. f. 38].

Merlin still continued a court favourite. At the request of Uter he transported by magic art enormous stones from Ireland to form the sepulchre of Pendragon; and next proceeded to Carduel, (Carlisle,) to prepare the Round Table,<sup>1</sup> at which he seated fifty or sixty of the first nobles in the country, leaving an empty place for the Sangreal [i. f. 40, etc.].

<sup>1</sup> The prototype of this table was that which Joseph of Arimathia at Christ's command established, and which in its turn was analogous to the one at which Christ had sat with his Apostles at the Last Supper. In the Metrical San Graal, however, a square table is mentioned,

“Ou non de cele table quier, (l. 2491)  
Une autre, et fei appareiller.”

Uter Pendragon's Round Table was subsequently revived. With reference to still later renewals of the round table (namely, by Edward the Confessor in 1043, see Graesse Sagenkreise, p. 149, 150, where further the names of all the knights are given, and notices of round tables in other countries), see Chenu, *Recueil des Antiquitez de Bourges*, Paris, 1621. There was an order of Knights of the Round Table at Bourges.

The Round Table, says Schmidt (*Wiener Jahrbuch.*, vol. 29, p. 86), secures the personage whose duty it is to allot the places from the embarrassment arising from rival claims to precedence on the part of the banqueters, as all seats are equal. This was accordingly a patent reason which might suggest to princes the expedient of a round table for the *Pares Regni*. The custom had been adopted among the Gauls for this reason; according to Posidonius (see *supra*, p. 144, note), however, the exact opposite, viz., that the sitters took their places in accordance with their rank and distinction, nor does he make any allusion whatever to trials of skill as taking place after the banquets, as Villemarqué (*Contes pop. des anc. Bret.* i. 40) erroneously states.—LIEB.

A round table with an order of knights thereto pertaining was founded by Theodoric, king of the East Goths, according to Aurelius Cassiodorus [*variart. libri xii.*], *Wiener Jahrb.*, Bd. ix. 1825, p. 85. In the Saga of Dietrich, the Czar Cartäus is also made to institute a knightly round table. See Graesse, Bd. ii. Abth. 3, p. 150.

Soon after this institution the king invited all his barons to the celebration of a great festival, which he proposed holding annually at Carduel [i. f. 42].

As the knights had obtained permission from his majesty to bring their ladies along with them, the beautiful Yguerne accompanied her husband,<sup>1</sup> the Duke of Tintadiel, to one of these anniversaries. The king became deeply enamoured of the duchess, and revealed his passion to Ulfinus or Ulfin,<sup>2</sup> one of his counsellors. Yguerne withstood all the inducements which Ulfin held forth to prepossess her in favour of his master, and ultimately disclosed to her husband the attachment and solicitations of the monarch. On hearing this, the duke instantly removed from court with Yguerne, and without taking leave of Uter. The king complained of this want of duty to his council, who decided that the duke should be summoned to court, and if refractory should be treated as a rebel. As he refused to obey the citation [i. f. 45], the king carried war into the estates of his vassal, and besieged him in the strong castle of Tintadiel,<sup>3</sup> in which he had shut himself up. Yguerne was confined in a fortress at some distance, which was still more secure. During the siege, Ulfin informed his master that he had been accosted by an old man, who promised to conduct the king to Yguerne, and had offered to meet him for that purpose on the following morning. Uter proceeded with Ulfin to the rendezvous. In an old blind man, whom they found at the appointed place, they recognized the enchanter Merlin, who had assumed that appearance: he bestowed on the king the form of the Duke of Tintadiel, while he endowed himself and Ulfin with the figures of his grace's two squires. Fortified by this triple

<sup>1</sup> Gorlais by name. In a mythological poem of the Welsh bard Taliesin is narrated how Uter Pendragon (Uter Dragon-Head) became a wolf, Welsh *gorlais*, to beget Arthür, and Gorlais is the name of Yguerne's spouse, and thus the origin of this Welsh myth, which is perhaps, not as Dunlop supposes, derived from the story of Jupiter and Alcmena. (See Villemarqué, *Contes pop. des a. Bret.*, i. 18, 54.)

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix, No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Some vestiges of the castle of Tintadiel, or Tintagel, remain on a rocky peninsula of prodigious declivity towards the sea, on the northern coast of Cornwall. [These "vestiges" consisted chiefly of work of the early Norman period, though a small amount of Roman masonry has been found.—H. JENNER.]



metamorphosis, they proceeded to the residence of Yguerne, who, unconscious of the deceit, received the king as her husband [i. f. 48].

This deception has been evidently suggested by the classical story of Jupiter and Alcmena [see supp. note]. The duke corresponds to Amphytrion, and Merlin to the Mercury of mythology; while Arthur, who, as we shall find, was the fruit of the amour, holds the same rank in the romantic as Hercules in the heroic ages.

The fraud of Merlin was not detected, and the war continued to be prosecuted by Uter with the utmost vigour. At length the duke was killed in battle, and the king, by the advice of Merlin, espoused Yguerne. Soon after the marriage she gave birth to Arthur, whom she believed to be the son of her former husband, as Uter had never communicated to her the story of his assumed appearance [i. f. 57].

After the death of Uter [i. f. 57], there was an interregnum in England, as it was not known that Arthur was his son. This prince, however, was at length chosen king, in consequence of having unfixed, from a miraculous stone,<sup>1</sup> a sword which two hundred and one of the most valiant

<sup>1</sup> Et quant il fut jusques à l'evangille [of the Christmas mass], & elle fut chantee aucuns de ses chevaliers & des gens qui oyoient sa messe yssirent hors de l'église. Si virent que il fut presque iour & trouverent devant le portail de l'église une place ou il y avoit ung perron de trois carreaux mais ilz ne sceurent oncques a dire de quelle pierre ilz estoient fors que aucuns disoient que cestoit marbre, et sur ce perron avoit au meillu une enclume de fer bien large environ de demy pied de hault. Et dedans ceste enclume avoit une espee fichee iusques du perron, et quant ceulx de l'église veirent ce si eurent grans merveilles de veoir ce perron . . . L'arcevesque brice . . . vint . . . & veit l'espee au parmy toute debout et unes lettres escriptes d'or sur l'espee qui disoient ainsi cestui qui tira l'espee hors de son lieu fera roy de ceste terre par l'admonition de ihesus." (Fol. lviii, vol. i. of the Merlin. Paris, 1528.)

Theseus, the Athenian hero, had to take from beneath a stone the sword placed thereunder by his father. In northern mythology Odin drives his sword up to its hilt in an oak. Sigmund draws it out. Ordeals were abolished by the Fourth Council of Lateran, 1215. The account of the sword in Lancelot is somewhat different. It was called Excalibur, more properly Escalibur, the Celtic languages not admitting the x sound, a conjectural etymology compounds the name of the Celtic words *sgaile*, bright, flaming, or *sgal*, a champion, and *bor*, noble. Caliburn, as the sword is sometimes called, has been derived from *cail*, and *cailleachul*, noble, and *buirean*, a loud sound.

barons in the realm had been singly unable to extract [i. f. 58]. At the beginning of his reign, Arthur was engaged in a civil war, as the mode of his election, however judicious, was disapproved by some of the barons; and when he had at length overcome his domestic enemies, he had long wars to sustain against the Gauls and Saxons [i. f. 79, 82, etc].

In all these contests the art of Merlin was of great service to Arthur, as he changed himself into a dwarf, a harp player, or a stag, as the interest of his master required; or, at least, threw on the bystanders a spell to fascinate their eyes, and cause them to see the thing that was not. The notion of these transformations seems to have been suggested by the power ascribed in classical times to Proteus and Vertumnus,

*Nunc equa, nunc ales, modo bos, modo cervus abibat.*

On one occasion Merlin made an expedition to Rome, entered the king's palace in the shape of an enormous stag, and in this character delivered a formal harangue, to the utter amazement of one called Julius Cæsar, not the Julius whom the knight Mars killed in his pavilion, but him whom Gauvain slew because he had defied king Arthur [ii. f. 19].

At length this renowned magician disappeared entirely from England. His voice alone was heard in a forest, where he was enclosed in a bush of hawthorn; he had been entrapped in this awkward residence by means of a charm he had communicated to his mistress Vivlian or Viviane,<sup>1</sup> who, not believing in the spell, had tried it on her lover. The lady was sorry for the accident, but there was no extracting her admirer from his thorny coverture.

The earliest edition of this romance was printed at Paris, in three volumes folio, 1498; this impression, which has become extremely rare, was followed by another in quarto (1528), which is much less esteemed than the other, but is also exceedingly scarce.

Though seldom to be met with, the *Roman de Merlin* is one of the most curious romances of the class to which it

<sup>1</sup> See note on Vivian in J. S. Stuart Glennie's "Arthurian Localities," p. lxxiii\*.

belongs.<sup>1</sup> It comprehends all the events connected with the life of the enchanter from his supernatural birth to his magical disappearance, and embraces a longer period of interesting fabulous history, than most of the works of chivalry. Some of the incidents are entertaining, and no part of the narrative is complicated. Yguerne, though she appears but for a short while, is a more interesting female character than is usually portrayed in romances of chivalry. The passion of Uter for this lady, which is well described, is by much the most interesting part of the work; and though the marvellous pervades the whole production, it is not carried to such an extravagant length as in the tales of the Round Table, by which it was succeeded. The language, which is very old French, is remarkable for its beauty and simplicity: Indeed, the romance bears everywhere the marks of very high antiquity. It has been generally attributed to Robert de Borron, to whom so many other works of the same nature have been assigned. The author lived in the time of Henry III. and Edward I., as Rusticien de Pise, who lived during these reigns, calls him, in his prologue to *Meliadus*, his companion in arms.

But, great as the antiquity of the romance no doubt is, its author can lay but little claim to originality of invention. Most of the incidents appear in the chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth, from which they were transferred into the romance through the medium of the *Brut*, a metrical version of that fabulous history, written by Wace. (See *supra*, pp. 140, 143.)

The notion of procreating demons, which forms the basis of the romance, and accounts for Merlin's supernatural powers, seems to have been taken from the *Vita Merlini*, the *Life of the Scotch*<sup>2</sup> *Merlin*, by Geoffrey of Monmouth:

*Et sibi multotiens ex aere corpore sumpto  
Nobis apparent, et plurima saepe sequuntur;  
Quin etiam coitu mulieres aggrediuntur,  
Et faciunt gravidas, generantes more profano.*

It would appear from Jocelin's *Life of St. Kentigern*, the

<sup>1</sup> It has been published for the Early English Text Society.

<sup>2</sup> Or rather Calydonian. (See note 2, p. 148.)

account of whose birth resembles that of Merlin,<sup>1</sup> that our grandmothers were frequently subject to nocturnal attacks of the nature described in the romance; "*audivimus frequenter sumptis transfigiis puellarem pudicitiam expugnatam esse, ipsamque defloratam corruptorem sui minime nosse. Portuit aliquid hujusmodi huic puellæ accidisse.*"<sup>2</sup> Yet, perhaps, the account of the birth and early part of the life of Merlin may be traced to a yet more ancient and venerable source.<sup>3</sup>

At an early period the story of Merlin became current and popular in most of the countries in Europe. The French romance, of which we have given an abstract, was translated into Italian by Antonio Tedeschi, a Venetian, and was written by him while in the prison of Florence, where he was confined for debt. The history of Merlin appeared also in English, in a metrical form,<sup>4</sup> in which the incidents are nearly the same with those in the French romance. [Ellis, *Specimens of Early Metrical Romances*, i. 205, where a summary will be found, p. 75].

Merlin is frequently introduced in the subsequent tales of chivalry, but chiefly on great occasions, and at a period subsequent to his death, or magical disappearance. He has also found his way into the English metrical version of the Seven Wise Masters. [It is called "the Proces of the Sevyn Sages," see Weber, *English Metrical Romances*, vol. iii. p. 91; and Ellis, *Specimens*, vol. iii.] Herowdes,

<sup>1</sup> See Merlin and Kentigern, *Blackwood's Magazine*, December, 1885.

<sup>2</sup> Pinkerton's "*Vitæ Antiquæ*," Lond. 1789, p. 200, ap. Ellis's "*Specimens*," p. 211, vol. i. A curious tradition of this sort is related in Boethius' "*Historia Scotorum*," Paris, 1574, l. viii. 149. See, *infra*, note to Huon of Bordeaux.

<sup>3</sup> Tobit, iii. 8, etc., and vi. 13, 14, etc. Upon this subject see also Dobeneck, *Des Deutschen Mittelalters Volksglauben*, i. 28, etc.; Bouistau, *Histoires prodigieuses*, ch. vii.; Caes. Heisterbach, *Mirac. et Hist.*, iii. 6, 7, 8, 9; Wolf, *Niederländ. Sagen*, No. 105; Scheible *Kloster*, v. 197, etc.; the *Story of the Frankish King Clodio*, Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 391 (364 of Ger. ed. 1843, Göttingen); Kaspar von der Rön's "*Heldenbuch, the Story of the Meerwunder*;" also Dietrich of Bern's Descent; W. Grimm, *Deutsche Helden Sage*, p. 294, No. 9. See also, *infra*, note, on the story of Count Baldwin of Flanders.—LIEB.

<sup>4</sup> Leland (*Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, A. Hall's edition, i. p. 191) puts this poem among the works of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Mr. Ward, who discusses its authorship at some length, is favourable to this ascription. See Ward's *Cat.* i. pp. 279-286.



emperor of Rome, had seven sages in his council, who abused the confidence reposed in them by their master. This emperor, while one day preparing to go on a hunting party, is suddenly struck blind ;—the wise men are convoked, and ordered to account for his majesty's obstructed vision. They are forced to confess that they are unprepared with an answer, but are afterwards advised by an old man to consult the invisible Merlin. Two of their number are sent on this errand, who find out the enchanter with great difficulty, and bring him to the king. Merlin is prepared with a prescription, and informs his majesty that nothing more is necessary to obtain complete restoration to sight, than striking off the heads of his seven sages. Herowdes, delighted to find that his cure could be so cheaply purchased, caused his counsellors to be successively beheaded, and the recovery of his sight coincided with the decapitation of his last minister.

Nor have the fables connected with Merlin been confined to idle tales or romances of chivalry, but have contributed to the embellishment of the finest productions. In the romantic poems of Italy, and in Spenser, Merlin is chiefly represented as a magical artist. The fountain of love<sup>1</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> It is rather the fountain of oblivion :—

“ This Fountaine more then wondrous for delight,  
Was carvde with Alabaster passing fine,  
Set out with gold, adorning it so bright,  
As all the Meadow sun-like made to shine :  
MERLIN it built, (a famous conjuring Wight)  
Because worthie *Sir Tristram* at that time  
Drinking thereof, should leave that lovely Queene,  
Who was in th'end his utter ruine seen.”—St. 34.

—Bejardo's “*Orlando Innamorato*,” the three first Books . . . translated by R. T[oft]. Lond., 1598.

In antiquity, a similar power was attributed to the River Selemnos, Pausan. vii. 23, 2.—LIEB.

“ This Spring was one of those four fountains rare,  
Of those in France produced by Merlin's sleight;  
Encompassed round about with marble fair,  
Shining and polished, and than milk more white.  
There in the stone's choice figures chisseled were,  
By that magician's god-like labour dight;  
Some voice was was wanting, these you might have thought  
Were living and with nerve and spirit fraught.”

—Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, canto xxvi., st. 30, Rose's translation.

the Orlando Innamorato [l. 3.], is said to have been the work of Merlin; and in the 26th canto of the Orlando Furioso, there is described a fountain, one of four which the enchanter formed in France. It was of the purest marble, on which coming events were portrayed in the finest sculpture. In the same poem, Bradamante arrives one night at the lodge of Tristan (Rocca di Tristano), where she is conducted into a hall adorned with prophetic paintings, which demons had executed in a single night under the direction of Merlin.

In the third canto of the Rinaldo, the knight of that name arrives with Isolero at two equestrian statues; the one of Lancelot, the other of Tristan, both sculptured by the art of Merlin. Spenser represents Merlin as the artificer of the impenetrable shield, and other armour of Prince Arthur [Faery Queene, b. i. c. 7. st. 33-36], and of a mirror in which a damsel viewed her lover's shade. But Merlin had nearly obtained still higher distinction, and was on the verge of being raised to the summit of fabulous renown. The greatest of our poets, it is well known, before fixing on a theme more worthy of his genius, intended to make the fabulous history of Britain the subject of an epic poem, as he himself announces in his Epitaphium Damonis [v. 162, etc.] :—

Ipse ego Dardanias Rutupina per aequora puppes  
Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,  
Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum,  
Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos;  
Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iôgernen,  
Mendaces vultus assumptaque Gorlôis arma  
Merlini dolus. —<sup>1</sup>

It has been mentioned, in the abstract just given of the romance of Merlin, that when the magician, who is the chief character in the work, prepared the round table at Carduel, he left a place vacant for the St. Graal, or Holy Vessel brought to Britain by Joseph of Arimathea. Its quest is the most fertile source of adventures to the knights of the Round Table.

Derived<sup>2</sup> from the most varied sources reflecting most

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Milton's "Mansus," v. 80.

<sup>2</sup> From this point to the Perceval, p. 172 is by the present Editor.

opposite characteristics, modified to suit their contemporaries by successive copyists, and loosely linked on one to another, the Romances of the Round Table, or Arthurian Cycle, present rather a motley patchwork than a sequential combination. That they embody elements of vitality is best evidenced by the fact that they afforded a fruitful theme for the most renowned productions of those dialects of Europe which were then crystallizing into the chief languages of the West; that they powerfully aided the survival of the dialects reserved for this destiny; and, that in our own day, as in the past, they supply subjects for some of the greatest pens in literature.

They comprise not only elements, but tendencies the most diverse, and the conjunction must, at least viewed from the standpoint of modern criticism, I think, on the whole, be admitted to be crude, violent, and incongruous. We find too often unintelligibly and unsatisfactorily associated with the incidents of the story cloudy reminiscences of a Celtic heroic age and mythology, vague echoes of Celtic struggles with other Aryan peoples that in Great Britain and Little Britain alike were ever pressing the Kymri westwards from their lands. These again are mingled with episodes of knightly daring and generous dealing, while a lax morality—the reflex, perhaps, of pagan liberty or troubadour licence—alternates with strivings after high Christian ideals.

To all this is superadded an element not only Christian, but mystical and ascetical, of clearly ecclesiastical origin; it is made to serve indeed in some sort as a connecting thread between the romances of the Graal, Merlin, the Quest of the Graal, Lancelot of the Lake, and Morte Arthur, and yet appears as a somewhat alien and incongruous interpolation, and may have been introduced as an antidote to the immorality prevailing through many parts of the cycle. This mystical element is embodied in the

#### ROMANCE OF THE GRAAL,<sup>1</sup>

which is usually placed at the head of the group of romances above specified, supplying the place of an intro-

<sup>1</sup> See supp. note, and appendix No. 2.

duction without which they are incomplete. The opening portion of the Graal legend is clearly traceable to very early sources, and the whole story has been indefinitely varied by Chrestien de Troyes, Menessier, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Albrecht von Scharfenberg, Robert de Thornton, Lonelich, and other mediæval poets. The oldest literary composition, however, in which the story has come down to us, and which is more immediately the groundwork of these romances, appears to be the Joseph of Arimathea or Short Graal, generally ascribed to and ostensibly written by Robert de Borron,<sup>1</sup> a trouvère and sort of secretary attached to Gautier de Montfaucon. Of this work in a metrical dress, which was probably Borron's form of composition, one MS.<sup>2</sup> of the late thirteenth century alone is known. Several MSS. of the same work in prose are extant, and their interconcordance shows them to contain a text not widely differing from the original production.

It should, however, be stated that it has been inferred from allusions in Wolfram von Eschenbach's "Parzival," composed early in the thirteenth, that in the preceding century a French trouvère, Guyot, was the first to compose on the subject of the Graal a poem, now lost, which supplied the basis not only of Wolfram's "Parzival," but of the Perceval-le-Gallois left unfinished by Chrétien de Troyes, who flourished in the same century, as well as of Borron's and all subsequent compositions on the same theme.

Borron winds up the poem by saying he would fain follow up the adventures of Alain and Petrus, two of the personages, but believes no one could do so without knowing the Great History of the Graal, which at the time of writing had never been reproduced by mortal hand [from the divinely written volume of which more anon].

A ce tems que je la retreis,  
O mon Seigneur Gautier en peis  
Qui de Montbelial esteit,  
Uncques retreité esté n'aveit  
La grant estoire dou graal,  
Par nul home qui fut mortal.

<sup>1</sup> See Hucher, *Le Saint-Graal*, tome i., p. 368, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Published by F. Michel, Bordeaux, 1841, 300 copies, reprinted at the end of vol. i. of Lonelich's "*Seynt Graal*," by the Roxburghe Club. 1861.



And further announces his intention of collecting or combining the remaining histories, if he can get access to the book containing them, and *since published* as M. Paulin Paris interprets.

Mais je fais bien a tous savoir  
Qui cest livre vourront avoir  
Que se Dieu me donne santé  
Et vie, bien ai volenté  
De ces parties assembler  
Se en livre les puis trouver.

The verses, however, are not free from ambiguity, from which the best French scholars have been unable to clear them. Borron meanwhile proceeds to the Merlin.

The grant estoire dou Graal has been thought to refer to the longer Graal, not to be confounded with the quest of the Graal, an entirely different work, ascribed to a Welshman, Walter Map, archdeacon of Oxford towards the latter part of the twelfth century, which professes in the prologue to be a volume written by Christ himself, and given to a hermit in "Britain" in the year A.D. 717, and which, together with its recipient, underwent many preternatural vicissitudes, including a trip to Norway and back.

This romance may be regarded as a recast of the Shorter Graal of Borron, composed, however, in a much more imaginative vein, and augmented with numerous adventures, episodes, and spiritual allegories, wholly wanting in the Shorter Graal, and, indeed, quite foreign to its bald and meagre character. It has been suggested that it was produced in collaboration by Map and Borron, who may have met at Fontainebleau, near which, according to M. Hucher, Borron's estates were situate during a mission on which Map is known to have been sent to Louis le Jeune.

I do not, however, see how this theory can be reconciled with the lines quoted above, unless the statement which indeed usually appears in the manuscripts of the Greater Graal, that the work was translated by Borron from a Latin original, be taken in good faith. It is most questionable whether it should be so taken, and I think the following considerations render the point very doubtful. The Longer Graal was probably feigned to have been translated from Latin simply because that was the only language

in which it would plausibly support its pretended Divine origin. This purpose would, however, be as well served by a bare assertion, as by the adhibition of a Latin text, which accordingly never existed, for the work is patently intended for perusal in knightly circles where the clerkly tongue would be unintelligible. It is, too, altogether unlikely that Borron knew Latin—indeed, I think his writings furnish indications that he did not. Moreover, the Greater Graal, though ecclesiastical inspiration is easily discernible in it, is unlike works written in Latin, and does not bear the stamp of a monastic story, with the exception of those parts that are identic in substance with the Shorter Graal, which probably embodies monkish legends based on apocryphal Scriptures.

I proceed here to give a brief abstract of the Shorter Graal, noting by the way some of the differences between it and the Greater Graal.

Upon hearing of Christ's death, the "Chevalier" Joseph of Arimathea, the subordinate and friend of Pilate, obtains from the latter the body of the Redeemer. As the Jews object to the grant, Pilate orders Nicodemus to support Joseph with his authority. To the latter Pilate gives a dish which a Jew had brought to him from the house of Simon the leper, where the Saviour had used it for the Last Supper.<sup>1</sup> In this "vaissel" Joseph, while preparing the body of our Lord for sepulture, collects the gore from the sacred wounds, remembering that the rock at the foot of the cross had been split by the blood of Christ which had fallen on it.<sup>2</sup>

Subsequently the Jews, fearing the popular effect of the resurrection, plot secretly to kill Joseph and Nicodemus, so that, should the Emperor Titus require them to produce Christ's body, they might say that it had been given to Joseph and Nicodemus, and that these had since disappeared. Nicodemus escapes, but Joseph is, by order of

<sup>1</sup> In the Greater Graal it is Joseph himself who takes the dish from the house where the Last Supper had been celebrated.

<sup>2</sup> This is an old tradition frequently mentioned in ancient accounts of the Holy Places. It was a pious allegorical idea, rather than a belief, that the Cross had been erected over the tomb of the first man, and that the blood of the Second Adam had fallen upon the skull of the first Adam, when redemption of his progeny was consummated.

Caiaphas, immured in a tower without light or food, where the Saviour, in a great brightness, appears to him,<sup>1</sup> comforts him, and restores to him the Vessel, instructs him to whom he is to transmit it, and teaches him the "secrets which are said in the great sacrament which is made on the Graal, that is to say, on the chalice." The vessel is to supply Joseph sole and sufficient support and heavenly refecton during his captivity, which terminates in the following way.

The Emperor Titus in Rome comes to hear of Christ's life and miracles from a "chevalier" who has just returned from a "pilgrimage," and who had seen the cures wrought by Him. Titus hereupon despatches a commission<sup>2</sup> to Judæa to inquire into Pilate's conduct, and the truth of the story, and also to bring back some article which had belonged to Christ, which as this knight assured him would have virtue to heal the emperor's son Vespasian from the leprosy with which he is afflicted, the pilgrim knight being meanwhile confined as a hostage for the truth of his story.<sup>3</sup>

Pilate clears himself before the commissioners, who bring back with them to Rome an old woman, Verrine, who had preserved the towel with which she had wiped Christ's face. Vespasian is healed by looking upon this towel, and he and Titus proceed in force to Judæa, where they institute inquiries, and arrest numerous Jews, who, as they cannot produce Christ's body, are burned. One Jew, however, on condition of being spared, conducts Vespasian to Joseph's dungeon. Vespasian descends into it and is prophetically recognized by the captive. The Jew is not indeed actually

<sup>1</sup> Gospel of Nicodemus, chaps. ix. and xi.

<sup>2</sup> *Vindicta Salvatoris*, where the imprisonment of Joseph is also narrated.

<sup>3</sup> This returned pilgrim is, in the Greater Graal, called a "Knight of Capernaum;" instead of being confined, he is himself commissioned by Titus to Judæa, where he instructs Felix (not Pilate), the governor, to issue a proclamation, in consequence of which "*Marie la venissienne*" produces the veronica, or divinely-impressed portrait. It is this woman who, in the Greater Graal, denounces the abettors of the crucifixion, and it is Joseph's wife (*Helyab*) who begs for her husband's deliverance, while Caiaphas discloses the dungeon where Joseph is imprisoned, on condition of having his life spared. Joseph, to whom his forty two years' captivity have seemed but as one day, indicates the culprits concerned in the crucifixion, and they are condemned to the stake; Caiaphas is cast adrift in a boat.

put to death, but is with his family committed to the mercies of the sea in an open boat.

Thus far the main features of the narrative are based upon extant apocryphal writings which date from a high antiquity. Of the subsequent portion we have no earlier form. It is in the Shorter Graal almost wholly mystic and spiritual, but in the Greater Graal is largely expanded by the wars and knightly deeds of prowess of a number of personages unknown to the shorter romance.

Joseph, his sister Enysgeus (Enigée), and her husband Brons,<sup>1</sup> with a number of their kinsfolk and other proselytes, now receive baptism at the hands of St. Clement, and set out for a distant country where they settled. Many natives were converted, and the colony prospered a while, then everything went ill—famine reduced them to extremity—they were being visited for a great sin, “*et cil péchiez estoit luxure sanz raison.*” [He]brons is consulted, and refers to Joseph, who prays before the Holy Vessel for enlightenment, and is inspired by Heaven with a test whereby to discover the sinner. “Remember,” he is told in a vision, “that at the Last Supper, at the house of Simon, I said that he that was eating and drinking with Me would betray Me. The guilty man knew these words applied to him, he was ashamed and drew away, and his place has never been filled, but shall be, at another table.” Joseph is instructed to make a table, and to direct Brons—who is a wise man and one of whom many a wise man shall be descended—to catch a fish. This fish is to be laid next the Graal which is set before Joseph’s place at the table. When the company sit, one vacant place is left on the right of Joseph and left of Brons, and this represents Judas’s place, and shall only be filled by the grandson of Brons and Enygeus. Joseph tells his people if they believe in the Trinity and the Commandments, to sit down to the Grace of God. Some sat, others refrained, the table, ex-

<sup>1</sup> In the Greater Graal the part of Brons is filled by “Josephes,” “Josaphe,” or “Josephe,” Joseph’s son. He and his kinsfolk, as also Vespasian with his company, these secretly, are baptized by St. Philip. St. Clement is not mentioned in the metrical Shorter Graal, in which the forms Hebron, Hebrons, Hebrun, as well as Brons, occur—both circumstances which seem in favour of its anteriority. See *supp. note*.



cept the Judas place, being full.<sup>1</sup> One of the sitters, Petrus, says that if the abstainers do not feel that grace and bliss which fills those who are seated at the table, it is because of the sin, and they withdraw in shame. Joseph bids the company reassemble daily at the hour of Tierce<sup>2</sup> to the "service" of the vessel.

The sinners desiring to know the name of the vessel, are told that it is properly called Graal (or Gréal), as none shall see it but those who are *agreeable* to it.

Par droit Graal l'apelera ;  
Car nus le Graal ne verra,  
Ce croi-je, qu'il ne li agréé.

One of the sinners, Moses, a hypocrite and everything else that is bad besides, begs to be let remain ; Joseph says nothing can prevent him if he is as good as he pretends to be—he endeavours to seat himself in the vacant place : but, lo ! the earth opens and engulfs him.

Aleyn is, in commemoration of the fish, henceforth known as the Rich Fisher.<sup>3</sup> (Riche Pecheour.)

<sup>1</sup> It seems possible not only that some of the marvels narrated in the Greater Graal, but also some of the incidents in the earlier story may have been imported from the East by the Crusaders. Taken in connection with the table of Brons, the following passage is curious :—"Remember when the Apostles said :—O Jesus, Son of Mary, is Thy Lord able to send down a table (*mā'idah*, a table, especially one covered with victuals) to us out of heaven ? He said, Fear God, if ye be believers. They said : We desire to eat therefrom, and to have our hearts assured ; and to know that thou hast indeed spoken truth to us, and we be witnesses thereof. Jesus Son of Mary, said : O God, our Lord, send down a *table* to us out of heaven, that it may become a recurring festival to us, to the first of us, and to the last of us, and a sign from Thee ; and do Thou nourish us, for Thou art the best of nourishers."—Koran, Surah v. 112-114. See also Weil, the Bible, the Koran, etc., p. 227, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The office of Tierce used immediately to precede the celebration of mass in conventual establishments.

<sup>3</sup> M. Paulin Paris suggests that an allusion to the Fisherman's ring and the Papal power is here intended, in other works of the Graal Cycle it is the Roi Pecheur. The Fisherman's Ring seems to be mentioned about 1265, as applied to private letters of the Pope, but was probably so used for some time previously. (See Waterton in *Archæologia*, xi. p. 138, 1856.) I think the more probable allusion is to the Fish, a symbol of Christ, retained from the early Church by which it was much employed in the times of persecution on account of the hidden meaning of the Greek letters which compose it, *ἰχθυς*, the initials of *Ἰησοῦς χριστός Θεοῦ υἱός Σωτήρ*.

Joseph is divinely informed that the vacancy representing Judas's place at the Last Supper shall not be filled up before the day of doom. But for his comfort an analogous place at another (Merlin's Round) Table shall be filled by Bron's grandson, and no more shall be heard of Moses until he is found in the abyss by that future occupant of the seat [the "siege perillous"] which he had essayed to usurp.

Of the twelve sons of Brons, Aleyn elects to remain celibate,<sup>1</sup> and to him his married brethren are to be subject by direction of Joseph, who shows him the Graal which is eventually to pass into the custody of Aleyn's son. Petrus receives a letter from heaven, and sets out for the vales of "Avaron," where he will remain alive till Aleyn's son come and read that letter and possess the Graal, which meanwhile is confided to the guardianship of Brons, by Joseph, who teaches him the secret words imparted to himself by Christ in the prison of Caiaphas. He is to go to the West, where he will await the coming of Aleyn's son, who is to receive the Holy Vessel. Joseph himself goes to Britain, Aleyn also and his brethren start for foreign lands.

The narrative in the Greater Graal is expanded by an almost interminable series of marvellous feats, adventures and voyages, temptations on the rock Perilous,<sup>3</sup> transformations of fair females into foul fiends, conversions wholesale and individual, allegorical visions, miracles and portents. Eastern splendour and Northern weirdness, angelry and devilry, together with abundant fighting and quite a phenomenal amount of swooning, which seem to reflect a strange medley of Celtic, pagan, and mythological traditions and Christian legends and mysticism, alternate in a kaleidoscopic maze that defies the symmetry which modern esthetic canons associate with every artistic production.

A large portion of the story is taken up with the wars, conversions, dreams of Evilac and Seraphe, eventually baptized (ix.) by the names respectively of Nasciens and Mor-drains, before the transfer of the narrative to Britain, which is reached by Josephes and some of his followers upon his

<sup>1</sup> This choice is narrated, in the Greater Graal, *before* the fish incident.

<sup>2</sup> See also below in Perceforest, the account of this mission.

<sup>3</sup> It is apposite to note that the Norman Mont St. Michel was known to mediæval writers as Mons Scti Michaelis de Periculo Maris.

shirt, which bears them over the waters, while the rest follow in a ship that had been preserved, and had been one of Solomon's navy. Once in Britain the adventures extend to Northumbria, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and probably embody reminiscences of early British historical events, but the geography if not purely imaginary is hopelessly vague and confused. In these various regions, all originally peopled by "Saracens," we are presented with a fresh succession of wars, sieges, heaven-aided conquests, alliances, conversions, and prodigies. Here it is the episodes of the fish, and the attempts of Moses to sit in the siege perilous are narrated, and here we find Moses' fate is differently devised.

Seven flaming hands from heaven hurl fire upon him and carry him off to a far place burning like a dry bush, where he is found towards the close of the story. The incident of the fish is also differently narrated. The good-livers go to service and are fed by the Holy Graal. The sinners, on the contrary, not being thus fed, beg Josephes, Joseph's son, to pray for them; and he orders Bron's twelfth son, Aleyn or Alain le Gros, to take the net from the Graal table, and fish with it. He catches one fish, which the sinners say will not suffice. But Aleyn having prayed satisfies them all with it, and is thenceforward called the Rich Fisher. Joseph dies, and his body is buried at "Glai," while his son transmits the Graal to Aleyn. By Aleyn's instrumentality the leper king Galafres, of the land of Foreygne, is converted and christened Alphasan. He is healed by looking upon the Graal, and builds Castle Corbenic, which is to be the repository and shrine of the Holy Cup, as Vespasian was healed by looking on the Veronica.

Much is said about the genealogy of some of the chief personages towards the close. "*Descendances*" is the word used. In the early portion Josephes was miraculously consecrated a bishop, and the same chrism was preserved by an angel, and with it all the Kings of Britain till Uther Pendragon, Arthur's father, are anointed.

The stronghold of Corbenic answers to the wood-girt fastness-shrine of Monsalvatsch in the Parzival of Wolfram

<sup>1</sup> See Stuart Glennie, *Arthurian Localities*.

von Eschenbach and the *Titurel* of Albrecht von Scharfenburg, which are German poems of the thirteenth century upon the theme of the Graal.

The Castle Corbenic is also called the "Palace of Adventure," for the reason that no knight but one might sleep there, without incurring the speedy penalty of death for his presumption. Alphasan is so punished within ten days. A Flaming man appears to him and stabs him in both thighs. There are several similar episodes of mystical wounding in the thigh by spear-head or sword. For instance, in chap. xvi., an angel with a fiery visage appears and drives a lance (leaving the head in the wound) into Joseph's thigh, for some remissness, and (chap. xvii.) draws out the lance by putting the haft into it.<sup>1</sup> With the blood from the wound sight is restored to Nasciens who had been struck blind for lifting up the plateyne which covers the Graal. Joseph, moreover, tells him that when the lance drips blood the secrets of the Graal shall be known, and predicts that the last of Nasciens' line, shall be the only man who shall be thereafter wounded by the lance and who shall see the wonders of the Graal.

The earlier incidents in the story are derived either directly, or more probably through legends no longer known, from the early apocryphal writings. The immurement of Joseph of Arimathea is clearly traceable to the Gospel of Nicodemus, chap. ix. and xi., and the expedition of the Emperor and the Veronica story from a Greek apocryphal work known as *Vindicta Salvatoris*.<sup>2</sup>

The Graal story in its earlier form is clearly due in the main to ecclesiastical legends. The Greater Graal far sur-

<sup>1</sup> This wounding in the thigh and marvellous cure is remarkable, possibly an idea derived from Jacob's withered thigh suggested by St. Augustine's comment. It will be remembered that the mortal wound inflicted by the spear of Achilles in the thigh of Telephos could only be cured by the rust of the weapon. Cf. also the legend of St. Roch, who, during a vision received a wound in the thigh, and was afterwards as miraculously healed.

<sup>2</sup> Published in *Evangelia Apocrypha*, ed. Tischendorf, 1853. There were Anglo-Saxon versions of the Gospel of Nicodemus in the eighth century (see Vuelcker, *Das Ev. Nicodemi in der Abenländischen Literatur*, Paderborn, 1872), but no trace of it in Celtic literature is found before the twelfth century. No early translation, on the contrary, is known of the *Vindicta*, but an Anglo-Saxon version of the Veronica



passes it in imaginativeness and claims, like the Book of Mormon, not only Divine inspiration but celestial penmanship. Private devotional compositions were indeed sometimes commended by a statement that they had been given to mortals in some miraculous way; but the application of such a daring figment to a mere romance is characteristic of the bold treatment of the legend in this later form. In that uncritical age of ready faith, there was no clear border-line between history and fiction or spiritual marvels, and here this audacious assertion of a supernatural origin is, according to M. Paulin Paris, only part of the politico-literary plot which evolved the story of the Graal and of the decurion's apostolate in Britain for the purpose of giving weight and prestige to the side of Henry II. in his struggle with Rome, and developing the story of an independent British Church, a design to which Henry's trusted personal friend Map, Archdeacon of Oxford, lent the influential support of his genial and brilliant pen. This assumption of antiquity, it cannot be denied, was put forward at several councils.<sup>1</sup>

Certain it is, however, that neither was there prior to Henry II.'s time, a chapel at Glastonbury, dedicated to St. Joseph of Arimathea, nor is there extant any trace of a tradition or a cultus of the pious decurion's apostolate in this island, although the Gospel of Nicodemus which speaks of him at length was known and translated into several dialects of Anglo-Saxon in the eighth century.

legend occurs in the same codex as the above Anglo-Saxon Gospel of Nicodemus, preserved in the Public Library, Cambridge. (See C. W. Goodwin on Anglo-Saxon Legends of St. Andrew and St. Veronica, in the publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.) This legend was originally, as Tischendorf points out, derived from the *Vindicta*, doubtless, however, through a Latin version of great antiquity. A "*Cura Sanitatis Tiberii Cesaris Augusti et damnatio Pilati*," was published at Florence in 1741. Editions of "*La Vendetta di Cristo*" were published at the same city early in the sixteenth century, and probably before, while a French version was printed at Lyons in 1517. The name Veronica is applied by mediæval writers to the veil impressed with Christ's face, as if equivalent to *vera icon*. It may, however, perhaps be a corrupted form from Berenice, daughter of King Agrippa, with whom Titus, Vespasian's son, has a *liaison*. Vorberg (*P. Pilatus in Bibel Geschichte und Sage*, 1881, 8vo.).

<sup>1</sup> Montalembert, *Moines de l'Occident*, t. iii. p. 26.

Richer, a monk of Senones in the Vosges, in his *Chronicon Senonense*, written in the thirteenth century, relates how Fortunatus, patriarch of Grado, a favourite of Charlemagne's, though, it must be noted, a man of no exalted character,<sup>1</sup> obtained for a lengthened period the hospitality of the monks of Moienmontiers (*Medianum Monasterium*) in the Vosges, and left them, as alleged, the body ("corpus") of St. Joseph of Arimathea, which he had brought with him from the East, and how subsequently these relics had been stolen—translated—in the dead of night by foreign monks at some date, unspecified, but prior to 980. This singular story, penned more than four centuries after the incident it relates, finds no corroboration in contemporaneous records or facts, or in the earlier-written annals of the monastery. Yet M. Paulin Paris assumes at once in his ingenious article in vol. i. of the *Romania*, that the foreign monks were brethren of Glastonbury,<sup>2</sup> who wished to strengthen as far as possible the story of Joseph's foundation of that sanctuary, by at least having his bones, intended doubtless for subsequent public veneration, within their walls. But on this supposition the religious must have been gifted with truly marvellous prescience, for the predatory exploit in question was achieved more than a century and a half before Henry II., the benefactor whom it was desired to serve, mounted the throne, and before William of Malmesbury<sup>3</sup> had penned the first hint, which has reached our own time, of the traditional advent of Joseph of Arimathea to Glastonbury. It is, moreover, remarkable, considering the readiness with which the bodies of Arthur and Guenever were forthcoming at an opportune juncture,<sup>4</sup> that there are only obscure references to a *grave* of St.

<sup>1</sup> Leo III. writes of him to Charlemagne, "... non audivimus de eo sicut decet de archiepiscopo."

<sup>2</sup> The Glastonian brotherhood were not at a later period wholly without a reputation in such achievements. Witness their theft—removal—real or alleged, of the relics of St. Dunstan from Canterbury in 1011, which was the subject of a long correspondence between the archbishop and the abbey.

<sup>3</sup> Gul. Malm. *De. Antiq. Glaston. Eccl.* c. i. apud Hearne, vol. i. p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> In 1189, when the Welsh renewed their resistance to the English yoke, and maintained that Arthur would return to lead them to triumph. Cf. *infra*, note to *Arthur* on Arthur's Chace. See Dugdale, *Monast.* i. p. 5.

Joseph, not to a shrine or reliquary, as we should expect. Leland visiting the abbey in 1540, while noting the tombs of Arthur and his queen, makes no mention of that of St. Joseph of Arimathea, though William of Worcester speaks of the body of the decurion as being there in 1478. It is probable, therefore, that if the supposed relics were ever transported from Moienmoutiers to Glastonbury, which seems very questionable, they were subsequently discredited. The belief in Palestine, about 1190, was that the body of St. Joseph was still preserved there.<sup>1</sup> M. Paulin Paris's theory is, therefore, more ingenious than convincing; and we think the facts, if facts they be, recorded by Richer, have really little to do with the story, which is far more mystical and spiritual than the other romances of chivalry, and may not improbably have been, as supposed, the work of the churchman Map. There are parts of the romance—the engendering of Sir Galahad the Pure<sup>2</sup> alone destined to deserve the achievement of the Graal, may be instanced,—that appear to me to contain allusions to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which from the middle of the eleventh century had begun to attain prominence, and was rather timidly advocated by the Englishman, Duns Scotus, one of the most celebrated theological writers of the following century. In its composition it is very clear that, whatever the contemporary political bias of its author, the inculcation of faith and purity have been held in view throughout, and that the mysterious healing Graal is treated as a figure of the Eucharist. That worthiest of all the knights, the virgin Sir Galahad, was alone “agreeable” to it, and in its strength, he could say :

I rode

Shattering all evil customs everywhere,  
And past thro’ Pagan realms and made them mine,  
And clash’d with Pagan hordes and bore them down,  
And broke thro’ all.

<sup>1</sup> See Riant, *Exuvie Constantinopolitane*, t. ii. p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Anchois estoient ambedoi si espris de la souueraine amour du sauueour ke de chele partie ne lor pooit corages venir. Ne lors n'en orent il mie corage quant il engenrent Galaad lor darrein enfant par le commandement nostre signour qui le commanda que il li apparillast de sa semenche, i. nouiel fruit de quoi il empliroit en duant la Terre ou il les uoloit mener. MS. Bib. Reg. xiv. E 3 Furnival's ed. of *Lonelich*—printed by Roxburghe Club.

The romance is a Christian allegory where the "Holy Cup of Healing" is the mysterious source of a Power which triumphs over all that is false and lends a spiritual invincibility to its servants.

Notwithstanding all that has recently been written on this romance, much is yet left to explore. We cannot in the space to which we are limited, enter further upon the subject, but append at the end of the volume a few further notes on the story.

### PERCEVAL,<sup>1</sup>

a romance of the fifteenth century, where a great deal is written concerning the attainment and final disappearance of the Graal.

I believe the only impression of Perceval is that of Paris, in 1530. It is not known who was the author of the prose romance,<sup>2</sup> but in his preface he informs us that Philip of Flanders had ordered his chronicler to compile the story of Perceval; but both Philip and his chronicler having died shortly after, Joanne, Countess of Flanders, ordered Menessier, *ung sien familier orateur*, to continue what his predecessor had merely commenced. His metrical composition was the chief foundation of the prose romance; but its author has also availed himself of the metrical work on the same subject written by Chrestien de Troyes in the twelfth century.

Though the conquest of the Sangreal be the chief subject of the latter part of Perceval, the early chapters are merely the story of an artless and inexperienced youth's first entrance into the world. The father and two elder brothers of Perceval had fallen in tournaments or battle;

<sup>1</sup> Trespreulx et vaillant Cheuallier Perceval le galloys jadis cheuallier de la Table ronde, Leql acheua les aduētures du saict Graal. avec aulchuns faictz belliqueulx du noble Cheualier Gauuaī, etc. Paris, 1530. Tresplaisante et Recreatiue Hystoire du Vaillant Perceval, Chevalier de la Table Ronde, lequel acheva les adventures du Saint Greal, avec aucuns faits belliqueux du Chevalier Gauvain et autres.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the author and origin of this romance, see above, p. 159. Besides the works on the subject of Perceval which are there mentioned, there is an English metrical romance, Percyvell of Galles, which was preserved in the library of Lincoln cathedral, and is supposed to have been written by Robert de Thornton, in the reign of Henry VI., printed by the Camden Society.



and hence, as the lost hope of the family, he had been kept at home by his mother, who resided in Wales, where he was brought up in total ignorance of arms and chivalry [fol. 2].<sup>1</sup>

At length, however, Perceval<sup>2</sup> is roused to a desire of military renown, by meeting in a forest five knights, arrayed in complete armour. When he has determined on leaving the family mansion, his mother gives him some curious instructions concerning the duties of a knight. After receiving these admonitions, he sets out for the court of Arthur, and on his way falls in with various adventures, in the course of which he makes some whimsical applications of the lessons of his mother.

On his arrival at Carduel, where Arthur then resided, he encounters a knight in red armour leaving the palace, and is asked by him where he is going, to which Perceval replies, "To King Arthur to demand your armour." In prosecution of this equitable claim, Perceval without farther ceremony enters on horseback into the hall, where Arthur is seated with his knights. This mode of presentation was not uncommon in the ages of chivalry. Stow mentions,<sup>3</sup> that when Edward II. was sitting royally with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Achilles disguised in female attire, and sent by his mother to the Court of Lycomedes to prevent him from incurring the dangers of the Trojan war.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix No. 3—Perceval. Bergmann (*The San Greal*, 1870, p. 30) maintains that this name, invented by Guyot, is doubtless derived from *fārisi-jāl*, a compound Persian word signifying *ignorant knight*, and alludes to the ignorance of young Parzival, who, in consequence of the extreme solicitude of his mother to shelter him from every danger, had been deprived of all knightly education. Chrestien de Troyes, unacquainted with the foreign origin of this word, explains it as signifying one who *pierces* or wanders through vales to seek adventures. M. de la Villemarqué (*Romans de la Table Ronde*, 1860, p. 396), considers Perceval synonymous with the Pheredur of Celtic Saga, *Per* = basin, and both *Kēval* and *Kēdur* = companion, so that either name = companion of the vase. The Basin or vessel being in the Pheredur tradition the Cauldron of Ceridwen or Celtic camp-kettle of heroes, a utensil figured on Celtic coins. See Hucher's *Le Saint Graal*, Paris, 1875-8, and his *L'Art Gaulois ou les Gaulois d'après médailles*, etc. Paris, 1868-74.

<sup>3</sup> Survey of London, 1633, p. 521. Cf. Percy Essay on Ancient Minstrelsy. Note Z. prefixed to his *Reliques*, Lond. 1839, and series I. B.I., No. 6. In the Welsh *Mabinogi Kilwyeh and Olwen*, the former rides into the hall where Arthur is at table. Cf. *San Morte Beiträge zur Bretonischen u. Celtisch-german. Heldensage*, p. 7, and Villemarqué *Contes Populaires*, etc., ii. 288.

his peers, solemnizing the feast of Pentecost, there entered a woman attired like a minstrel, sitting on a great horse trapped, who rode about the table showing pastime. In the legend of King Estmere, the prince of that name introduces himself in a similar manner :—

King Estmere he stabled his steede  
Sae fayre at the hall bord ;  
The froth that came from his brydle bitte,  
Light in Kyng Bremor's beard.

Arthur at this time happened to be holding full court (Cour Pleniere). At the time in which Perceval was written, the French sovereigns, from whose customs the royal manners in these romances are frequently described, did not, as afterwards, maintain a court continually open, but lived shut up with their families and the officers of their household, and only displayed their magnificence on certain occasions, which occurred three or four times a year. These festivals are said to have owed their origin to the diets convoked by Charlemagne to deliberate on State affairs, which were re-established by Hugh Capet ;—they were announced by heralds at the town or castle where they were to be celebrated,—the barons and strangers were invited, and the entertainment consisted in feasts and dancing, joined to the exercise of the talents of the minstrel.

It was on a solemn occasion of this nature, that Perceval behaved with the bluntness that has been described. Arthur, however, promises to make him a knight if he will dismount from his horse, and pay his vows to God and the saints. But Perceval would only receive the honour he solicited on horseback, because, as he said, the knights he met in the forest were not dismounted ; and he added another condition to his reception into the order of knighthood, which was, that the king should grant him permission to acquire the arms of the Red Knight, who, it seems, was the mortal enemy of Arthur. On expressing his intention to gain them by his own valour, Keux, the king's seneschal, who is introduced in most of the romances of the Round Table, but is always represented as a detractor, a coward, and a boaster, nearly resembling the character which Shakspeare has painted in so many of his dramas,

begins to jeer Perceval. On this a damsel, who, we are informed, had not smiled for ten years, comes up to Perceval, and tells him, smiling, that if he live he will be one of the bravest and best of knights. The seneschal, exasperated at her good humour and the prospects held out to Perceval, gives the maiden a blow on the cheek; and, seeing the king's fool sitting near a chimney, kicks him into the fire, between the two andirons, because the fool had been accustomed to say that this damsel would not smile till she had seen him who would be the flower of chivalry [fol. 64]. A fool was a common appendage to the courts of those days in which the romance was written. This embellishment was derived from the Asiatic princes. In Europe, a fool was the ornament held in next estimation to a dwarf; his head was shaved, he wore a white dress with a yellow bonnet, and carried a bell or bauble in his hand. If, however, the scene which took place between the fool, the seneschal, and the damsel, be a just picture of the manners of a court in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the presence of a king must in those days have inspired very little reverence.

Perceval having at length been knighted on his own terms, sets out in quest of the Red Knight, and obtains the arms he desired by slaying him in single combat; but as he did not understand how to open or close a helmet, and knew nothing of the fabric of the other parts of armour, he would have been much puzzled without the assistance of his squire, Guyon, who aids in arming him; and also tries to persuade him to change his under dress for that of the knight he had slain. "I will never," replied he, "quit the good hempen shirt that my mother made me." Thus Perceval would only take the armour of the knight, and the squire is obliged to put the spurs over the gathers which his master would on no account part with. He then teaches him to put his foot in the stirrup, for Perceval had never used stirrup nor spur, but had rode without saddle, and urged on his horse with a stick. The squire then carries the news of Perceval's success to the court of Arthur, to the great joy of the fool, and consternation of the seneschal [f. 7, etc.].

After this, chance (which does so much in all romances of chivalry) conducts Perceval to the house of a knight

who instructs him in the exercises and duties of his profession, and persuades him, though not without difficulty, to forsake his rustic garb for an attire more magnificent and warlike [f. 9].

The romance of Perceval is almost the only one which relates the story of a raw and inexperienced countryman's first entrance into the world, and his immediate admission into the order of knighthood. In other romances the heroes are introduced to our acquaintance in the plenitude of glory, or we follow them through their gradual initiation, while they are bred up among arms, and pass through the regular steps in their advancement to knighthood. The first pages of Perceval are also by much the most comic of the Round Table romances; in none of the other knights of Arthur do we meet with the same bluntness and *naïveté* as in the young Welshman.

After Perceval has been trained to the exercises of chivalry, and equipped in his military garb, the incidents of the romance bear a perfect resemblance to those of the other fabulous histories with which it has been classed.

Our hero having left his instructor, arrives at the castle of Beaurepaire. Soon after his entrance he finds that it is blockaded by an enemy, and in the course of the day he feels that it is reduced to extremities for want of provisions. Blanchefleur, the lady of the castle, makes up, in the best way in her power, for his bad entertainment at table, and he in return frees her from the besiegers, by overthrowing in single combat their chiefs, whom he sends prisoners to the court of Arthur, charging them to inform the smiling damsel that he would avenge her of the blow she had received from the seneschal [f. 10].

Having raised the siege of Beaurepaire, Perceval proceeds to the residence of his uncle the King Pecheur, at whose court he sees the Sangreal or Saint Graal and sacred lance [f. 18]. The wounds which this prince received in his youth had never yet healed up. They would, indeed, have been cured had his nephew thought proper to ask certain questions concerning these relics, as what is the use of the Sangreal, and why does blood drop from the lance? These pertinent inquiries, however, do not suggest themselves; and by his want of curiosity he incurs,



as we shall afterwards find, the displeasure of the Lady Hideous.

Leaving his unfortunate uncle unquestioned, Perceval sets out on his return to the court of Arthur, where he is preceded by many knights whom he vanquishes on his way, and sends thither as prisoners [f. 19]. On his arrival he takes vengeance on the seneschal Kreux, and accompanies Arthur to Carlion, where that prince holds a full court. During his stay there, he one day sees the Lady Hideous pass, who loads him with her maledictions. Her neck and hands, says the romance, were brown as iron, which was the least part of her ugliness; her eyes were blacker than a Moor's, and as little as those of a mouse; she had the nose of a cat or an ape, and lips like an ox; her teeth were red, like the yolk of eggs; she was bearded like a goat, was humped before and behind, and had both legs twisted. This paragon makes her excuses to King Arthur for not tarrying at his court, as she had a long journey before her, but points out a castle where 570 knights, each with his lady, were detained in captivity [f. 26].

The deliverance of these prisoners opens a vast field of enterprise, and the adventures of many knights, particularly of Gauvain, the nephew of Arthur, are related at great length.

Perceval dedicated himself for five years to exploits of chivalry, and neglected all exercises of devotion. He is at length reclaimed by meeting in a forest a procession of ten ladies and three knights, who were doing penance for past transgression, and were walking barefooted for the sake of mortification. Perceval is much edified by their conversation, and goes to confess himself to a hermit, who proves to be his uncle, the brother of King Pecheur [f. 34].

From the hermitage Perceval sets out with the view of revisiting this piscatory monarch, and of propounding the proper interrogatories concerning the Sangreal. In wandering from wood to wood, he comes again to the castle of Beaurepaire, where, spite of his late conversion, he passes three days with Blanchefleur [f. 143, etc.].

After having accomplished the visit to his uncle, whose wounds he at length heals up by virtue of his questions [f. 180, 207], Perceval returns to the court of Arthur

[f. 218]. Soon after his arrival, intelligence is brought to him of his uncle's death, who, it would appear, had only thriven by his infirmities, as some persons are kept alive by their gout. Arthur and all his court set out with Perceval for the kingdom of his deceased relative, to be present at the coronation. In succeeding to his sinful predecessor, Perceval also inherited a number of sacred curiosities. Of these the chief was the Sangreal, whose wonders were manifested much to the satisfaction of Arthur and his barons: it appeared daily at the hour of repast in the hands of a damsel, who carried it three times round the table, which was immediately replenished with all the delicacies the guests could desire.

Arthur returns to his usual residence, and Perceval, soon after his accession, retires to a hermitage, taking with him the Sangreal, which provided for his sustenance till the day of his death [f. 219]. The moment he expired, says the romance, the Sangreal, the sacred lance, and silver trencher or paten which covered the Graal, were carried up to the holy heavens in presence of the attendants, and since that time have never anywhere been seen on earth.<sup>1</sup>

Perceval, after his death, was conveyed to the *Palais aventureux*, where he was buried by the side of King Pecheur, and this epitaph was inscribed on his tomb:—Cy-Git Perceval le Gallois, qui du Saint Greal les adventures acheva.

Many incidents of the life of Perceval are related in other romances of the Round Table, especially in *Lancelot du Lac* [iii. fol. 56, etc.], where a full account, but with considerable variation, is given of the early part of his career; he is brought to the court of Arthur by an elder

<sup>1</sup> The aim of the author of the poem of *Parzival* (Wolfram von Eschenbach), was the solution of that great problem which at all times, and especially in the Middle Ages, has most deeply moved the minds of men, and is ever the most weighty theme of art:—the satisfaction of man's quest after happiness. But the problem can only be solved when this infinite yearning for happiness meets with an adequate object, and this indeed is not to be found on earth. . . . The fancy of the poet, therefore, conceived such an object in the Holy Graal, the resuscitated Adamitic paradise, the existence of which was made intelligible and attested by the doctrine of the Redemption and the introduction of a special divine favour.—Domanig, *Parzival Studien*, Heft. ii. p. 106.

brother; and a lady, who had not spoken, in place of not having smiled, for ten years, foretells his future eminence, and expires on having uttered the prediction.

But the chief difference is in the circumstances connected with the acquisition of the Sangreal, the conquest of which is a leading incident in

### LANCELOT DU LAC,<sup>1</sup>

and occupies a considerable portion of that romance. Hence it has been classed among the continuations of the history of the Sangreal; but the second part, which relates to the acquirement of that relic, is by no means the most interesting in the work, nor that in which Lancelot<sup>2</sup> himself has the greatest share. The account of the earliest years of his life is the most romantic, and his intrigue with Queen Geneura the most curious part of the composition.

King Ban of Britany was, in his old age, attacked by his enemy Claudas, a neighbouring prince, and after a long war was besieged in the strong hold of Tribble, which was the only place that now remained to him, but was considered as an impregnable fortress [i. fol. 1, Paris, 1533]. Being at length reduced to extremities, he departs from this castle with his wife Helen and his infant son Lancelot, in order to beg assistance from his suzerain King Arthur; and, meanwhile, intrusts the defence of Tribble to his seneschal. While prosecuting his route he ascends a hill, from the top of which he perceives his castle on fire, for it had been treacherously surrendered by

<sup>1</sup> Roman fait et composé à la perpetuation des vertueux faits et gestes de plusieurs nobles et vaillants cheualliers, qui furent au temps du roi Artus, compagnons de la Table-Ronde, specialement à la louange de Lancelot du Lac. 5 parts, 1488, vol. i. printed at Rouen; and vol. ii. at Paris. Le premier (— tiers volume) de Lancelot du Lac nouvellement imprimé, etc. 3 vols. A. Verard, Paris, 1494, fol. Other editions appeared at Paris in 1503, 1513, 1520, 1533. See Ward Cat., p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> M. de la Villemarqué (Les Romans de la Table Ronde, pp. 58-9), identifies Lancelot, or L'Ancelet, with a Cymric chieftain, Mael, whose character and career, as recited in the chronicles and bardic records, answers to those of Lancelot. *Mael* signifies servant in Celtic, as does *Anceul*, or its diminutive *Ancelet*, in Romance. See also J. S. Stuart Glennie, Essay on Arthurian Localities, p. lv\*. See supp. note on names.

the seneschal, who in romance is generally represented as a coward or traitor. At this sight the old man is struck with despair, and instantly expires. Helen, leaving her child on the brink of a lake, flies to receive the last sighs of her husband; on returning she perceives the little Lancelot in the arms of a nymph, who, on the approach of the queen, throws herself into the lake with the child. "Et quand la royne approcha des chevaulx, qu'estoient dessus le lac, si voit son fils deslye hors du berceau, et une damoiselle qui le tient tout nud en son giron, et le estrainct et serre moult doucement entre ses deux mammelles, et luy baise souvent les yeulx et la bouche: car c'estoit ung des plus beaulx enfans de tout le monde. Et lors la Royne dist a la damoiselle—Belle douce amye, pour Dieu laissez mon enfant; car assez aura desormais de dueil et de mesaise: il est cheu en trop grand poureté et misere; car il a perdu toutes joyes. Son pere est orendroit mort et sa terre perdue qui n'estoit mye petite si Dieu la luy eust gardée. A chose que la Royne die la damoiselle ne repond ung seul mot. Et quant elle la voit approcher si se lieve a tout l'enfant, et s'en vient droictement au lac, et joint les pieds et se lance dedans. La Royne voyant son fils dedans le lac se pasme incontinent."—[vol. i., f. 4, recto]. This nymph was Vivian, mistress of the enchanter Merlin, better known by name of the Lady of the Lake. Lancelot received the appellation of Lac from having been educated at the court of this enchantress, whose palace was situated in the midst, not of a real, but, like the appearance which deceives the African traveller, of an imaginary lake, whose deluding resemblance served as a barrier to her residence. Here she dwelt not alone, but in the midst of a numerous retinue, and a splendid court of knights and damsels.

The queen, after her double loss, retired to a convent, where she was joined by the widow of Bohort, for this good king had died of grief on hearing of the death of his brother Ban. His two sons, Lyonel and Bohort, are rescued by a faithful knight called Farien, from the fury of Claudas. They arrive in the shape of greyhounds at the palace of the lake, where, having resumed their natural form, they are educated along with their cousin Lancelot [i. f. 6, 15].



When this young prince has attained the age of eighteen, the Lady of the Lake carries him to the court of Arthur, that he may be admitted to the honour of knighthood [i. f. 29, etc.]. On his first appearance he makes a strong impression on the heart of Geneura. The history of Arthur receives a singular colouring from the amours of his queen with Lancelot. It is for her sake that the young knight lays whole cargoes of tributary crowns at the feet of her husband; for her he accomplishes the conquest of Northumberland, where he takes the castle of Douloureuse Garde (Berwick), afterwards, under the name of Joyeuse Garde, the favourite residence and burying-place of the knight. In compliment to Geneura, he attacks and defeats King Gallehaut, who becomes his chief confidant, and brings about the first stolen interview between his friend and Geneura. It is even at the suggestion of this queen that he excites Arthur and his knights to a long war of vengeance against Claudas, the usurper of his own dominions. When Arthur, deceived by the artifices of a woman, who insisted that she was the real Geneura, repudiates his queen, leaving her at liberty to indulge, without restraint, her passion for Lancelot, the knight is not satisfied; he deems it necessary for the dignity of his mistress that she should be restored to the throne of Britain, and that, protected in her reputation by the cloak of marriage and the sword of her lover, she should pass her life in reputable adultery [i. f. 133, etc.]. Hence a great proportion of his exploits are single combats, undertaken in defence of the innocence of his mistress, in which his success is usually greater than he deserved from the justice of his cause. To Geneura, too, on the most trying occasions his fidelity remains inviolate, as appears from the indignation he expresses at having been betrayed into the embraces of a damsel, who inconsiderately assumed the character of Geneura [ii. f. 86]—“Trop durement damoyselle m’avez vous mocqué; mais vous en mourrez; car Je ne vueil pas que jamais decevez Chevalier en telle maniere comme vous m’avez deceu. Lors dressa l’espée contremont, et la damoyselle qui grant paour avoit de mourir luy cria mercy a jointes mains, en luy disant—haa franc Chevalier ne m’occiez mye, pour celle pitié que

Dieu eut de Marie Magdaleine. Si s'arresta tout pensif—si la veit la plus belle que oncques avoit veu : et il trembloit si durement d'yre et de maltalent que a peine pouoit il tenir son espee, et pensoit s'il occiroit, ou si il la laisseroit vivre. Et continuellement la damoyselle luy crioit mercy ; et estoit devant luy, toute nue, en sa chemise, a genoulx : et luy, en regardant sa viz et sa bouche, en quoy il avoit tant de beaulté, luy dist.—Damoyselle, Je m'en yrai tout vaincu et tout recreant comme celluy qui ne s'ose de vous venger, car trop seroye cruel et desloyal si grant beaulté destruisoye.” A more convincing proof of his fidelity, however, is exhibited in his reply to a damsel who makes to him an explicit declaration of love.—“Ma volonté y est si bien enracinée que Je n'auroye pas le couriage de l'en oter. Mon cueur y est nuyt et jour, car mon cueur ne mes yeux ne tendent tous jours fors celle part, ne mes oreilles ne peuent ouyr bonnes nouvelles que d'elle. Que vous dirois—mon ame et mon corps sont tous a elle. Ainsi suis Je tout a son plaisir, ne Je ne puis rien faire de moy, non plus que le serf peult faire autre chose que son seigneur luy commande.”

Nor does Lancelot merely signalize his attachment by the preservation of his fidelity, or by engaging in those enterprises which were congenial to the feelings of a knight, but submits to disgraces which no one of his profession could endure ; thus, for the purpose of overtaking Geneura when a horse could not be procured, he ascends a cart, the greatest infamy to which a knight could be subjected : “En ce temps la estoit accoustumée que Charrette estoit si vile que nul n'estoit dedans qui tout loz et tout honneur n'eust perdu : et quant s'invouloit a aucun tollir honneur si le faisoit s'en monter en une Charrette : Car Charrette servit, en ce temps la, de ce que Pilloris servent orendroit ; ne en chascune bonne ville n'en avoit, en ce temps la, que une” [ii. f. 3].

At length the intrigue of Lancelot and Geneura is detected by the fairy Morgain [i. 155], the sister of Arthur, and revealed [iii. f. 126] to that prince by her and Agravain [iii. f. 133], one of the knights of the Round Table, for a vassal would have become criminal had he concealed anything from his lord. After this detection Lancelot

sustains a long war against Arthur and his knights, first in his castle of Joyeuse Garde, and afterwards in his states of Britany. Arthur is recalled from the prosecution of this contest by the usurpation of Mordrec;<sup>1</sup> and as he disappears after the battle which he fights with this unnatural son, he is believed to have been slain with the rest of his chivalry.<sup>2</sup> Geneura, as if she thought pleasure only gratifying while criminal, withdraws to a convent. Lancelot having arrived in Britain after the battle, retires to a hermitage [iii. f. 150], and is joined in his solitude by his brother Hector of Mares, the only other Knight of the Round Table who had survived the fatal battle with Mordrec.

Thus, although Lancelot du Lac is not free from the defect (common to all the Round Table romances) of a want of unity in the action, there is yet one ruling passion that animates the story. The unconnected adventures of the Duke of Clarence [i. f. 140, etc.], as well as those of Lyonel and Boort, the two cousins of Lancelot, are, indeed, related at full length, and the conclusion of the romance is principally occupied by the quest of the Sangreal, in which Lancelot acts only a subordinate part; but as far as the hero of the work is concerned, his passion for Geneura is the ruling principle by which all his actions are guided, and the main spring of the incidents of the romance. The adventures of the principal character, indeed, are too much of the same cast: he is too often taken prisoner, and too often rescued; and his fits of insanity are also too frequently repeated [i. 149, ii. 1, &c.]. Lancelot, however, has been perhaps the most popular of all the romances of the Round Table. On the French playing-cards one of the knaves bears the name of Lancelot; a

<sup>1</sup> Mordred, Modred, and Medrawd. Mordred is sometimes called Arthur's nephew, sometimes his bastard son. An explanation is found in the *Giglan*, v. 2. "Son propre fils naturel qu'il avoit engendre en sa seur avant quelle fust mariée, car *il ne scevoit pas* quelle fut sa seur lequel avoit nom Mordret," etc.—Schmidt, *Wien. Jahrb.* xxix. p. 103. Nor is the case of Arthur and Mordred the sole instance in folktale of this relationship. Siegmund (in the *Völsunga Saga*) has a son, Sinfliotli, by his sister Signe, who, under an assumed form, was unrecognized by him.—LIEB. See *infra*, note on the Gregory Legend, vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix, No. 2.

proof of the estimation in which the work was held at the time this game was invented.

There is a metrical romance, on the subject of Lancelot, entitled "*La Charette*," which was begun by Chrestien de Troyes in the twelfth century, and finished by Geoffrey de Ligny. This work is more ancient than the prose Lancelot,<sup>1</sup> but, as the incidents are different, it cannot be regarded as the original of that composition. Mr. Warton, and the authors of the *Bibliothèque*, seem to agree in thinking that the work, of which I have given the above abstract, was originally written in Latin; but Warton ascribes the French version to Robert de Borron, on the authority of a MS. *Lancelot du Lac*, where it is said to be—*mis en Francois par Robert de Borron par le comendement de Henri Roi d'Angleterre*. This manuscript, however, is not the same with the printed Lancelot. In one passage of the *Bibliothèque* the composition of the prose romance of Lancelot is attributed to Gualtier Map, who is also mentioned as the French author in the preface to *Meliadus*,<sup>2</sup>—*Ce n'est mye de Lancelot car Maistre Gualtier Map en parla assez suffisamment en son livre*. The authors of the *Bibliothèque* have elsewhere attributed *Lancelot du Lac* to Gasse le Blond, a mistake which seems to have arisen from a misconception of a passage in the same preface, where it is said that he was the author of the adventures of Lancelot, meaning those connected with this hero, which are related in the romance of *Tristan*. Whoever may have been the author of the prose Lancelot, it is certainly of very high antiquity: indeed it is evidently older than *Tristan*, which is generally accounted the earliest prose romance of chivalry. No mention is made in the story of Lancelot, of the achievements of *Tristan*; and surely, if the work devoted to his exploits had been written first, so renowned a knight would not have been passed over in silence. The *Livre de Tristan*, on the other hand, is full of the adventures of Lancelot, many of which coincide with those related in the romance of that name. The romance of Lancelot was first printed at Paris in

<sup>1</sup> See *Romania*, i. p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> And in MSS. See Paulin Paris, *Manuscripts Français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, i. p. 146.



1494, which is considered as the best edition: it afterwards appeared in 1513, and lastly in 1533, which impression is held in higher estimation than that by which it was immediately preceded.

In some of the editions, Lancelot is divided into three parts,<sup>1</sup> comprising the adventures of Agravain, the Quest of the Graal, and the Morte d'Artus, which is the origin of the celebrated metrical romance Morte Arthur. The English prose work of that name, also called the History or Boke of Arthur, was compiled from the romances of Lancelot, Merlin, and Tristan, by Sir Thomas Malory, in the beginning of the reign of Edward IV., and was printed by Caxton in 1485.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ritson imagines that the English metrical romance of Morte Arthur was versified from the prose one of the same title, but as it differs essentially from Malory's prose work, and agrees exactly with the last part of the French romance of Lancelot, it is more probable that it has been versified from this composition.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the same way as the heading Graal sometimes covered seven romances more or less distinct from each other, viz., (1) The Graal and its Guardianship, by J. Arimath, (2) The Quest of the Graal—(the latter, however, often included under Lancelot), (3) Merlin, (4-7), Lancelot. So under Lancelot we find—

1. The early adventures of the Knight and his adultery with Genever, or Lancelot, properly so called. This first part is often divided into two sections, the pausing place being at the departure of Lancelot from Arthur's Court in company with Gallehaut. See Ward, Cat. i. p. 345, etc.

2. Agravain the Proud.

3. Quest of the Graal.

4. Morte Arthur.

<sup>2</sup> Malory's "Morte Arthur" portrays in an unjust light the characters of Sir Gavain and other Knights of the Round Table, though a work of the greatest interest and composed in the true sentiment of chivalry. See Sir Walter Scott's remarks in his introduction to Sir Tristrem, No. II. Sir Thomas Malory's book was edited with an introduction in 1868, by Sir Edward Strachey.

<sup>3</sup> Dunlop copies Ellis in saying that this metrical version (printed in 1819 for the Roxburghe club) was translated immediately from the French text. Had he taken the trouble of comparing them together, he would not have hazarded such an assertion.—F. Madden. An English (or rather Scottish) metrical version of Lancelot of the Laik, about 1490-1500, has been edited by Mr. Skeat from a manuscript in the Library of the University of Cambridge, for the Early English Text Society, London, 1865. The earlier edition, published for the Maitland Club in 1839, is very inaccurate.

To Malory, Spenser was greatly indebted, as Warton has shown at much length in his remarks on that poet's imitations of the old romances,<sup>1</sup> where he also attempts to prove that Ariosto borrowed from Lancelot du Lac the notion of Orlando's madness, of his enchanter Merlin, and of his magic cup.

The fairy Morgana, who is a principal character in this romance, and discovered to Arthur the intrigue of Geneura with Lancelot, is a leading personage not only in other tales of chivalry, but also in the Italian poems. In the Orlando Furioso she convinces her brother of the infidelity of his queen, by means of a magical horn. About a fifth part of the Orlando Innamorato, beginning at canto thirty-six, is occupied with the Fata Morgana. She is there represented as dispensing all the treasures of the earth, and as inhabiting a splendid residence at the bottom of a lake. Thither Orlando penetrates, and forces her to deliver up the knights she detained in captivity, by seizing her by a lock of hair, and conjuring her in the name of her master Demogorgon. She thus became a well-known character in Italy, where the appellation of Fata Morgana is given to that strange and almost incredible vision which, in certain states of the tide and weather, appears on the sea that washes the coast of Calabria. Every object at Reggio is then a thousand times reflected on a marine mirror, or, when vapours are thick, on a species of aerial skreen, elevated above the surface of the water, on which the groves and hills and towers are represented as in a moving picture. (Swinburne's Travels, v. i. p. 365. Houel, Voyage Pittoresque des Isles de Sicile, &c. v. ii. p. 2.<sup>2</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Poet. 1871, vol. ii. p. 118, etc. The only MS. exhibiting the story of Balin and Balan, in Malory's "Morte Arthur," belonged to Mr. Henry Huth, and is understood to be in preparation for publication.

<sup>2</sup> Morgana is the Breton equivalent of sea-woman (*Mor*, sea, and *gwen* splendens fœmina). See Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, pp. 641, 412, 820. Villemarqué, on the other hand (Contes populaires, etc. ii. 127, Note ix. and p. 39), explains that *Morgan Hud* is Arthur's head physician. "Ce personnage, dont les traditions celtiques et, d'après elles tous les romanciers de l'Europe au moyen âge, ont raconté l'histoire sur tous les tons, semble apparaître ici sous son jour véritable. Son nom qui peut s'appliquer aux êtres des deux sexes, aide à comprendre par quelle méprise les chanteurs populaires bretons, et leurs imitateurs, en ont fait une femme :

We have now discussed the romances which have been considered as relating more particularly to the matter of the Sangreal. The family history of the princes of Leonnoys, which is comprised in the romances of Meliadus and Tristan, who were knights of the Round Table, and contemporary with Arthur, and of their descendant Isaië le Triste, is next to be considered.

The country of Leonais, or Leonnoys, of which Meliadus was king, and which was the birth-place of Tristan, though once contiguous to Cornwall, has now disappeared, and is said to be more than forty fathoms under water. An account of it has been fished up by Carew in his Survey of Cornwall, and has been quoted in the notes to Way's *Fabliaux* [vol. ii. p. 179] :—"The sea gradually encroaching on the shore hath ravined from Cornwall the whole tract of country called *Lionnesse*,<sup>1</sup> together with divers other parcels of no little circuite; and that such a country as *Lionnesse* there was, these proofs are yet remaining. The space between the Lands-End and the isles of Scilly, being about thirteen miles, to this day retaineth that name, in Cornish Lethowsow, and carrieth continually an equal depth of 40 or 60 fathom, (a thing not usual in the seas proper dominion,) save that about the midway there lieth a rocke, which at low water discovereth its head. They term it the gulfpe, suiting thereby the other name of

le sobriquet de Hud (*industrieux*, par extension *enchanteur* et *enchanteresse*) qui repond exactement au mot *faé*, *fée*, dans la langue romane" ("En celuy temps estait appelé *faé* cil qui s'entremettoit d'enchantements . . . et moult en estoient pour lors principalement en la Grand' Bretagne."—Roman de Lancelot du Lac), joint à sa qualité de médecin, explique l'origine de sa renommée fabuleuse, etc.—LIEB.

<sup>1</sup> According to an extract from Perceforest contained in the Marquis d'Argenson's "*Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque*," xii. p. 144, the kingdom of Leonnoys received its name from the brilliant tournaments of Perceforest, where Lyonnel of Glar was king of the mysterious dominion of the magician Darnant. In the romance of Perceforest itself, however, iv. fol. 6, Perceforest says merely, "I give you herewith the whole of the country which Darnant the magician possessed, and which I formerly conquered, and I will that it belong to your kingdom, which shall, in honour of your name, be called the Kingdom Lyonnel." Another passage in Perceforest (iii. c. 16 end, fol. 37) reads: "It was called the kingdom of Lyonnel because that was the name of its first king, and it passed from heir to heir until Meliadus became its king."—SCHMIDT, Wiener Jahrbuch. Bd. 29, p. 98.

Scilla. Fishermen also, casting their hooks thereabouts, have drawn up pieces of doors and windows."

Of the romances relating to the heroes of the country which has been thus overflowed, the first in the order of events, though not the earliest written, is

### MELIADUS OF LEONNOYS,<sup>1</sup>

which was printed at Paris 1528. Rusticien de Pise, the original author of this romance, commences his prologue by returning thanks to the Trinity, for having enabled him to finish the Romance of Brut, and to have thus acquired the favour of King Henry of England, whom his work had so greatly pleased that he had ordered him to write another of the same sort, because his former one had not comprehended every thing relating to the subject.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Meliadus de Leonnoys. Ou present volume sont contenus les nobles faicts d'armes du vaillant Roy Meliadus de Leonnoys. Ensemble plusieurs autres nobles proesses de cheualerie faictes tant par le roy Artus, Palamedes, le Morhoul dirlande, le bon Chevalier sus paour, Galehaut le Brun, Segurades, Galaad que autres bons chevaliers estans au temps du dit roy Meliadus.—Histoire singuliere et recreative nouvellement imprimee a Paris—Galliot du Pre. 1528. Meliadus and Guiron le Courtois form parts of the Great Romance of Palamedes, by Hélié de Borron.

<sup>2</sup> This Prologue (in which Bret, that is Tristan, has been transcribed Brut by Dunlop), where the author calls himself Helis de Borron, was published at the beginning of Meliadus (Paris, 1528), with no very important alteration, and in the prologue of the publisher (Galliot du Pre), this, the author's, prologue is attributed to Rusticien de Pise. This prologue has also been published with a few verbal alterations, by Paulin Paris.—Manuscripts François (Paris, 1838), ii. pp. 346-351. At the end of it M. Paris says that Palamèdes is evidently a name inserted by mistake, and that the hero of the romance, in its original entirety, is the mirror of "Cortoisie," Guiron le Courtois; and accordingly he always describes it under that name. Still there is some other evidence that the original romance was known as Palamèdes, for it was probably to this that the emperor Frederick II. referred in his letter of thanks to the Segreto of Messina, for sending him a book that had formerly belonged to one Johannes Romanzorius. His letter is dated 5th February, 1240, and runs thus: "De LIV. quaternis scriptis de libro Palamidis qui fuerunt quondam magistri Johannis Romanzori, quos nobis per notarium Symonem de Petramajore mictere te scripsisti, gratum ducimus et acceptum." See Hist. Dipl. Frid II<sup>di</sup>, edited by Huillard-Breholles, tom. v. (Paris, 1859), p. 722. Gyron le Courtoys is the name given to a



"In this book, therefore," says he, "will be contained whatever is wanting in Brut, and the other works extracted from the matter of the Sangreal." After this formidable declaration, in order to give an appearance of authenticity to his fables, he talks of his labour in translating from the Latin; he also dwells with much complacency on his writings, and informs us that he had received two castles from King Henry as a reward for them. He then declines interfering with the adventures of Lancelot, as Gualtier Map had said enough of them; or of Tristan, as he himself had treated that subject in the Brut. King Henry having shown a predilection for Palamedes, who, we shall find, is a principal character in the romance of Meliadus,<sup>1</sup> Rusticien wisely resolved to gratify the humour of a monarch, who remunerated the compilation of old wives' tales with a couple of castles.

This prodigal monarch must have been Henry III., for Rusticien informs us in his Gyron the Courteous, that the romance of that name was compiled from the book of his Lord Edward, when he went to the Holy Wars. It is evident this was Edward the First, who embarked for Palestine in 1270, during the life-time of his father Henry III. Now, if Rusticien compiled from a book belonging to Edward I., his existence could not have commenced in the reign of Henry II., who died in 1189, nor

separate romance (published by Verard, Paris, about 1501), and there attributed to the same Rusticien. Paulin Paris (vol. ii. pp. 355-360 and vol. iii. pp. 56-61 and p. 64 of his *Manuscripts François*, Paris, 1838) has given some account of Rusticien de Pise, from whose Arthurian compilations both these printed romances, the Meliadus and the Gyron, were drawn. Rusticien himself informs us, in a passage printed at the beginning of the Gyron, that he had been engaged upon what he terms "translating" a great book of romances belonging to Edward I. of England, whilst he (at that time only prince), was absent in the Holy Land, that is, in 1271-72. Paulin Paris has printed the words of Rusticien more fully (vol. ii. p. 356), and from these, and the work to which they form the preamble, it appears that this "translation" was, in fact, a compilation of several Arthurian Romances, especially the Quest of the Saint Graal, the Tristram, and the Palamedes (or Guiron le Courtois). Subsequent copyists, says M. Paris (iii. p. 64), picked out individual adventures of this or that hero, and hence were derived the printed Guiron and Meliadus.—Ward, *Cat. of Romances*, i. pp. 366-7.

<sup>1</sup> In spite of which he is not mentioned in the abstract which follows, and but little in the original romance.

could it have been protracted to the accession of Henry IV., who succeeded in 1399.

The prologue of *Rusticien* is the only part of the composition which has reached us in its original form, and the romance of *Meliadus* is now only extant as corrected by a more modern author, who must nevertheless have lived at a very remote period. It is this *Redacteur*, as he is termed, who acquaints us in his preface that *Rusticien de Pise* was the name of his predecessor. He also informs us, that he himself laboured by order of Edward King of England; but what Edward he has left to conjecture, which has fixed on the fourth monarch of that name. He bestows much commendation on the original author, but complains bitterly of his not having been sufficiently explicit on the subject of his hero's genealogy. This deficiency it was then fortunately too late to supply, so that the romance, at least in its corrected form, begins with the adventures which happened in England to two Babylonish hostages, who had been sent by their own monarch to Rome, and had been allowed by the emperor to pass on their parole into Britain. They visited Arthur at Kamalot (Winchester), which was his chief city next to London, and his favourite residence, on account of the fine rivers and woods by which it was surrounded. Some curious delineations are given in this part of the romance concerning the manners of the court, and form of the government of this fabulous monarch.

During the stay of the Babylonians at the court of Arthur, a romantic story occurs of a knight who arrives incognito in a vessel, and defies all the companions of the Round Table, but is severely wounded in a combat with one of their number. Arthur receives this unknown knight in his palace, and treats him with kindness, even after he discovers that the stranger is Pharamond, King of the Franks, his mortal enemy.

Being cured of his wounds, the French king embarks for his own country;—he sails down a stream, and enjoys a favourable breeze till he comes to the mouth of the river. There a storm arising, he lands and reposes himself by the side of a fountain, which was surrounded by a grove of pines, and where the grass was green and abundant.

When refreshed, he sends to demand joust from Trarsin, the lord of the territory, a brave but felonious knight. This adversary he speedily overthrows; but afterwards encounters Morhault, or Morhoult, of Ireland, a celebrated character in the romances of the Round Table, and by him he is in turn defeated. After the combat, these opponents, who were unknown to each other, mutually recount their adventures; and, while thus engaged, a damsel arrives to inform Morhoult that her lady, who was the wife of Trarsin, and the most beautiful woman in the kingdom, expected him to an interview. This, however, was a snare laid by the husband, who had suspected his wife's fidelity, and had bribed the damsel to bring Morhoult into his power. A punishment is prepared for the lovers, which seems to have suggested to Tasso the situation in which he places Olindo and Sophronia, in the 2nd canto of the Jerusalem. Brehus, who afterwards received the surname of Pitiless, attempts to rescue the lovers, but in vain. After his failure in this trial, while ranging through a forest he meet Yvain, the nephew of Arthur, with a lady in his company.<sup>1</sup> Brehus kills the lady, owing to the hatred he had conceived against the fair sex, on account of the damsel who had betrayed Morhoult. A combat ensues between Brehus and Yvain, who could not be persuaded of the justice of this retaliation. When both are nearly exhausted with fighting, the Knight without Fear arrives on the spot, and accompanied by Brehus again proceeds to attempt the rescue of Morhoult. This is at length effected, and Morhoult carries off the lady from Trarsin; but, when he has travelled a short way, he is met and vanquished by Meliadus, who restores the lady to her husband, after exacting a promise that he would use her well for the future, and cease to interrupt her gallantries.

This is the first appearance of the hero of the romance, though the preceding part occupies 29 chapters of the 173, which constitute the whole work. Meliadus again vanishes, and we hear little more of him till the 43rd chapter. The intervening sections are chiefly filled with the exploits of

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, No. 5.

Morhoult and of the Knight without Fear. Afterwards, however, Meliadus enters on a long series of adventures, chiefly warlike, of which the principal is the deliverance of Arthur and his companions from the castle of the rock. At the end of twenty chapters, entirely occupied with "tournaments and trophies hung," the reader is pleased, though it redounds little to the honour of the hero, to find a love story, which the author has introduced at the 65th chapter. Meliadus, in the course of his wanderings, meets with the queen of Scotland in a castle, where he was entertained, and becomes deeply enamoured of her. He returns to his own country in a languishing state of health, and imparts the story of his love to one of his knights, who undertakes to acquaint the queen with his passion, and to repeat to her a lay which his master had written, expressive of his sentiments. Meliadus afterwards prosecutes his suit personally, with the utmost success, at the court of Arthur, where his mistress then resided, till the king of Scotland being informed of the intrigue, surprises Meliadus with his queen; but promises him,—*qu'il ne feroit aucun mal a la reine pour chose qu'il eut vue*. The king considers it prudent, however, to depart from court with his consort; but on his way to Scotland he is overtaken by Meliadus, and the queen is carried off. On account of this outrage, Arthur declares war against Meliadus. This prince, in consequence, retires to his own states, whence he describes his situation, and demands aid from Pharamond, in a poetical epistle, and is promised assistance, in a similar form. A long account is given of the contest carried on in Leonnoys; Meliadus is taken prisoner, and the war concludes, in the 106th chapter, with the surrender of his capital, and re-delivery of the queen of Scotland to her husband. Meliadus amuses himself, while in confinement, with playing on the harp, and composing songs, particularly a lay, entitled, *Dueil sur Dueil*, which, the romance informs us, was the second that ever was written. He is allowed to solace himself in this manner till Arthur, being attacked by the Saxons, frees him from prison, in order to avail himself of his assistance in his contest with these enemies, which is, at length, terminated by Meliadus overthrowing Ariohan, the Saxon chief, in single combat.



In more regular works of fiction, the late appearance of the hero would, no doubt, be considered as a blemish; but in few of the ancient romances of chivalry is unity of action and interest, or any other rule of art, accurately attended to. *Meliadus* is destitute, however, of the principal charm of works of this nature,—a variety of enchantments, of giants, and of monsters, which are the only embellishments that can compensate for the want of regularity and breach of the laws of composition. The knights in *Meliadus* wander for ever amid gloomy forests, and there is more of the sombre mythology of the north, with less eastern splendour and imagination, than in almost any of the tales of chivalry.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the conclusion, the romance is occupied with the exploits of the son of *Meliadus*, whose adventures form the subject of a separate romance, called

### TRISTAN,<sup>2</sup>

from the name of its hero. This composition has been the most popular of all the romances of the Round Table, and is considered as the work which best characterizes the ancient spirit of French chivalry. It was first printed at Rouen, 1489, one volume folio; afterwards in two volumes folio at Paris, by Verard, without date, and again at the same place in 1522 and 1569. The date of its composition, however, is much earlier than that of its first publication.

The story of *Tristan* seems to have been current from the earliest times. It was the subject of a number of metrical tales in the romance language, which were versified by the French minstrels from ancient British authorities. From these original documents, or from the French metrical tales, was compiled the *Sir Tristrem*, attributed to Thomas of Erceldoune, and which has been edited by Mr.

<sup>1</sup> Respecting another romance of *Meliadus*, entitled *Meliadus Chevalier de la Croix*, see Graesse's *Litterär-geschichte*, vol. ii., Abth. iii. p. 211. It is there spoken of as "halb mystischen."—H. JENNER.

<sup>2</sup> *Roman du tres vaillant noble et excellent cheualier Tristan, fils du noble Roi Meliadus de Leonnoys, . . . par Luce Chevalier, Seigneur du Chateau de Gast.* Rouen, 1498, 2 pts. See *infra*, p. 207.

[Sir Walter] Scott. There are also extant two fragments of metrical versions, which are supposed to be parts of one whole work, written by Raoul de Beauvais, who lived in the middle of the thirteenth century. But the immediate original of the prose Tristan is understood to be the history of Mark and Yseult, written in verse by Chrestien de Troyes, who flourished early in the twelfth century. The MSS. of this work have not reached us, and the prose composition of which it is the original is of a date long posterior. Mr. Scott believes that the author of the prose Tristan is the same with the earliest writer of Meliadus, who was certainly Rusticien de Pise, and who lived in the reign of Henry III.<sup>1</sup> The author of Tristan, however, informs

<sup>1</sup> Hélie de Borron, the author of the original Palamedes, and, therefore, author of the Meliadus, completed the unfinished Tristan of Luces de Gast; and hence Scott's view is partly right. See Paulin Paris's "Manuscripts Français," etc., i. 137, where the epilogue of H. de Borron is quoted from MS. 6776, in the Bibliothèque Du Roi (now Bibliothèque Nationale) at Paris.

The poet, who has done most to immortalize the theme of Tristan and Isolde, is Gottfried of Strasburg, who lived in the early part of the thirteenth century. He declares that he had found difficulty in obtaining an authentic copy of the Romance, on account of the number and variety of versions of the work; but had found in the course of his reading a large number of foreign (Walschen) and Latin compositions, that *Thomas von Britanie*, who was very conversant with the *britunschen buchen*, had related the story accurately. Southey (p. liii of his Introduction to *Morte Arthur*) identifies this Thomas with Thomas the Rymer, of Erceldoun, the supposed author of the Auchinleck MS. of the fourteenth century, published by Sir Walter Scott. It is, however, by no means clear who *Thomas von Britanie* was, or in what language, or at what time he wrote. Not improbably he may be the author of various detached fragments of an early French metrical Tristan which exists in various libraries, and is the original which Thomas of Erceldoun followed. The existence of early Scandinavian versions of the Romance which agree with the Auchinleck MS. would favour this hypothesis. Chrestien de Troyes says himself at the commencement of his *Cligès* that he had written the Romance, *Dou roi Marc et d'Iseut la Blonde*. The poem, however, has disappeared, though there are extant various fragments of a Romance of Tristan, which may have formed part of it. F. Michel has carefully collected the various passages in the chansons of the troubadours which mention the story of Tristan. The earliest is that in a poem by Rambaud, Count of Orange, about the middle of the twelfth century. He gives no fewer than thirteen other Provençal poets who refer to the subject, as well as numerous allusions in early English poems. For further information on the history of the Romance we may refer the reader to F. Michel's "The Poetical Romances of Tristan,"

us at the beginning of the romance, that he is Luce Seigneur de Gast: "I, Luce Seigneur de Gast have compiled the authentic history of Tristan; who, next to Lancelot and Galaad, was the most renowned knight of the Round Table." Mr. Warton<sup>1</sup> attributes it to the same author, on the authority of a title-page, in a MS. copy of the romance—*Le Roman de Tristan et Iseult traduit de Latin en François, par Lucas Chevalier du Gast, pres de Sarisberi, Anglois.* In the preface to *Meliadus*, we are informed that it was begun by this Lucas de Gast, or Lucas de Iau, as he is there called, the first who extracted from the matter of the St. Greal; that Gasse le Blond next wrote the part which relates to Lancelot, after which the story was concluded by Robert and Helie de Borron.<sup>2</sup> "Aussi

London, 1835; also to Villemarqué's "*Les Romans de la Table Ronde*," etc., Paris, 1861 (p. 72, where the author gives great prominence to the undoubted early Celtic elements of the story); Sir Walter Scott's introduction to his edition of the Auchinleck MS.; Ten Brink's "*Geschichte der Englischen Literatur*," i. p. 298, and Eugen Kölbing's "*Die nordische und die Englische version der Tristan-Sage*," Heilbronn, 1878-83. The very favour in which this romance was held, and its consequent wide diffusion is, perhaps, a reason why there have been fewer imitations of it than of many other romances.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 118, ed. 1824.

<sup>2</sup> A translation of the French romance appeared in Spain at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and is mentioned by Don Quixote. Cervantes himself, in all probability, owed to the old Celtic legend the hero of his immortal satire on the romances of Chivalry, for the corrupted form *Tristrem*, which was commonly derived from the Welsh words *trist* (sad) and *trem* (a face), exactly answers to the Knight of Woeful Countenance. Cf. also Irish *dreaic* (visage) and *trom* (sad). The other English form *Tristram* is explained in the romance as follows: "When he is christened let call him Tristram, that is as much as to say as a sorrowful birth" (*Morte Arthur*, bk. vii.). Ferguson, in his work, *The Teutonic Name System*, is equally at fault when he suggests that *Tristram* may be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *thrist* (bold, daring) and *ram* (a raven). F. Michel in his notes (vol. i. p. xii) gives: "*Trist*, sad, *Tristys* and *Tristans*, sorrow," from a Cornish-English vocabulary; "*Trystan* (trust), a noisy one, a blusterer. *Trist* (ty-rhist), pensive, sad," from Owen's "*Welsh Dictionary*;" "*Trist*, *Tuirseach*, sad, weary," from an Irish-English Dictionary; "*Trys*, *Trus*, sad," etc. Davies (*Mythology and Rites of the British Druids*. Lond., 1809, pp. 439, 440) gives *Trystan* in the *Triads* the meaning of "herald." E. T. Leith (*On the Legend of Tristan*, Bombay, 1868) says Essyllt (Ysolt) has been identified with the old Gaulish Adsalluta (in Henzen, Nos. 5864, 5911), *ibid.*, p. 33.

Luces de Iau translata, en langue Francoise, une partie de l'Hystoire de Monseigneur Tristan, et moins assez que il ne deust. Moult commenca bien son livre, et si ny mist tous les faicts de Tristan, ains la greigneur partie. Apres s'en entremist Messire Gasse le Blonc qui estoit parent au Roy Henri, et devisa l'Hystoire de Lancelot du Lac, et d'autre chose ne parla il mye grandement en son livre. Messire Robert de Borron s'en entremist, et Helye de Borron par la priere du dit Robert de Borron; et pour ce que compaignons feusmes d'armes longuement Je commencay mon livre," &c. It was formerly shown that Rusticien de Pise, by whom this preface to *Meliadus* was written, lived in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., since he talks of the expedition of the latter to the Holy Land. Now, since Rusticien mentions Robert and Helye de Borron, by whom Tristan was completed, as his contemporaries, that celebrated romance could not have been finished before the reign of Henry III. Indeed, in the MS. of Helye de Borron's portion of the work, entitled *La Mort de Tristan*, it is said to have been written at the desire of Henry III.

The early part of the prose romance of *Tristan* is occupied with an account of the ancestors of the hero, and many generations pass successively in review before the birth of *Meliadus*. This prince was married to *Isabella*, sister of *Marc*,<sup>1</sup> king of Cornwall;—a fairy fell in love with him, and drew him away by enchantment, while he was engaged in the exercise of hunting. His queen set out in

<sup>1</sup> M. F. Michel, *Poet. Rom. Tristan*, vol. i. p. cxiv, gives a number of authorities from Pausanias (x. 19, 6) downwards, showing *March* or *Marc* to have in Welsh the signification of horse, Anglo-Saxon = *Mearh*, equus, *Meare*, equa, English mare. King *Marc* takes in respect of his horses' ears the place of *Midas* in classic tale. See *Villemarqué*, *Contes populaires*, i. 82, 99, etc. Sir W. Scott's introduction to *Sir Tristram*, Jakob Grimm in the *Göttingen Gelehrte, Anzeiger*, 1824, st. 12, p. 118. In the life of St. Paul de Léon, born about the end of the fifth century, is this passage: "Rex quidam *Marcus* nomine, in vicino (Scil. Cornubia vel Cambria) florebat eodem tempore, cujus imperii dominatus leges dabat quatuor gentibus, linguarum fame dissidentibus." St. Paul converted this king, *Acta SSorum*, 12 March, tom. ii. p. 114, quoted by M. F. Michel, p. lii of his first volume.

*Tristan* seems to have been recognized generally as a patron of the chase, as appears from the numerous allusions to him in this sense in old English works on *Venery*, many of which are given by M. Michel.



quest of him, but was seized with the pains of child-birth during her journey, and expired soon after being delivered of a son, whom, from the melancholy circumstances of his birth, she called Tristan before her death.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The story of Tristan's birth and childhood belongs to the widely-spread myth of the royal Foundling, who is secretly nurtured and afterwards happily reinstated in his rights. See Appendix.

Trystan, son of Tallwch, was a celebrated leader, who lived about the middle of the sixth century. He was, with Griediol and Gwgon, one of the three heralds of Britain; Trystan, with Gwair and Kai, was called one of the three crowned princes. With Coll and Pryderi, he was one of the three powerful swineherds from whom the expedition of Arthur, Marc, Kai, and Bedwyr failed to procure, whether by gift or purchase, fraud or force, so much as a single pig. He was one of the three designated obstinate chieftains, whom it was impossible to divert from their projects, and one of the three faithful lovers on account of his attachment to Esyllt, wife of his uncle March. See F. Michel, *The Poetical Romances of Tristan*, xlviii-li.

The incidents in the Tristan story, concludes Mone (*Ueber die Sage von Tristan*, etc., Heidelberg, 1822, p. 20), have the same character of original traditions as are found in the Triads, the Mabinogion, and other productions of the Celtic bards, and they betray a common ultimate fount of such romantic poems. The Mabinogion and similar productions are not properly speaking history, but shed a faint ray where history denies her light. They embody sagas from remote times, when Druid lore still numbered many friends, and in this respect agree with the most genuine records of the ancient British faith.

Thus under the figure of the three powerful swineherds we have a reminiscence of the earliest religion of our Celtic ancestors, which appears to have been a corrupt patriarchal form of worship, combined with a strong antagonism to *Sabæism*. Coll and his mystical sow (mother?) is the type of a new doctrine, which was introduced in Cornwall, and thence borne to Wales and Britain. It agreed in general with the older creed, but comprised a worship of the celestial luminaries, and represented the deified patriarch (Noah) as identical with the sun. Tristan's existence represents the advance of this heretical belief, which, with foreign admixture, spread over a great part of Britain, and was even accepted in Ireland, though its earliest and central stronghold was in Cornwall. Mone maintains further that the faith represented by Tristan was of Teutonic character. See also Sir G. W. Cox's "*Mythology of the Aryan Nations*," pp. 96, 136; and the same writer's "*Introduction to Comparative Mythology*," Appendix iii. Leith (p. 35) considers "that the Tristan legend was originally an Archaic Aryan myth; that is, it was carried westwards into Britain with the wave of Celtic migration; that it passed at a very early period from thence into Brittany; and that it owed its preservation there mainly to the fact of that province being the last resting-place of the Celtic language in France."

The relations which exist between Tristram, Isolte, and King Mare

Gouvernail, the queen's squire, who had accompanied her, took charge of the child, and restored him to his father, who at length burst the enchantment of the fairy, and returned to his capital.

A dwarf having foreshown to Marc, the uncle of Tristan, that he would be dethroned by means of his nephew, this monarch vowed the death of Tristan. The emissaries he employed surprised and slew Meliadus during a chace, but Gouvernail saved his son, and conveyed him to the court of Pharamond. As the young prince grew up, Belinda, the daughter of this French monarch, became enamoured of him; but, her passion being discovered by her father, Tristan found it necessary to leave the court.<sup>1</sup>

precisely reproduce those which are found between Sigurd, Brynhild, and Gunnar in the Volsung tale. The naked sword which Sigurd places between himself and Brynhild, when he lies down to sleep by her side, is placed again by Tristram between himself and Isolte, and is used for the same purpose in the German story of the Two Brothers, the Norse Legend of Big Bird Dan, and the Arabian Nights tale of Allah-ud-deen. These instances alone suffice to prove not only the common origin of these popular stories, but their nature, and to justify the remark of Sir G. Dasent, that "these mythical deep-rooted germs, throwing out fresh shoots from age to age in the popular literature of the race, are far more convincing proofs of the early existence of these traditions than any mere external evidence."—Sir G. W. Cox, *Introduction to Mythology and Folklore*, pp. 328, 329.

<sup>1</sup> Of Camelot or Camelot, where Arthurchiefly held his court, Caxton, in his preface to Sir T. Malory's "*Morte Arthur*," speaks as though it were in Wales, probably meaning Caerleon, where the Roman Amphitheatre is still called Arthur's Round Table. Malory himself, though (bk. ii. ch. 1) he seems to connect Camelot with Avelion or Glastonbury, yet farther on (bk. ii. ch. 19) says distinctly that Camelot "is in English Winchester," where, too, there is a Round Table, mentioned by Caxton, and still to be seen—an oaken board with the knights' names on it. And yet at the time these authorities wrote Camelot itself existed in Somersetshire, with its proper name, and with all the remains of an important town and fortress, and doubtless the traditions of Arthur, which Leland found there, and which in great part, at least, remain to this day. Leland calls it Camallate, or Camalat, "sometime a famous town or castle, upon a very torre or hill, wonderfully enstrengthened of nature" (*Itinerary*, ii. pp. 38, 39; ed. Herne, 1711). This appears as the Castle of Camellek in maps of the dates of 1575 and 1610, and in that of vol. iv., pub. 1727, of Camden's "*Magna Britannia*," the text of which says, "the inhabitants call it King Arthur's Palace" [p. 804]. But soon after then a learned antiquarian states in a manuscript, written about 1736, "that the name had been superseded by that of Cadbury Castle. . . . The

A reconciliation was now effected between Tristan and his uncle Marc, who, at this time, resided at the castle of Tintagel, rendered famous by the amour of Uter and Yguerne [supra, p. 152]. In this court, Tristan became expert in all the exercises incumbent on a knight. Nor was it long till he had an opportunity of practically exhibiting his valour and skill. The celebrated Morhault [Welsh, Martholouc'h], brother to the queen of Ireland, arrived to demand tribute from Marc. Tristan encountered this champion, who was forced to fly and embark, bearing with him a mortal wound. This was the first, and perhaps the most glorious, of the exploits of Tristan; but the lance of Morhault had been poisoned, and a wound his opponent had received grew daily more envenomed. He departed from Cornwall, with the view of finding in a foreign country the relief which could not be obtained in his own. A breeze of fifteen days' continuance conveyed him to the coast of Ireland. He was ignorant to what shore he had been carried, for he seems to have steered at random: he disembarked, however, on this unknown country, tuned his harp, and began to play. It was a summer evening, and the king of Ireland and his daughter, the beautiful Yseult, were at a window which overlooked the sea. The strange harper was conveyed to the palace, and his wounds were cured by Yseult. But after his recovery he was found out, from the circumstance of wearing the sword of Morhault,<sup>1</sup> to be the

neighbouring villages which, according to Leland, bore the name of Camalat, with an addition, as 'Queen-Camel,' still exist as Queen-Camel, or East Camel and West Camel, and near by runs the river Camel, crossed by Arthur's Bridge, while Arthur's Well still springs from the hill-side" (Sir Edward Strachey, Introduction to Sir T. Malory's "Morte Arthur," pp. xi., xii., and J. S. Glennie Stuart's "Essay on Arthurian Localities," prefixed to the edition of Merlin, published by the Early English Text Society, 1879, p. xxvi\*). The author of this elaborate and erudite dissertation places the Arthur-land in Scotland. In the copy of the "Britannia" before me the name in the map is "Camelek."

<sup>1</sup> This sword was afterwards conveyed to Italy, according to the Chronicle of Galvano Fiammi (Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, xii. col. 1027E), cited by Sir Walter Scott, *Tristram*, 1819, p. 298, or (according to a charter published by Rymer, 2nd edit., i. pt. 1, p. 99) fell into the hands of John of Lackland. (Bailey, *History and Antiquities of the Tower of London*, 1825, vol. i. p. 183.)

person who had killed that knight, and was in consequence obliged to quit the country.

On his return to Cornwall, Tristan fell in love with the wife of Segurades, a Cornish nobleman, and followed her into the dominions of Arthur, whither she had been carried by Bliomberis. While in England he defeated a knight called Blaamor, who had accused the king of Ireland of treason, before the court of Arthur. The king being thus acquitted of the charge, Tristan, at his request, accompanied him to Ireland, where he finally yielded to the solicitations of his champion, and promised to bestow his daughter Yseult in marriage on the king of Cornwall. The mother of Yseult gave to her daughter's confidant, Brangian, an amorous potion, to be administered on the night of her nuptials. Of this beverage, Tristan and Yseult, during their voyage to Cornwall, unfortunately partook. Its effects were quick and powerful: nor was its influence less permanent than sudden; but, during the remainder of their lives, regulated the affections and destiny of the lovers. A medical potion, producing a temporary love, or rather passion, is said to have been frequently composed; but the power of the beverage quaffed by Tristan and Yseult was not believed to be confined to its immediate effects, nor to derive its power from stimulating ingredients, but was supposed to continue its influence by the force of magic, through the lives of those who shared in the draught. Nor was the belief in such philtres the offspring of the middle ages: rules for their composition are to be found in every author who treats of drugs, from Pliny's "Natural History," to the works of the seventeenth century.

In the course of a delightful, though unprosperous voyage, Tristan and Yseult arrive on an unknown island, where they are detained as prisoners, along with a number of knights and damsels, who had previously landed. But the uncourteous customs of this castle being destined to end, when it should be visited by the bravest knight and fairest woman in the world, Tristan is enabled, by overcoming a giant, to effect the deliverance of the captives, after which he becomes the friend of Gallehaut, the lord of the manor.



After the arrival of Tristan and Yseult in Cornwall, and the nuptials of the latter with King Marc, an uneasiness arises lest the husband should discover the imperfections of his bride. Brangian, the confidant of Yseult, who had never yielded to the weakness which occasioned the embarrassment of her mistress, agrees, by a deception frequently practised in the romances of chivalry, to occupy her place for a single night. Marc being thus guarded from suspicion, the provident Yseult, to escape the possibility of detection, delivers her late substitute to two ruffians, with orders to murder her in a wood. The assassins, having somewhat more mercy than their fair employer, leave their commission unexecuted, and only tie her to a tree, from which she is soon released by Palamedes.

After this, a great part of the romance is occupied with the contrivances of Tristan, and the tender Yseult, to procure secret interviews, which are greatly furthered by Dinas, Marc's seneschal.

Tristan, at a time when he was forced to leave Cornwall, on account of the displeasure of his uncle, was wounded one day while sleeping in a forest, with a poisoned arrow, by the son of a person he had killed. The ladies of those days, and particularly Yseult, were very skilful leeches; but to return to Cornwall in the present circumstances was impossible. He was, therefore, advised to repair to Britany, where Yseult with the White Hands was as celebrated for her surgical operations, as Yseult of Cornwall. Tristan was cured by this new Yseult, and married her, more out of gratitude than love, if we may judge from his apathy after the nuptials.<sup>1</sup> He employed himself solely in building a vessel in which he might sail to Cornwall, and at length embarked on receiving a message from the queen of that country; but was driven by a tempest on the coast of England, near the forest of Darnant, where he delivered King Arthur from the power of the Lady of the Lake. Having experienced a number of adventures he reached Cornwall, accompanied by Pheredin, his wife's brother, whom he had made the confidant of his passion,

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, No. 6.

and who had followed him through the whole course of this expedition. These friends had no sooner arrived in Cornwall, than Pheredin became enamoured of the queen. Tristan was seized with a fit of jealousy, retired to a forest, and went mad. After many acts of extravagance and folly, he allowed himself to be conducted to court, where he was soon restored to reason by the attention of Yseult. But, on his recovery, the jealousy of Marc revived, and he was compelled to take a solemn oath that he would leave Cornwall for ever.

Our hero proceeded to the dominions of Arthur, which again became the theatre of unnumbered exploits. The jealousy of Marc, however, was not extinguished by the absence of Tristan; he set out for England with a view of treacherously killing his nephew, and in his progress through the kingdom made himself ridiculous by that cowardice for which most of the knights of Cornwall were notorious. At the court of Arthur he became the laughing-stock of all the knights, by flying before Daguenet, the king's fool, whom he mistook for Lancelot du Lac. While there, however, Arthur effected a reconciliation between him and his nephew, and after their return to Cornwall, Tristan delivered that kingdom from the invasion of the Saxons, by whom it had been brought to the verge of ruin. Marc, however, behaved with signal ingratitude, for his suspicions being again awakened, he threw Tristan into prison. He was freed by an insurrection of the people of Cornwall, and in turn shut up Marc in the same prison in which he had been himself confined. Tristan took this opportunity of eloping with the queen of Cornwall, to the dominions of Arthur, where he resided at Joyeuse Garde,<sup>1</sup> the favourite castle of Lancelot, and which that knight assigned the lovers as their abode, till Arthur again reconciled all parties. Marc was then delivered from prison, and restored to the enjoyment of his rebellious kingdom and his fugitive spouse.

Tristan, subsequent to these events, returned to Britany and to his long-neglected wife. Soon after his arrival, information was brought that the Count of Nantes had

<sup>1</sup> By some supposed to be Berwick.

thrown off his allegiance to Runalen, brother of the white-handed Yseult, who had lately succeeded his father in the duchy of Britany. Tristan defeated the rebels, but while mounting a tower by a scaling ladder, he was struck to the ground by a stone thrown from the garrison, and severely wounded.

It was during the attendance of Yseult on Tristan, that she first became his wife in the tenderest acceptation of the term. The Count de Tressan, in his extract,<sup>1</sup> has represented this late fulfilment of his obligations, as the primary cause of the death of Tristan; but, in reality, he recovered from his wound and its consequences, and forgot Yseult of Britany, and the white hands, who was now doubly his own, in the arms of Yseult of Cornwall. He had obtained admission to the palace of Marc in the disguise of a fool, and had many secret interviews with the queen; but, being at length discovered, he was forced to return to Britany.

Runalen, the brother-in-law of Tristan, was at this time engaged in an intrigue; our hero had assisted him in forging false keys to enter the castle of the knight with whose lady he was enamoured, and even consented to accompany him to a rendezvous which his mistress had appointed. Tristan had already retired, when the husband unexpectedly returned from the chase: Runalen and Tristan escaped in the first instance, but were pursued and overtaken by the husband and his people: Runalen was killed, and Tristan received a wound from a poisoned weapon. Of the physicians who attended him, an obscure doctor from Salerno<sup>2</sup> was the only one who understood his case; but the other physicians insisted on his dismissal, and Tristan was soon reduced by their remedies to the lowest ebb. In this situation, as a last resource, he despatched a confidant to the queen of Cornwall, who was so celebrated for her surgical skill, to try if he could induce her to accompany him to Britany. Should his endeavours prove successful, he was ordered to display, while on his

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque des Romans, 1776, Avril, vol. i. p. 230, etc.

<sup>2</sup> As early as the ninth century the Medical School of Salerno obtained a wide reputation. In the twelfth or thirteenth century it began to decline and was soon thrown into the shade by the Schools of Paris and Bologna.

return, a white sail, and a black one if his persuasions were fruitless;—an idea which every one will trace to a classic and mythological origin. The messenger arrived in Cornwall in the character of a merchant; in this disguise he had an early opportunity of seeing the queen, and persuaded her, in the absence of Marc, to return with him to Britany.

Meanwhile Tristan awaited the arrival of the queen with such impatience, that he employed one of his wife's damsels to watch at the harbour, and report to him when the black or white sail should appear over the wave. Yseult, who was not in the secret, demanded the reason of this perpetual excubation, and was, for the first time, informed that Tristan had sent for the queen of Cornwall. It was but lately that this white-handed bride had learned the full value of a husband, and the jealousy to which she had hitherto been a stranger took possession of her soul.

Now the vessel which bore the queen of Cornwall is wafted towards the harbour by a favourable breeze, all its white sails unfurled. Yseult, who was watching on the shore, flew to her husband, and reported that the sails were black. Tristan, penetrated with inexpressible grief, exclaimed, "*Haa doulce amye a Dieu vous command—Jamais ne me veerez, ne moy vous: A Dieu je vous salue. Lors bat sa coulpe, et se commande a Dieu, et le cuer luy creve, et l'ame s'en va.*"

The account of the death of Tristan was the first intelligence which the queen of Cornwall heard on landing. She was conducted almost senseless into the chamber of Tristan, and expired holding him in her arms;—"lors l'embrasse de ses bras tant comme elle peut, et gette ung souspir, et se pasme sur le corps; et le cuer lui part, et l'ame s'en va."

Tristan, before his death, had requested that his body should be sent to Cornwall, and that his sword, with a letter he had written, should be delivered to King Marc. The remains of Tristan and Yseult were embarked in a vessel, along with the sword, which was presented to the king of Cornwall. He was melted with tenderness when he saw the weapon which slew Morhoul of Ireland, which so often saved his life, and redeemed the honour of his



kingdom. In the letter Tristan begged pardon of his uncle, and related the story of the amorous potion.

Marc ordered the lovers to be buried in his own chapel. From the tomb of Tristan there sprung a plant, which went along the walls, and descended into the grave of the queen. By order of Marc it was cut down three times, but every morning the obdurate vegetable sprung up more verdant than before, and this miracle has ever since shaded the tombs of Tristan and Yseult.<sup>1</sup>

Such plants are common in the old ballads. The Scotch ballad, *Lord Thomas and Fair Annet*, concludes,

“Lord Thomas was buried without kirk wa’,  
 Fair Annet within the quiere;  
 And o’ the tane thair grew a birk,  
 The other a bonny briere,  
 And ay they grew, and ay they threw,  
 As they would fain be near.”  
 Percy’s “Reliques.”

Similar verses, but with some verbal alterations, conclude *Prince Robert*, published in the *Minstrelsy of the Border*; and we have plants possessed of the same powers of sympathy and vegetation in the wild romantic ballad of the *Douglas Tragedy*.

<sup>1</sup> Grimm notices an old Spanish fragment of our legend, which contains an incident unknown to any other version. Isolde the Fair is therein represented to have become a mother in consequence of partaking of a lily, which grew on Tristan’s grave. This lily, as Kurtz suggests, corresponds to the rose and vine of the other romances. We light here, however, upon a curious class of myths, which we find in most ages and countries. The idea they represent probably originated in the employment by early races of certain trees and plants as phallic symbols. Among the Hindus such a one was the Lotus; another was the Indian flower Kambal, to which the sage Náchiketa owed his birth. The Chinese have also a legend concerning the miraculous conception of the Divine Reason by his holy mother, Shing-mu, after she had eaten of the flower Lien-wa (Nelumbium). Besides these tales, there is another related by Ovid (*Fasti*, v. 229), according to which Juno, anxious to have offspring, touched a certain flower at the bidding of Flora, and thereupon obtained the fulfilment of her wishes in the birth of Vulcan, in rivalry with Jupiter, who had produced Minerva from his brain. Cf. A. De Gubernatis, *Mythologie des Plantes*; Kadamba, *Lis*, etc. Lecky (*History of Rationalism*, i. p. 233) mentions an old superstition connected with this subject. Leith, *Tristan*, p. 17. Cf. also Dubricius and Taliesin, Nash, p. 196-7.

The fabulous history of Tristan has generally been considered as the most beautiful of the romances of the Round Table. "The character of Palamedes (says Sir W. Scott), the despairing adorer of Yseult, is admirably contrasted with that of Tristan, his successful rival. Nor is there a truer picture of the human mind, than the struggles between the hatred of rivalry, and the chivalrous dictates of knightly generosity, which alternately sway both the warriors. The character of Dinadan, brave and gallant, but weak in person and unfortunate in his undertakings, yet supporting his mischances with admirable humour, and often contriving a witty and well-managed retort on his persecutors, is imagined with considerable art. The friendship of Tristan and Lancelot, and of their two mistresses, with a thousand details which display great knowledge of human nature, render Tristan interesting in the present day, in spite of those eternal combats, to which, perhaps, the work owed its original popularity. The character of King Marc is singular and specific; it is well brought out from the canvas, and a similar one is not to be met with in other romances of chivalry. In the early metrical tales, he is merely represented as weak and uxorious. The darker shades of character have been added in the prose romance, to excuse the frailty of Yseult." I am not certain if the idea of the amorous potion, which is Yseult's great apology, and forms the groundwork of the romance, be well conceived; for, if in one respect it palliates the conduct of the lovers, it diminishes our admiration of their fidelity. The character of the queen of Cornwall can hardly excite love or compassion, as the savage atrocity of her conduct to Brangian starts up every moment in the recollection of the reader. The pitiful malice of the white-handed Yseult, who, to serve no end, brings a false report to her husband in his last moments, renders her as contemptible as the heroine is hateful, and the dishonourable manner in which Tristan comes by his death, diminishes the pity we might otherwise feel for his fate.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Though the favour accorded to Tristan has been universal, its critics are far from unanimous.

"The simple grace and delicacy of sentiment evinced by Tristan in his passionate love of Isolt pass imagination," writes a French author.

Whatever may be its beauties or defects, the romance was well known, and popular in all the countries of Europe; it was repeatedly printed in France in its original form, and modernized into the language of that country by Jean Maugin dit le petit Angevin, 1554, under the title of *Le Nouveau Tristan*.

A translation of *Tristan* was printed in Spanish,<sup>1</sup> at Seville, 1528, and again in 1534; and a romance, somewhat different in the adventures it contains, was published in 1552-5, in Italian, entitled *I-due Tristani*.<sup>2</sup>

“Lacking the resources of fairy creation which appear for the first time in *Ysaie le Triste* (see pp. 212-222, *infra*), the work bears the impress of a tender melancholy. We would willingly exchange more than one recent or contemporary epic effusion of which we wot for but a few pages from the pen of the barbarous author of this romance.”

Southey expresses himself thus: “I began the perusal of this (*Tristan*) as being the most celebrated of all these romances, with great expectations; those expectations were not answered. The story in its progress not only disappointed, but frequently disgusted me. Vile as the thought is of producing by a philtre that love upon which the whole history turns, and making the hero, or rather both the heroes, live in adultery, and that, too, in both instances of an aggravated kind, these are the conditions of the romance, which must be taken with it for better, for worse; they are the original elements, of which the author was to make the best he could. But it is the fault of the author that so many of the leading incidents should shock, not merely our ordinary morals, which are conventional, and belong to our age, but those feelings which belong to human nature in all ages. The characters also are in many instances discordant with themselves; and the fault, so frequent in such books, of degrading one hero to enhance the fame of another, is carried here to great excess. An author may do what he will with the creatures of his own imagination—they are as clay in the potter’s hand,—but it is a foul offence in literature to take up the personage whom another writer has described as a knight of prowess and of worth, and engraft vices upon him, and stain him with dishonour. Who could bear *Desdemona* represented as an adulteress?” Introduction to the “*Byrth, Lyf, and Actes of King Arthur, etc.*,” London, 1817, i. p. xv.

Roger Ascham, in his *Schoolemaster* (bk. i.), condemns this among other romances of chivalry composing the *Morte Arthur* as offending “in two special points, in open manslaughter and bold bawdry. In which book those be counted the noblest knights that do kill most men without any quarrel, and commit foulest adulteries by subtlest shift. . . . And yet ten *Morte Arthurs*,” he adds, “do not the tenth part so much harm as one of these books made in Italy (the Italian novels).”

<sup>1</sup> The first Spanish edition was that printed in Gothic letter with woodcuts, at Valladolid, in 1501.

<sup>2</sup> This romance coincides in its circumstances with a very scarce

Nor has any romance of the Round Table furnished such ample materials of imitation to the Italian novelists and poets. The story of the Greyhounds, a favourite dog in the middle ages, which has been successively copied by the Queen of Navarre and Bonaventure des Perriers, may be found in *Tristan*.<sup>1</sup> There Dinas, King Marc's seneschal, pursued his wife, who had been carried off by a knight, and had taken her husband's greyhounds along with her; the seneschal overtakes the fugitives, and, trusting to the affection of his wife, agrees that she should be left to her

Italian poem, by Nicolo Agostini, the continuator of Boiardo, printed at Venice in 1520, entitled *Il secondo e terzo libro de Tristano, nel quale si tracta come re Marco di Cornouaglia trovandolo un giorno con Isotta l'uccise a tradimento, e come la ditta Isotta vedendolo morto di dolore mori sopra il suo corpo*. Concerning a MS. in Italian prose of the history of Lancelot and Tristan, prepared in 1447, see Bandini, *Codd. Lat.* v. 208, Ebert. Many of the Italian poets allude to Tristan and Isolt. Dante gives Tristan a place among the lovers, whom he describes flying in company with storks:

"Vidi Paris, Tristano e più di mille  
Ombre mostrommi, e nominommi a dito,  
Che amor di nostra vita dipartille."

Inferno, Canto v. 67.

A German translation from an old French prose form of the romance was printed by H. Schönsperger, at Augsburg, in 1498. Nyerup notices an early Danish prose version of Tristan, see *Almindelig Morskabsldesning i Danmark og Norje igjennem Aarhundreder* Copenhagen, 1816, p. 118, etc.

An ancient Icelandic Saga upon the same subject dates from the first half of the thirteenth century, and follows, says Professor P. E. Müller, the English poem of the *Auchinleck Manuscript* of the fourteenth century, edited by Sir Walter Scott. This Saga of *Tristram* was published, in 1878, by the Copenhagen Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift Selskab.

Evidences everywhere abound of the widespread popularity of this romance. A manuscript was found in the Vatican containing a fragment of Tristan in corrupt Greek, in politic verse. This was printed in Breslau, in 1821, by F. V. der Hagen, and again by F. Michel in his *Poet. Rom. Tristan*, London, 1835. See note, p. 194. Hans Sachs composed a drama on the subject.

<sup>1</sup> This statement, indeed, is made by Count Tressan (*Bibl. d. Rom.* 1776, Avril, p. 161), from whom, perhaps, Dunlop borrowed it. Yet, according to Schmidt, no such story is found, either in Boccaccio, or in Queen Margaret's "*Heptameron*," nor, according to Liebrecht, in the *Contes Nouvelles et Joyeux Devis* of her chamberlain, Bonaventure Desperiers.



own choice. The lady follows the knight, but the lovers instantly return and demand the greyhounds, concerning which a similar agreement is made ; but they, more faithful than the lady, and deaf to the voice of a stranger, remain with their old master. The same story is told in the Fabliau of the Chevalier à l'Epée : and is related of Gauvain in the metrical romance of Perceval, but has not been introduced into the prose one of that name. It is also in the printed Lancelot, but not in the most ancient MS. of that romance.

I will not say that the phrensy of Orlando has been imitated from that of Tristan ; but in some circumstances the resemblance between them is striking. Jealousy was the cause of both, and the paroxysms are similar. Ariosto, however, though perhaps through the medium of his predecessor Boiardo [see note p. 157, *supra*], is indebted to this romance for the notion of the fountains of love and hatred, which occasion such vissitudes in the loves of Rinaldo and Angelica. Tristan also makes a conspicuous figure in the 32d canto of the Orlando Furioso, where a story is related concerning Tristano, which is borrowed from this romance. Bradamante, overtaken by night, is directed to a building which still retained the name of the Tower of Tristan. In this retreat, Clodion, the son of Pharamond, had confined a beauty of whom he was jealous. Tristan had arrived there at eve, and, being at first refused admission, had procured it by force of arms. After this the usage was established, that a knight should only obtain entrance if he overcame those knights who had found reception before his arrival, and the lady, if she surpassed in charms the females by whom the castle was already occupied. From the romance of Tristan, Ariosto had also borrowed the story of the enchanted horn, by which the husband discovers the infidelity of his wife, by *his own* way of drinking, and which is said to have been originally given by Morgana to convince Arthur of the infidelity of Geneura :

Qual già per fare accorto il suo fratello  
 Del fallo di Gineura fe Morgana ;  
 Chi la Moglie ha pudica bee con quello,  
 Ma non vi può già ber chi l' ha puttana,

Che l' vin quando lo crede in bocca porre  
Tutto si sparge, e fuor nel petto scorre.

C. 43, st. 28.<sup>1</sup>

In *Tristan*, however, the discovery is made by the *Culprit's* mode of drinking. In that romance, during one of King Marc's fits of jealousy, a knight, who was an enemy of *Tristan*, brings a lady to court who possesses an enchanted horn, which was so framed that those wives, who had been unfaithful to their husbands, spilled the liquor with which it was filled, in attempting to drink from it. They all perform so awkwardly, that Marc, in the first heat of his resentment, orders a bon-fire to be prepared for the general reception of the ladies of the court. This horn is also introduced in *Perceval*, but there the experiment is also tried on the knights. A similar trial is made on the ladies at the court of Arthur in the English *Morte Arthur*. The fiction, however, may be traced higher than the romance of *Tristan*. Le Grand thinks that it has been imitated from the *Short Mantle* in one of the *Fabliaux* he has published, which was too short or too long for those ladies who had been false to their husbands or lovers.<sup>2</sup> This story was

- 1 "A drinking-cup will I for that assay,  
Give you (she said) of virtue strange and rare :  
Such was for Arthur made by Morgue the fay,  
To make him of Genevra's fault aware.  
The chaste wife's lord thereof may drink ; but they  
Drink not whose wedded partners wanton are :  
For when they would the cordial beverage sup,  
Into their bosom overflows the cup."

Rose's Version.

In his turn Lafontaine borrows this cup from Ariosto. The lotus furnishes a somewhat similar test in the *Vrihat-Kathâ* and *Tooti-Nameh*. See Deslongchamps, *Fables Indiennes*, p. 107. See Supp. note on names.

<sup>2</sup> Of similar virtue was the mantle of Tegau Euvron, counted among the thirteen precious things of the Island of Britain. See *San Marte*, *Beiträge zur Bretonischen*, etc., *Heldensage*, p. 62. See further Graesse, p. 184, etc., and Von der Hagen's "*Gesammtabenteuer*," iii. p. lxxxix, etc., upon these tests of virtue and fidelity. An old German popular song having reference to the same subject is quoted in Mone's "*Anzeiger*," 8, 354, No. 1. Cf. also p. 378, No. 165, where twelve kings are unable to pass the test which is in this case a crown. In Basile, *Pentamerone*, iii. 4 ("*Sapia Liccarda*"); and in *Flore* and *Blanchefleur* we also

originally called in the Fabliaux, *Le Court Mantel*, but was translated into prose in the sixteenth century, under the name of *Le Manteau mal taillé*. There is, however, a Breton lay, entitled *Lai du Corn*, by Robert Bizez, which bears a nearer resemblance to the story in *Tristan*. A magical horn is brought by a boy during a sumptuous feast given by Arthur, which, in a similar mode, disclosed the same secrets as that in *Tristan*. The stories of the *Mantle* and the *Horn* have been united in an English ballad of the reign of Henry VI. published by Percy,<sup>1</sup> entitled *The Boy and the Mantle*, where the cup is the test of a dishonoured husband, and the mantle of a faithless woman. Some mode of trial on this point is common in subsequent romances and poems. In *Perceforest* [iv. ch. 16, 17; v. ch. 42] it is a rose; in *Amadis de Gaul* [lii. 14, 15] a garland of flowers, which bloom on the head of her that is faithful, and fade on the brow of the inconstant. The reader of Spenser is well acquainted with the girdle of Florimell, the former cestus of Venus. (B. 4. Canto v. s. 3.)

Some experiment for ascertaining the fidelity of women in defect of evidence, seems, in reality, to have been resorted to from the earliest ages. By the Levitical law, (Numbers, c. v. 11-31,) there was prescribed a proof of chastity, which consisted in the suspected person drinking water in the tabernacle. The mythological fable of the trial by the Stygian fountain, which disgraced the guilty by the waters rising so as to cover the laurel wreath of the unchaste female who dared the examination,<sup>2</sup> probably had its origin in some of the early institutions of Greece or Egypt. Hence the notion was adopted in the Greek romances, the heroines of which, we have seen, were in-

find a proof of virginity: in the first case it is a ring, and in the second consists in crossing a stream. See Flecke's "Gedicht," verse 4462, etc. See also above, p. 40; *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. 102; and *Bandello*, No. 21, p. 287, Lieb.; and *Grimm Rechtsalterth*, p. 932, Lieb.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Reliques*, and subsequently in Bishop Percy's *Folio Manuscript*, ed. 1867, vol. ii. pp. 304-311.

<sup>2</sup> There was, however, no particular connexion between the Stygian fountain and such ordeals. The text contains rather a reminiscence of such passages as those in *Achilles Tatius*, viii. 12, and *Eustathius*, *Ismenias* and *Ismene*, xi., &c.

variably subjected to a magical test of this nature,<sup>1</sup> which is one of the few particulars wherein any similarity of incident can be traced between the Greek novels and the romances of chivalry: the Grecian heroines, however, underwent the experiment in a cave, or some retirement,<sup>2</sup> though they might have exhibited with credit openly, while the ladies of chivalry are always exposed in public—in a full court or crowded assembly; the former, too, are only subjected to a trial of virginity, the latter more frequently to some proof of conjugal fidelity.

We have been long detained with Tristan and Yseult; it is now time that we proceed to the romance of

### YSAIE LE TRISTE,<sup>3</sup>

in which is related the history of their son, who was the fruit of the interviews procured for these lovers by the accommodating Dinas.

When Tristan departed for the court of Arthur, the queen was obliged to ask permission to make a distant pilgrimage. The necessity of this request conveys a most cruel, and, if we believe other romances, a most unfounded insinuation against King Marc. Yseult had proceeded no farther in her journey than the skirts of the forest of Mouris, when she gave birth to a son [ch. i. fol. ii.]. She sent for a hermit who resided in the vicinity, but who, spite of the urgency of the occasion, refused to baptize the child till the mother had revealed her foibles, and thus paid the tribute which in those days conscience owed to religion. He then baptized the infant by submersion in a neighbouring fountain, and called him Ysaie le Triste; an appellation compounded of the names of his parents. After this the

<sup>1</sup> See Mähly—Die Schlange in Mythos und Cultus der Classischen Völker. Basel, 1867, p. 13, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Chariclea and Ismene underwent these tests openly. See pp. 28, 40, and 80.

<sup>3</sup> Sensuit l'histoire dysaie le triste, Filz de Tristā de leonnois cheualier de la table ronde, et de la royne Jzeut Royne de Cornouaille. Ensemble les nobles prouesses de Marc l'exille filz du dit Ysaye, . . . reduit du viel langage françoys. Several editions were published in Paris about 1500, and subsequently. See p. 222.



queen returned to her husband, and the recluse carried the little Ysaie along with him to his hermitage [fol. iii. verso].

One clear moonlight evening when the hermit had retired to his devotions, and was kneeling before the altar, his attention was distracted by the sound of delightful and unearthly music, which he heard at a distance in the forest, and which gradually approached his solitary dwelling. Looking through a window which opened from this oratory into his cell, he perceived a group of fairies, who made free to light a comfortable fire, and having warmed themselves and washed the child, departed to the same tune to which they had entered [f. iv.].

At this visit the hermit felt considerable inquietude, for the fairies were not Christians; but the benevolence with which they had treated the child, and their liberality in leaving a plentiful supply of provisions, induced him to consider them as such. Some nights after, his new guests returned, and introduced themselves in due form; one as the Vigorous Fairy, another as the Courageous Fairy, &c. They announced that they frequently resorted to the bush which confined the magician Merlin, with whom they had lately enjoyed a full conversation on the merits of different knights, and other important affairs of chivalry. In particular, Merlin had mentioned the death of Tristan, and recommended his child to their best attentions: accordingly they now endued Ysaie with the gifts which each had the power of bestowing, one giving him strength, another courage, and so forth. They also directed the hermit to proceed with his ward, as soon as he passed the period of infancy, through the Green Forest; and then, on hearing the cock crow, they suddenly vanished.

After some years had elapsed, the hermit set out with Ysaie, according to the route which had been prescribed to him by the fairies [ch. iv.]. Having passed through the Green Forest, they came to a plain, in the midst of which stood a fountain, and from the middle of the fountain grew a tree, which shaded it with spreading branches. Around sat the protecting fairies, who now bestowed on Ysaie, as an attendant, an ill-favoured dwarf, called Tronc, whose personal deformity was compensated by the quickness of his understanding.

Having left the fairies, chance conducted our adventurers to the tomb of the enchanter Merlin, whence deep groans were heard to issue: Tronc interrogated the voice of the magician, which informed them of the overthrow of Arthur with his chivalry, and directed his audience to proceed to the hermitage of Lancelot du Lac, who having alone survived the fatal battle with Mordrec, was now the only person worthy to invest Ysaie with the order of knighthood, and to bestow a new Tristan on the world. In obedience to the exhortation of Merlin, they proceeded to the retreat of Lancelot; but found on their arrival that it was no longer inhabited, as the knight had met in repose the death which had so often spared him in battle. By advice of the dwarf Tronc, they repaired to the tomb of Lancelot, where a mausoleum of noble simplicity rose in view. The marble which covered the body of the warrior was raised, and the hermit dubbed Ysaie a knight with the right arm of the skeleton, accompanying this ghastly inauguration with a harangue, which seems to form a compendium of the duties of knighthood:—"Chevalier, soies cruel a tes ennemys, debonnaire a tes amys, humble a non puissans, et aidez toujours le droit a soustenir, et confons celluy qui tort a Vefes dames poures pucelles et orphelins; et poures gens aymes toujours a ton pouoir, et avec aime toujours Sainte Eglise" [ch. ix.].

Ysaie returned to the hermitage, but the recluse having died after a time, he set out in quest of adventures, in all which the stratagems and ingenuity of Tronc were of great service to his master. The state of the country at this period gave ample scope for chivalrous exploits. After the death of Arthur, a number of petty sovereignties had been erected, and were maintained by cruelty and oppression. Ysaie, however, abolished the evil customs which had been established at different castles, and in their place substituted others more consonant to the genuine spirit of chivalry.

By these means the fame of Ysaie reached the court of King Irion. It is not said where this monarch reigned, but he had a beautiful niece, called Martha. This princess had a strong prepossession in favour of knights, as her nurse had persuaded her that the bravest heroes were the most

tender lovers. She resolved to be beloved by Ysaie, and immediately wrote to him on the subject [ch. xxiv.]. Our hero returned a favourable answer, but his speed not keeping pace with her wishes, she prevailed on her uncle to proclaim a tournament, in the hope that he would repair to the exhibition. On the eve of its celebration, while Irion was dining in his hall with four hundred knights and an equal number of ladies, and while the second course (second metz) was serving, the pleasure of the repast was suddenly interrupted by the arrival of Tronc, whom his master had sent on before, and who entered, to the utter amazement and consternation of the assembly, *Car trop estoit hideux a merveilles*. Having discovered Martha seated between two knights, who were clothed in black and purple, he delivered her a letter from Ysaie announcing his speedy approach.

Ysaie arrived during supper at the palace of the king, where he knocked out the brains of the porter who refused him admittance. On ascending the stairs he discovered Martha, by whom he was received as he had reason to expect [ch. xxx.]. Their interview was interrupted by the approach of the king; but the host, with whom Ysaie had taken up his quarters, came soon after to inform the princess that her knight had proceeded no farther than the first house in the suburbs. In consequence of this intimation she repaired in the evening to the rendezvous, where she gave her lover the most decisive proofs of her benevolence.

On the following day Ysaie, who was arrayed in white armour, distinguished himself at the tournaments; but during the entertainment by which they were succeeded, a defiance was brought from the giant, styling himself Lord of the Black Forest, addressed to Ysaie in his character of reformer of abuses, and declaring that he (the giant) meant to persevere in the practice which he had hitherto observed, of delivering all ladies whom he caught within his jurisdiction to his grooms (varlets de chevaulx), and afterwards throwing them into the ditch surrounding his castle, which, as the romancer very justly remarks, "Etoit la plus laide coustume du monde."

Our hero proceeded to destroy this monster, and on the road conversed with Tronc on his late happiness; who, it would appear, had little cause to rejoice at the amorous

success of his master:—"Je en suis Je," says he, "moulu et dechiré. Les Feés, vos amies et protectrices, m'ont fait chierement payer vos plaisirs ; ores dansiez vous aux nopces et payois Je les violons ; et disoient elles que en ma chair devois Je ressentir le tort que avoit la votre."

While Ysaie was engaged in discomfiting the giant, and in making converts by force of arm to the true faith, the Princess Martha had felt the consequences of a frank letter and an imprudent rendezvous. King Irion pardoned her transgression, and indeed swore "Par Sainte croix si c'est du chevalier au blanc escu Je ne fus oncques si joyeux." But, however much gratified by hearing that it was the white-shielded knight, he could not help expressing his astonishment that Ysaie, having passed only twenty-four hours in his territories, should have employed them in knocking down his porter and seducing his niece.

Martha having given birth to a son, who was called Marc [ch. xl.], adopted, though somewhat late, the intention of uniting herself in marriage to Ysaie. With this view she set out in quest of him, disguised as a minstrel, and wandered from tower to tower singing lays expressive of her pain and her passion:—"Lors tire la harpe et la trempe, et puis commence a harper si melodieusement que c'estoit merveilles a ouyr. Et puis chantoit avec ce tant bien que le palays en retentissoit." On one occasion she poured forth her melody at the gates at the castle of Argus, where Ysaie happened at that time to reside. Unfortunately she was recognised by Tronc, who, still mindful of the chastisement of the fairies, informed her, after having disguised himself, that Ysaie had gone to the next town, and that she would easily overtake him [ch. xlv.].

While Martha thus wastes her steps and her music, her son Marc passed the period of infancy: "Et bien saichez que c'estoit le pyre de son aage que oncques fust veu. Si vous diray en quelle maniere ; de prime face quant le Roy mengeoit il venoit a la table et espandoit le vin et tiroit la nappe et les hanaps a luy et boutoit tout a terre : Et puis venoit en la cuisine et respandoit les pots. Aux petis enfans faisait il tant de hont que c'estoit merveilles. Le roy avoit avec luy ung sien nepveu fils de son frere : une heure regardoit en la court dedans ung puis ; Marc le leva



par les piez et le bouta dedans, et fut noyé. Quant le Roy Irion le sceut si en fust moult courroucé.” It was no wonder then that the knight, “qui l’endoctrinoit,” complained to the king, “que c’est la plus cruelle piece de chair qui oncques nasquit de mere. Et vous ditz, que se tantost ne fais oyé ce que il dist il meteroit hors par les fenestres de la tour: Et sachez que au jour de l’escremie il a tué vostre Boutillier, et ung des maistres d’ hostel. Mon Dieu, fait le Roy Irion, J’estoye tout esbahy que Je ne les veoye plus aller ne venir.” The king on receiving this account sends for his nephew, and instead of reprimanding him, “*Beau nepveu, fait le roy, Je suis desormais ancien homme et tout maladif, et vous etes fort, et puissant et saige; se vous voulez, si vouldroyé que par le conseil des saiges que gouvernissiez mon royaume en contester contre tous ceux qui mal vouldroyent faire.*”

The first exercise of power on the part of this wise young prince was to proclaim a tournament, during which he displayed more courage than courtesy. The knights and courtiers of King Irion, being jealous of the authority of a prince whose recommendation to sovereign power seems to have consisted in his dexterity in throwing children into wells, and beating out the brains of butlers, entered into a conspiracy against him, of which the plot is so singular, and so similar to the stories of haunted apartments in modern romance, that I have thought it deserving of a place in the Appendix.<sup>1</sup>

After Marc had triumphed over all the machinations of his enemies, and foiled Satan by a good shrift, intelligence arrived that the Amiral of Persia had just landed in Britain, accompanied by his nephew, the king of Nubia, surnamed the Red Lion; as also by the kings of Castille, Seville, and Arragon, who had all sworn by Mahomet and Tervagant that they would not return to their own country till they had extirpated Christianity [ch. lviii.].

It would appear that the Saracen commander had divided his army into two portions. A few troops proceeded against the capital of Irion, but the main body, under the orders of the Amiral in person, remained near

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, No. 7.

the coast on which they had disembarked. Marc advanced against the latter division, which, with the assistance of a few peasants, he totally defeated. After the engagement he found the beautiful Orimonda, daughter of the Amiral, reposing in the pavilion of her father. He conducts this princess as a trophy to his tent, sups with her, baptizes her, and promises to espouse her on his return to the court of King Irion, but meanwhile prevails on her to invert the usual ceremonies which constitute a legal marriage :—

Il n'est rien de si doux pour des coeurs pleins de gloire,  
Que la paisible nuit qui suit une victoire ;  
Dormir sur un trophée est un charmant repos,  
Et le champ de bataille est le lit d'un heros.

Scudéry, *Alaric*. c. x. l. 1-4.

Next morning the son of Ysaie set out in pursuit of the remaining Saracen army, but his father had been beforehand with him. Ysaie had proceeded with great rapidity in the work of conversion ; but as he had nearly extirpated the native infidels, he was much delighted with this fresh supply, which he had accordingly attacked and defeated under the walls of the capital of King Irion. The father and son, equally victorious, met and recognised each other on the field of battle, where Orimonda was presented by Marc to his father. A moment of yet greater transport was reserved. Tronc being now associated to Marc in the adventures he undertook, it was partly by his means that Martha was delivered from traitors, who were leading her to death, and finally restored to the arms of Ysaie [ch. xci.].

The posterity of Tristan were thus happy and united. The nuptials of the father and son were celebrated, and the son was knighted by the father. During the festival that ensued, the protecting fairies again appeared. To the faithful Tronc a recompence was still wanting. They informed him that he had the good fortune to belong to their family, being the son of Julius Cæsar by their eldest sister the Fairy Morgana. Strange events, which are written in the *Chronicles of Fairies*, had forced him to endure a long and severe penance. His aunts the fairies, in order to enable him to pass the time more agreeably, had transformed him into a hideous dwarf, and linked

him to the fate of their *protégé*. But the period of disgrace was at length expired. The fairies cleansed him from his deformities, and he now appeared the handsomest prince in the world, as he had formerly been the most witty and ingenious. The smallness of his stature, which did not exceed three feet, was the only imperfection that remained. His aunts bestowed on him a kingdom, and in this new form and dignity he was known by the title of Aubron [Oberon], under which denomination he performed many wonders, related in the beautiful romance of Huon of Bordeaux. Before departing for the Vergier des Fées, where he was about to establish his empire, he left with Ysaie a magic horn, which is the origin of that in Huon:—“Or quant Tronc fut baptizé se dist a Ysaie—tenez ce cor sur vous et le portez; si vous avez besoing vous ou Marc si le sonnez, mais gardez vous bien que point ne le sonnez si ce n'est pour grant besoing, et Je vous viendray aider et secourir.”

The romance of Ysaie derives its chief excellence from the singular character of Tronc—his attachment, wit, and endless resources. His fidelity is the same to Ysaie and Marc, whose behaviour to him is singularly contrasted; by the former, who is a more polished warrior, he is invariably treated with tenderness and respect; while he is often driven from the presence of his impetuous son, and reminded that he is “trop défiguré, trop hideux a veoir, et plus laide creature du monde.”

Ysaie le Triste has also received much novelty from Tronc's relatives the fairies, as it is the first tale of chivalry in which they are introduced acting a decided part. This new species of machinery has given rise to gorgeous descriptions, and pictures of magnificence, hitherto unknown. The representation of the Vergier des Fées, which Tronc and Ysaie visit in the course of their adventures, is perhaps the richest and most splendid in romance.—“And the while they spake Marc beholds a great valley and at the end thereof trees in marvellous abundance; and there birds sang so sweetly that it was delight to hear. And Marc stopped a little, that he might hear maidens singing so doucelly that he was amazed, for he had never before seen the like, and therewith harmonized

such sweet melody that all hearts found pleasure therein. . . . But neither dames nor damosels did they see, nor any being; and there was such a lovely mead as was solace to behold, for all manner of goodly flowers and aromatic herbs were there, and there blossomed there such a sweetness that all hearts must fain find pleasure therein. He rode forward a little and came to a very beautiful orchard enclosed by a little wall built of divers kinds of precious stones, and all round was a vigne wholly of gold having grapes wholly of emeralds; and in this orchard was set a table, and the trestles thereof were of jet, and the table itself of jasper, and the tableclothe of white silk so cunningly worked as it was marvellous to look on; and near unto the table was a beautiful dresser the which was all laden with precious stones, and a great plenty of costly jewels; and near thereto was a little low fountain which was of topaz, whereunto the water flowed in a conduit of ruby, and it was so clear that no other water might compare therewith; and when the fountain was full the water issued therefrom by a conduit which was of crystal, and entered into the earth so cunningly that no man might perceive. And on the other side of the garden was a bed, wherof the stead was of ivory carved and cunningly wrought into great images, and therein was contained the historie of Lancelot and the Dame du lac, and it was covered with a great cloth of divers colours cunningly interwoven, and there were there broidered so many histories that the eyes were dazzled therewith." [c. lxxx.]

It is the introduction of fairies, and the frequently recurring descriptions of those splendid wonders they produce, or by which they are attended, that induce me to place the composition of this romance in the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, which is a century and a half later than the date of Tristan. In that work, in Lancelot du Lac, and other romances of the Round Table, there are no doubt fairies, but they are of a different species from the protectresses of Ysaie. They are merely women, as Morgain or Vivian, instructed in magic. They indeed have all hell at their command, can perform the greatest miracles, and occasion to any one the severest misfortunes. All this, however, is accomplished by inter-



mediate agency, and they are only formidable by the intervention of demons, with whom they have formed advantageous connections: but the second class of fairies, as those in the romance of Ysaïe, were self-supported beings—they were a species of nymph or divinity, and possessed a power inherent in themselves. Nor were these creatures merely the offspring of the imagination of romancers, but were believed to exist in the age in which they wrote. At a period much later than the composition of Ysaïe, the first question asked of the Maid of Orleans, in the process carried on against her, was, if she had any familiarity with those who resorted to the Sabat of the fairies, or if she had ever attended the assemblies of the fairies held at the fontaine des Groseillers beneath the shade of the Arbre aux Fées near Domremy, round which the evil spirits danced; and the Journal of Paris, in the reigns of Charles VI. and VII. states, that she acknowledged that, in spite of her father and mother, she had frequented the beautiful fountain of the fairies in Lorraine, which she named the good fountain of the fairies of our Lord.

There are other circumstances, besides the machinery of fairies, which may lead us to assign a late period to the composition of Ysaïe; as, for instance, the introduction of Saracens, instead of Saxons, as enemies of the heroes of the romance. The French is also evidently more modern, being much less difficult, but also less energetic, than the language of Tristan or Lancelot. It is true, that the romance, as now extant, is said in the title to be “redigé et reformé en commun langage vulgaire.” The pretended Redacteur professes to have adhered to the story “selon l'intention du premier hystoriographe;” but he declares that “l'original estoit en si estrange et mauvais langage mis et couché que a grant peine en ay peu entendre le sens et elucider la forme de la matiere.” All this, however, was probably asserted in order to give the stamp of authority, and I have little doubt that the language and story of this romance are of the same antiquity. “The romance of Ysaïe,” say the authors of the Bibliothèque des Romans, “is as inferior to those by which it was preceded, in characters, sentiments, and incidents, as in language; yet the history of Ysaïe offers many interesting situations, and presents many

*coups de théâtre*: but what renders it chiefly valuable is, that it makes us acquainted with the difference of manners which prevailed in the beginning of the twelfth and end of the fourteenth century. The world, which is so readily accused of growing worse, had no doubt wonderfully degenerated in point of chivalry, at least during these three centuries. At the conclusion of that period, too, the deepest shades of ignorance had gathered, and mankind were strangers to all delicacy of sentiment. The knights, indeed, still fought with courage, and hence the writers of romance continued to describe the most terrible combats. Principles of honour yet existed in the heart of the *Chevalier*, but they were concealed under a rude exterior. Devotion was fervent and sincere, but it was ill understood and worse directed. All this will be remarked in the history of Ysaie."

This romance is also one of the scarcest of the class to which it belongs, which is strong evidence of its fancied inferiority. As far as I know, it is one of the few romances which never appeared in a metrical form. There is no MS. of it extant, and there have been but few editions,—one printed at Paris, 1522, small folio, Gallyot du Pré, and two others, 4to., without date, by Philippe le Noir, and J. Bonfons, and according to Duverdier another 4to. without date at Lyons, by Olivier Arnoullet.

The romance of

### ARTHUR<sup>1</sup>

contains little more than the events of which we have already given an account in the preceding fabulous stories of the knights of the Round Table. The incidents, however, are better arranged, and presented in one view. It com-

<sup>1</sup> Le Roman du Roy Artus et des compagnons de la Table Ronde, &c. Such is the indication of the title given by Dunlop. The work meant seems to be the "Tierce partie de Lancelot du Lac . . . compilé et extraict precisement et au juste des vrayes histoires faisantes de ce mencion, par tres notable homme et tres expt historien maistre Gautier map, et imprime a Paris par Jehan du pre. En lâ de grace mil. cccc. liiii. xx. et viii. le xvi. iour de septembre." See *supra*, note to Lancelot, p. 185, and Ward, Cat. i., p. 347.

prehends the history of the Round Table, of which Arthur was the founder, or at least the restorer, and gives an account of that monarch from his birth to the period of his tragical death.

The authors of the Bibliothèque inform us, with most absurd credulity (or rather solemn irony perhaps), that this romance was written by one of the Sire Clerks or annalists of the Round Table: they even fix on the name of the author of Artus, and assert that it was Arroddian de Cologne, who, they say, retired with Lancelot du Lac into his hermitage after the defeat of Arthur. They argue, that it is impossible to assign an earlier origin to the romance, as it gives an account of the catastrophe of almost all the knights of the Round Table.—“*Selon toute apparence, ces chroniqueurs sont les Sires Clercs, ou officiers historiens et annalistes de cette première chevalerie du monde. Nous savons même leurs noms, et l'on peut conjecturer, que c'est ici l'ouvrage du premier d'entre eux, nommé Arroddian de Cologne. On croit qu'il se retira avec Lancelot du Lac, dans un même hermitage, après la terrible défaite ou perirent le Roy Artus, et la plus grande partie de ses chevaliers. La preuve que cette chronique ne fut terminée qu'après cette catastrophe c'est qu'on y voit la fin de presque tous ces héros.*”

In the body of the work itself, it is said to have been written by Gualtier Map; it was printed at Paris, 1488, folio, by Jehan du Pré.

After a narrative of the events connected with the birth and succession of Arthur to the kingdom, which have been formerly related in the Book of Merlin, the romance informs us that he drove the Saxons out of his dominions, by which means he secured the public peace; but he still continued to receive much disquiet from his own family. His four nephews, especially Gauvain, on pretence of the illegitimacy of their uncle, refused to acknowledge him as king. He defeated them in the field by his own skill and the sagacity of Merlin, and afterwards so far conciliated their favour by his bravery and good conduct, that they became the most faithful of his vassals.

Arthur then set out with his knights to the assistance of Laodogant, King of Carmelide in Scotland. This prince

had been attacked by King Ryon,<sup>1</sup> a man of a disposition so malevolent that he had formed to himself a project of possessing a mantle furred with the beards of those kings he should conquer. He had calculated with the grand-master of his wardrobe that a full royal cloak would require forty beards: he had already vanquished five kings, and reckoned on a sixth beard from the chin of Laodogant. Arthur and his knights totally deranged this calculation by defeating King Ryon. Laodogant, in return for the assistance he had received, offered his daughter, the celebrated Geneura,<sup>2</sup> in marriage to Arthur. Merlin, however, who does not appear to have been a flattering courtier, and who does not seem to have attached to the conservation of Laodogant's beard the importance that it merited, declared that his master must first deserve the princess. In obedience to his oracle and enchanter, Arthur, in order to qualify himself for the nuptials, made an expedition to Britany, where he defeated Claudas, king of Berri, who had unprovokedly attacked a vassal of the British monarch.

After this exploit, Arthur returned to the court of Laodogant, where preparations were now made for his union with Geneura. This princess is described as the

<sup>1</sup> King Ryon and his mantle are mentioned in a Welsh legend (San Marte, "Beitraege zur bretonischen . . . Heldensage," p. 60, and by Geoffrey of Monmouth, Hist. Reg. Brit. x. c. 3, where he is called *Rython*, in Merlin (pt. ii. fol. 105), in the Roman de Brut, v. 11957, etc. where his name is written *Riton*, and in the Chevalier aux deux Epées, where he appears as *Ris*. See Leroux de Lincy on this passage in the Brut.—LIEB.

<sup>2</sup> The beauty of the Queen Geneura or Guenever is a constant theme with the old romancers, and appears to rest on historical tradition. In the Welsh version of Ywaine and Gawaine, edited by Lady Charlotte Guest, in the Mabinogion, the expression, "more lovely than Gwenhwyvar," occurs, p. 42; and she is celebrated in the Triads as one of the three fair ladies of Arthur's court. In the Latin chronicle of Geoffrey, lib. ix. cap. 9, the queen is equally praised for her beauty and courteous manners, and this is repeated by Wace and his translators, or imitators. The most naïve and elaborate personal description of her appearance is given in the very rare Roman de Merlin, vol. i. f. cxxxvii. See also another passage quoted by Southey in his notes on Morte d'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 462. Her *yzen gray* (*yeux vaires*) are mentioned; such were considered in the times of romances as undoubted characteristics of beauty. See examples (out of many) in the Erle of Zolous ap. Ritson. metr. rom. iii. 107. Lawnful, *ibid.* i. 209. Thomas of Ersyldoune ap. Laing pop. poet. l. 89.



finest woman in the universe—her stature was noble and elegant—her complexion fair, and her eyes the finest blue of the heavens: the expression of her countenance was lively yet dignified, but sometimes tender—her understanding, naturally just, was well cultivated—her heart was feeling, compassionate, and capable of the most exalted sentiments.

On the second day of the tournaments (for without these no great festival was exhibited,) an unknown knight, of a ferocious aspect, came to defy the combatants. He entered the lists, but was speedily unhorsed by Arthur, and afterwards slain by him in mortal combat (*combat à outrance*.) This knight was, after his death, discovered to be King Ryon, by the mantle which he carried under his cuirass, half furnished with the spoils of vanquished monarchs.

Arthur, after his return to England with his bride, re-established the Round Table, which was transported from Scotland, for King Laodogant had it in deposit since the death of Uter, the father of Arthur. Merlin dictated the laws and regulations of this renowned association.<sup>1</sup> The kings of Scotland and Norway, the princes of Armorica and Gaul, disdained not to pay a species of tribute to the English monarch, in order to be admitted into this celebrated society. The glory of the institution was completed by Pharamond, the king of the Franks, and conqueror of Gaul, arriving incognito in Britain to obtain, by his prowess and exploits, a seat at this renowned board.

The knights of the Round Table had no exterior and characteristic mark of their order, but each had a peculiar device and motto of his own.<sup>2</sup> Thus Arthur carried for

<sup>1</sup> In the *Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque*, it is stated that the statutes of the Round Table are not found in any of the Arthurian romances, but occur in the second volume of *Anadis, the Knight of the Sun*.<sup>2</sup> Schmidt Wiener Jahrbuch. Bd. 29, p. 104, quoted by Liebrecht.

<sup>2</sup> A curious little book is devoted to this subject; its title runs: *La devise des Armes des Chevaliers de la Table Ronde qui estoient du temps du tresrenōme et vertueux Artus roy de la grant Bretagne. Avec la descriptiō de leurs armoiries*. Paris (? 1520), 16mo. An English translation was published at London in 1583, entitled: *The Auncient Order Societie and Unitie laudable of Prince Arthure, etc. The genealogy of the heroes of Arthurian and Carlovingian romance is given in Ferrario's "Storia ed Analisi degli antichi romanzi di Cavalleria," &c. Milano, 1828, 1829, 8vo; and in a little volume: Tables*

his arms thirteen golden crowns, with the motto *Moult de couronnes plus de vertus*.

Lancelot du Lac had six bends of or and azure—*Haut en naissance en vaillance en amour*.

His brother Hector of Mares a golden star—*Pour etre heureux un bel astre suffit*.

King Pharamond bore the *Fleur de Lis*—*Que de beaux fruits de ces fleurs doivent naitre*.

After the institution of the Round Table, Arthur conceived the design of obtaining possession of the Sangreal; but this precious relic, according to the oracles, could only be acquired by a knight who had a very rare qualification, and Perceval, it seems, was the only one whose purity of morals fitted him for this enterprise.

The story of the false Geneura, the credulity of Arthur, and the final triumph of the queen, which has been mentioned in the account of Lancelot, is fully related in the romance of Arthur.

After Geneura was reinstated in the affections of her husband, the glory and domestic felicity of Arthur seem to have been at their height, but the period of the destruction of the first chivalry in the world was now fast approaching. Mordred, the son of Arthur, by the Queen of Orkney, disputed the right of succession with the nephews of that monarch. Arthur sustained the claims of his nephew Gauvain against this unworthy and illegitimate son, and Mordred assembled under his banners all those who had solicited and had been refused admittance to the Round Table. Some of the knights of Arthur were still engaged with Perceval in the conquest of the Sangreal; the rest defended themselves with unexampled valour, but Arthur and his chivalry were finally overthrown. The Saracens,<sup>1</sup>

*généalogiques des heros des romans* (? Paris, 1794); and the arms and devices are prefixed to *Gyron le Courtois*.

<sup>1</sup> Mordred and his allies included Saracens. This appears to be a most important feature of the transition into the succeeding cycle of romances. In the earlier stories of the Round Table, Arthur's external foes are Saxons, not Saracens. Schmidt *Wien. Jahrb.* Bd. 29, p. 103. Graesse, p. 242. It is still doubtless Saxons that are signified under the term Saracens, the romancists classing all heathens indiscriminately under this name. See Sir W. Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. i. p. 270. Note i. ed. Baudry (*On the Fairies of Popular Superstition*, sect. iii.), and Percy's "Reliques," note on the Ballad of King

who supported Mordred, reached the division commanded by the king. Arthur was overpowered by numbers and mortally wounded; his faithful squire, Gaius, who saw him expire, carried off his famous sword Escalibor, and threw it into a lake. Lancelot, who in the romance of his own name does not arrive in England till after this battle, had meanwhile attacked the battalion which Mordred commanded, put it to flight, and pursued its leader to the seashore. There he overtook him, and plunged his sword into his bosom. Lancelot having routed his whole host, returned exulting to the tents of Arthur, where he learned the fate of his sovereign. After these events the beautiful Geneura retired to a convent, and Lancelot closed his life in a hermitage.

It appears strange at first sight, that Arthur and his knights should be represented in romance as falling in battle, as well as Charlemagne with all his peerage, at a time when success in war was thought necessary to complete the character of a warrior. But the same fate has been attributed to all the fabulous chiefs of half-civilized nations, who have invariably represented their favourite leaders as destroyed by a concealed and treacherous enemy. Achilles, at least according to the fables of the middle age, was thus slain by Paris; and Rustan, the great Persian hero, fell a victim to the snares of Bahaman, the son of his mortal foe Isfendar. This has probably arisen from poets and romancers wishing to spare their heroes the suspicion of having died in bed by the languor of disease, to which any violent death is preferred by barbarous nations.—“He’ll be strapped up on the kind gallows of Crieff, where his father died, and his goodsire died, and where I hope he’ll live to die himself, if he’s not shot or slashed in a creagh.” “You hope such a death for your friend, Evan?” “And that do I e’en; would you have me wish him to die in yon den of his, like a mangy tyke?”—(Waverley, ch. xviii.)

But though Arthur was universally believed to have

Estmere (Series i. B. i.). Similarly in King Horne, the Pagan Danes are called “Saracens.” See Thomas Wright, *St. Patrick’s Purgatory*, p. 14. Lond. 1844. In the *Chanson des Saxons*, composed by Jean Bodel in the reign of Philippe Auguste (1180-1223), the Saxons are also represented as worshippers of Mahomet.—LIEB.

been discomfited, and was by some supposed to have perished in the battle with Mordred ; the expectation of his return to restore the Round Table, and to rule over Britain, was long and fondly cherished in Wales. Alanus de Insulis, who was born in 1109, says, that if any one were heard in Bretagne to deny that Arthur was yet alive, he would be stoned.<sup>1</sup> This tradition formed a favourite sub-

<sup>1</sup> *Prophetia Anglicana* (Merlini) . . . unà cum septem libris explanationum in eandem prophetiam Alani de Insulis, etc., l. iii. c. 26. According to Juan del Castillo (*Historia de los Reyes Godos que rinieron á España*, Madrid, 1624, p. 365), it was reported that Philip II. was obliged at his espousals with Mary of England to swear to forego his claims to the English throne in case of Arthur's return. Cf. *Don Quixote*, i. c. 13. F. W. V. Schmidt.—LIEB. See in the note on Geoffrey of Monmouth, p. 138, the treatment of the monks of Laon in the church at Bodmin.

The reader is at once reminded of the ready popular belief accorded to such pretenders as Perkin Warbeck, and many others, who have claimed to be the bearers of esteemed and favourite names ; various other popular legends bear witness to a similar expectation. See Grimm, *Deutsche Myth.* 2nd ed. p. 903, and English ed., p. 961. Graesse, p. 341, note. Cf. also the Breton Saga of Morvan Lez-Breiz (Villemarqué, *Barzaz-Breiz*, vol. i. No. 12). The North American story of Rip van Winkle, in W. Irving's "*Sketch-book*."

The people is not ungrateful to its benefactors and heroes, and preserves the memory of the traits of its darlings ineffaceably laid up in the heart. It is loath to admit that death can have taken them away for ever, and loves to cherish the idea that they are still alive and will return in an hour of the country's need. Who does not know the tradition that Frederick Barbarossa still sits at a stone table in the Kyffhäuser Mountains, with his long red beard enveloping in mighty coils the legs of the table ? (See Massmann *Kaiser Friedrich im Kyffhäuser*, Quedlinburg, 1850.) The Serbs deny that their champion Kraljevic Marco is dead, and maintain that he is asleep in a cave in Sumadia, until the hour of Serbia's delivery shall arrive. They say that he retired thither after he had seen the first firearms, bewailing the victory of cunning over courage, and the unavailingness of bravery and heroism, since now the most tottering coward could lay low the bravest warrior from a vile lurking place. There he sleeps on, stretched out by the side of his horse, which is eating green moss from a golden manger. His Handzar unruined hangs from the wall. In the hour of action it will fall, and wake the hero by the noise of falling, who will then arise and liberate the Serbs.

The Moravian country-folk still hope for the return of the lost prince-child Jecminek, as the Bohemian peasant still looks for St. Wenzel and his hosts on Mount Blanik. The announcement of the death of the great friend of the people, Joseph II., was received in Bohemia with widespread incredulity. It was said that the clergy had kidnapped him



ject of the legends of the bards; and on his imaginary tomb there was inscribed,

*Hic jacet Arthurus rex quondam rexque futurus.*

The belief in Arthur's return probably originated<sup>1</sup> with the stories in the romance of Lancelot, and other tales of chivalry, concerning his disappearance with his sister Morgana, after the battle; some of which bear a striking resemblance to what Homer tells us of Sarpedon, that Apollo washed his wounds in a stream, anointed them with ambrosia, and having clothed him in ambrosial garments, delivered him to the care of Sleep, to be conveyed to Lycia. But though no doubt was entertained as to the reappearance of Arthur, very different notions prevailed with regard to his state of intermediate being. According to some traditions, he drove through the air in a chariot with prodigious noise and velocity;<sup>2</sup> while, according to others,

from Vienna, and were keeping him in prison in Rome; it was but a wax effigy of the monarch that was exposed in the vault of the Capuchins at Vienna. For many years it was reported in Bohemia that pilgrims had seen in the neighbourhood of Rome a poorly-clad silver-haired old man, who had told them he was the Emperor Joseph II., and was even then returning from captivity to his dominions. At a subsequent time he was believed to be a prisoner at Kunradic, and numbers of credulous dupes were found to subscribe money for his ransom. See the Bohemia quoted in the Berlin Voss Zeitung, of March 2, 1849. Liebrecht quotes rather more in extenso. Note also the traditions of return associated with the Khalif Mansur, Charlemagne, Ogier le Dannois, the Slavonic Sviatopolk, the Irish Earl Desmond, and Sebastian I. of Brazil, who are at some future day to reappear in the flesh, vanquish their enemies, and claim their own.

<sup>1</sup> The verse given in the text is only one of several epitaphs, said to have been found on Arthur's tomb. See an article by Paulin Paris, in Romania I., on the Romances of the Round Table. The supposed discovery of Arthur's grave may have been a stratagem favoured by Henry II., to whose policy, of course, the belief in Arthur's return was directly opposed. The identification of the mysterious Celtic land of the Hesperides with Glastonbury (the Bury of the family Glastinga), the Altic Avallon, Affelwyn, or Isle of Apples, has no better foundation than a passage in Geoffrey of Monmouth. See note, supra, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> The so-called Arthur's Chace, similar to the nocturnal rides of the wild huntsman in Germany, in reference to which may be consulted Graesse, p. 64, note \* \* (Literärg, Bd. 2, § 3); Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, ch. xxxi.; also the account of the Hessian trooper, or headless horseman, in the State of New York, in the Legend of Sleepy Hollow, given in Washington Irving's "Sketch-book;" note by Graesse on Pausanias, i.

he had assumed the shape of a raven,<sup>1</sup> a bird which it be-  
 32, § 3, at p. 893, and at p. 895, on Villemarque's "Barzaz-Breiz,"  
 vol. i. No. 8. Schwarz-Schulprogramm des Friedrich-Werderschen  
 Gymnasium in Berlin, 1850, p. 8, etc. See also Graesse, upon Arthur's  
 transformation into a raven, p. 162. (Connection between Herodias and  
 the Wild Huntsman, see Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, pp. 883, 933; also  
 Bock, L'Amphithéâtre de Constantinople, Bruxelles, 1849, p. 55, note).

Akin to these legends is that of the Irish O'Donoghue, whose name  
 is so closely associated with Killarney . . . either up the mountain,  
 along the valleys, upon the water, or in any one of the islands, you are  
 sure to find some object connected with it; every rock of unusual form  
 is forced into an illustration of the story; the guides and boatmen will  
 point out to the tourist O'Donoghue's horse, O'Donoghue's prison, his  
 stable, his library, his pigeon-house, his table, his cellar, his honeycombs,  
 his pulpit, his broom; and almost on the summit of lofty Mangerton, a  
 huge stone is described as the shaft of his jaunting-car, which he broke  
 one night returning from a revel with the arch enemy, who, to give a  
 fitting reception to his gallant guest, had filled for that night the  
 "Devil's Punch Bowl" with the genuine dew of the mountain. Scores  
 of the peasantry may be encountered who have as firm a belief in the  
 existence of the spirit-chieftain as they have in their own. Although  
 its variations are numerous, the original story may be told in a few  
 words. In ages long past, O'Donoghue of Ross was lord of the lake, its  
 islands, and the surrounding land. His sway was just and generous,  
 and his reign propitious; he was the sworn foe of the oppressor; he  
 was brave, hospitable, and wise. Annually since his death, or rather  
 disappearance, he is said to revisit the pleasant places among which he  
 lived . . . Every May morning he may be seen gliding over the lake  
 mounted on a white steed, richly caparisoned, preceded and followed by  
 youths and maidens who strew spring flowers in his way; while sounds  
 of unearthly sweetness glide along the waters, and become thunder as  
 they make their way up the surrounding hills. Although he appears  
 in state only on May morning, he is seen on various other occasions;  
 and lucky is the child of earth by whom the immortal spirit is en-  
 countered; for be he peer or peasant, good fortune is sure to wait upon  
 him, etc. See "Ireland, its Scenery, Character," etc., by Mr. and Mrs.  
 S. C. Hall, part iv. pp. 192, etc., where the belief is regarded as a real  
 phenomenon due to *mirage*. Similarly the chieftain Desmond, who  
 perished in Elizabeth's reign, is believed to emerge once in seven years  
 from his sublacustrine palace, and ride, armed at all points, round the  
 waters of Lough Gur. It would scarcely be wonderful if the midnight  
 rides of the late King of Bavaria gave rise to some local legend. See  
 also note to Boccaccio (Dec. v. 8).

<sup>1</sup> Or according to the Cornish tradition, that of a red-legged chough  
 (*Tregilus graculus*) now seldom seen.

"And mark yon bird so black of wing,  
 Talons and beak all red with blood,  
 The spirit of the long lost king  
 Passed in that shape from Camlan's flood."

R. S. Hawker, Vicar of Morwinstow.—H. JENNER.

came a capital crime in Wales to destroy. It was more generally fabled that he remained in subterraneous existence, a superstition alluded to by Milton :

“ Arthur, their chief, who even now prepares  
In subterraneous being future wars.”

Milton. [Mansus, v. 81.]<sup>1</sup>

The various traditions concerning the disappearance and coming of this fabulous monarch, have been embodied in Warton's “ Grave of King Arthur,” and are represented as sung by the Welsh bards, for the amusement of Henry II., when he passed through their country on an expedition to Ireland :—

“ Then gifted bards, a rival throng,  
From distant Mona, nurse of song ;  
From Teivi, fringed with umbrage brown,  
From Elvy's vale and Cader's crown,  
From many a sunless solitude  
Of Radnor's inmost mountains rude ;  
From many a shaggy precipice,  
That shades Ierne's hoarse abyss,  
To crown the banquet's solemn close,  
Themes of British glory chose.

“ O'er Cornwall's cliffs the tempest roared,  
High the screaming seamew soared ;  
On Tintagel's topmost tower,  
Darksome fell the sleety shower,  
When Arthur ranged his red-cross ranks  
On conscious Camlan's crimsoned banks,  
By Mordred's faithless guile decreed,  
Beneath a Saxon spear to bleed !  
Yet, in vain, a Paynim foe  
Armed with fate the mighty blow ;  
For when he fell, an Elfin Queen,  
All in secret and unseen,  
O'er the fainting hero threw  
Her mantle of ambrosial blue ;  
And bade her spirits bear him far,  
In Merlin's agate-axled car,  
To her green isles enamelled steep,  
Far in the navel of the deep.  
O'er his wounds she sprinkled dew,  
From flowers that in Arabia grew ;  
On a rich enchanted bed  
She pillowed his majestic head ;

<sup>1</sup> A similar allusion occurs in Balbuena's epic poem, “ El Bernardo,” c. v. st. 17, 18.—LIEB.

O'er his brow with whispers bland,  
Thrice she waved an opiate wand ;  
And to soft music's airy sound  
Her magic curtains closed around :  
There renewed the vital spring,  
Again he reigns a mighty king ;  
And many a fair and fragrant clime,  
Blooming in immortal prime,  
By gales of Eden ever fanned,  
Owns the monarch's high command :  
Thence to Britain shall return,  
If right prophetic rolls I learn,  
Borne on victory's spreading plume,  
His ancient sceptre to resume ;  
Once more in old heroic pride,  
His barbed courser to bestride ;  
His knightly table to restore  
And brave the tournaments of yore."

He ceased : when on the tuneful stage  
Advanced a bard of aspect sage.  
" When Arthur bowed his haughty crest,  
No princess veiled in azure vest,  
Snatched him by Merlin's potent spell,  
In groves of golden bliss to dwell ;  
Where crowned with wreaths of mistletoe,  
Slaughtered kings in glory go.  
But when he fell, with winged speed  
His champions on a milk-white steed,  
From the battle's hurricane,  
Bore him to Joseph's towered fane,  
In the fair vale of Avalon :  
There with chaunted orison  
And the long blaze of tapers clear,  
The stoled fathers met the bier ;  
Through the dim aisles, in order dread  
Of martial woe the chief they led,  
And deep entombed in holy ground  
Before the altar's solemn bound :  
Around no dusky banners wave,  
No mouldering trophies mark his grave,  
The faded tomb, with honour due,  
'Tis thine, O Henry ! to renew.  
There shall thine eye, with wild amaze,  
On his gigantic stature gaze,  
There shalt thou find the monarch laid  
All in warrior weeds arrayed,  
Wearing in death his helmet crown,  
And weapons huge of old renown—  
Martial prince, 'tis thine to save,  
From dark oblivion, ARTHUR'S GRAVE."



I have now given an account of the romances of the fabulous history of Britain, as far as Arthur and his knights are concerned, which form by far the largest proportion of the number.

There are two romances connected with the imaginary history of Britain, preceding the time of Arthur, and two which relate the fabulous incidents posterior to his reign.

Those which are first in the order of events, happen to be also the earliest, considered as to the dates of their composition.<sup>1</sup> One of these relates the adventures of

### GYRON LE COURTOIS,<sup>2</sup>

a romance which chiefly hinges on the disinterested friendship of Gyron for Danayn the Red, and the ungrateful return he receives.<sup>3</sup>

This work was written by Rusticien de Pise, who was also the author of *Meliadus*, and lived during the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. of England. Rusticien informs us, that Gyron was translated by him from the book of Edward I., when he went to the conquest of the Holy Land [1271-72], “et saichez tout vrayement que cestuy livre fut translaté du livre du Monseigneur Edouard le roi d’Angleterre, en celluy tems que il passa oultre la mer, au service de nostre seigneur, pour conquerer le Saint Sepulchre. Et maistre Rusticien de Puise compila ce Romant: car de cellui livre au roi Edouart d’Angleterre

<sup>1</sup> “Notwithstanding Dunlop’s statement the events of the romance must be intended as contemporaneous with Arthur. Near the commencement of the work, the comrades Gyron and Danayn meet Arthur’s Seneschal and Ywain, a well-known knight of the Round Table.” Schmidt, in the *Wiener Jahrb.* Bd. 29, p. 105, quoted by Lieb.

<sup>2</sup> *Gyron le Courtois*. Avecques le deuise des armes de tous les chevaliers de la table ronde.

<sup>3</sup> The original story, together with the *Meliadus*, formed part of the great romance *Palamedes* (or as M. Paulin Paris prefers to call the whole, *Giron le Courtois*, this personage being the chief hero throughout), written by Elie de Borron, who was alive in the twelfth century, probably about one hundred years before Rusticien, whose composition is the basis of the work as printed. See note, p. 188, and Mr. Ward’s *Cat.* pp. 366-67; and Paulin Paris, *Manuscripts François*, Paris, 1838, ii. pp. 346-360, and iii. pp. 56-61, 64. In MS. Brit. Museum. Add. 23930, the name is always spelt *Guron*.

translata il toutes les merveilleuses adventures qui sont en cestuy livre." Who the original author was from whom Rusticien compiled, or what was the nature of this book of King Edward's, which Rusticien used, it is impossible to conjecture.<sup>1</sup> The romance of Gyron, as written by Rusticien de Pise, was first printed by Verard, Paris, 1494,<sup>2</sup> in folio; and afterwards in 1519.

In this fabulous work we are informed that Brehus, surnamed Sans Pitie, in the course of his unmerciful adventures, one day entered a cavern fitted up with dead bodies [Ed. 1519, fol. 122-3], and inhabited by two old knights, who prove to be the father and grandfather of the hero of this romance. Having boasted of the exploits which were performed by their companions in arms in their own days, Brehus contends that they were surpassed by those of a knight, who excelled all others in courtesy and valour, and was the admiration of the British court, though it was unknown whence he came, or what was his lineage. *Grant Pere Gyron*, as he is called, conjectures from this description that Brehus alluded to his grandson, Gyron the Courteous.<sup>3</sup> The oldest Gyron and his son had quitted the inheritance of the throne of Gaul, in order to devote themselves to knight errantry, which they had in turn abandoned for the tranquil and temperate life they were then enjoying. They thought it necessary, however, to make an apology for their meagre and squalid appearance, which they attributed to the want of provisions, "*car nous mangeons si pourement en cestuy lieu, ou vous nous voyez, que a grant peine en pouons nous soubstenir nostre vie.*" [f. 126.]

<sup>1</sup> Paulin Paris has (says Mr. Ward) printed the words of Rusticien more fully (*Manuscripts François*, Paris, 1838, vol. ii. p. 356-58) and from these, and the work to which they form the preamble, it appears that this "translation" was in fact a compilation of several Arthurian romances, especially the *Quest of the Saint Graal*, the *Tristram*, and the *Palamedes* (or *Guiron le Courtois*). Subsequent copyists, continues Paulin Paris (vol. iii. p. 64), picked out individual adventures of this or that hero, and hence were derived the printed *Guiron* and *Meliadus*. *Ward*, Cat. i. p. 367. But see note on *Meliadus*, supra, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Brunet, however, gives 1501 as the probable date.

<sup>3</sup> The word *courtois*, says Wieland in his preface to *Gyron der Adelige*, implies nobility alike of mind, of manners, and of birth.—*LIEB*.

The crown which the Gyrons abdicated had been usurped by Pharamond ; and their descendant, Gyron the Courteous, had been compelled to embrace the life of a knight errant. In the course of his adventures he became the companion in arms of Danayn the Red, lord of the castle of Maloanc, whose wife, the lady of Maloanc, was the most beautiful woman in Britain. This lady was enamoured of Gyron, and saw that she was by no means indifferent to the knight ; but all her inducements proved ineffectual to persuade him to betray his friend.

At length Gyron and Danayn proceeded to a tournament, proclaimed at the British court, whither they were followed by the lady of Maloanc. During the celebration of the tournament, Danayn was unexpectedly called home, in order to avenge the death of one of his relatives, who had been treacherously murdered. At his departure he consigned his wife to the charge of Gyron, who was now distracted by the new temptation presented, and the additional claim on his honour. While roaming through a forest, perplexed with these conflicting emotions, he overheard Messire Lac, as he is called, express a passion for the lady of Maloanc ; Lac accosted him, and commenced a long and tedious story, which he had no sooner concluded, than he proposed to tell another. This is declined by Gyron, but is insisted on by Lac,—“*en nom Dieu, fait le Chevalier, Je vous en compteray ung autre. Je n'en vueil point ouyr, fait Gyron. Nostre vassal, fait le Chevalier, or saïchez qu'il est mestier que vous l'escoutez ; et que si vous ne le me laissez compter en telle maniere que Je soies couroussé, Je le vous compteray donc en telle guyse qu'il ne sera jour de vostre vie qu'il ne vous en souviengne*” [f. 32]. Messire Lac accordingly proceeds to tell his story at the point of the sword. The object of these tedious narratives was to detain Gyron till Lac's arrangements for carrying off the lady of Maloanc had been completed. Gyron, however, ultimately frustrates all his designs, overthrows Lac in single combat, and rescues the lady of Maloanc, who had fallen under his power. “*Et quant la belle dame de Maloanc, qui ja avoit toute sa paour oublié, se voit toute seule avec le Chevalier du monde qu'elle aymoît le plus, et qui si preud homme des armes estoit qu'il*

avoit tout le monde passé, et qui estoit plus beau et plus gracieulx que tous les autres en toutes choses, elle ne scait a celluy point quelle en doit dire; tout le coeur luy va remuant. Orendroit luy veult elle parler d'amours, et maintenant s'en retient." At length, when they had reached the side of a delightful fountain, she ventures to ask Gyron if he be in love. The knight, unable longer to restrain his emotions, confesses that she was and had long been the sole object of his adoration. A mutual confession of a secret, but long subsisting attachment, spares the minutiae of courtship; and Gyron appears to have been on the eve of violating that fidelity to his friend, which he had so long preserved, when he fortunately casts his eyes on the hilt of his sword, where was inscribed the motto,—*Loyaulté passe tout—Faulseté honit tout*.<sup>1</sup> He is awakened to such a sense of his unworthiness, and of self-indignation, by this inscription, that he plunges the sword into his bosom. While lying wounded by the side of the fountain, Danayn, who had heard some false report of the infidelity of his wife and his friend, arrives at the spot, on his return to the British court. Gyron conceals the part which the lady bore in the adventure, and merely relates, that he had inflicted the wound as a punishment of his mental infidelity. The friendship of Danayn, instead of being diminished, is thus redoubled, and the wounded knight is conveyed to the castle of Maloanc [f. 65].

When Gyron was restored to health, he formed a new attachment to a damsel, called Bloye, of whom he daily became more deeply enamoured. With this lady Danayn also fell in love, and secretly carried her off, regardless of the happiness of his friend, and unmindful of the striking example which he had experienced of his fidelity. The resentment of Gyron was proportioned to the injury he had received, and the ingratitude of him by whom it was inflicted: he immediately set out in quest of the traitor, and during a year's wandering experienced many perilous

<sup>1</sup> The passage reads in the edition, Paris, 1519, fol. 40:—"Loyaulte passe tout et faulcete se honnit tout et decoit tous hommes dedans qui elle se heberge," and as though the writer forefelt an attempt to garble the inscription, he adds, "et ny avoit ne plus me moins en escript."—LIEB.



and romantic adventures, totally foreign to the object of his search [f. 93].

One day, says the romance, when the season was fair and clear, as it might be in the end of October, it happened that the road which Gyron held conducted him to the foot of a hill. The hill was white with snow, for it was winter, but the plain was green as if it had been the month of May. At the foot of this hill, in the plain, and beneath a tree, gurgled a fountain most beautiful and most delightful, and under that tree sat a knight, armed with hauberk and greaves; his other arms were near him, and his horse was tied to the tree. By the knight sat a lady so beautiful that she was a miracle to behold; and if any one were to ask who was the knight, I would say it was Danayn the Red, the brave knight; as the lady seated before him was no other than the beautiful Lady Bloye, who had been so much beloved by Gyron.<sup>1</sup>

A desperate combat ensued between the knights, in which Danayn was vanquished: Gyron spared his life, but refused to be reconciled to him, and departed with Bloye, of whom he was more enamoured than ever [f. 162, etc].

Some years afterwards, Bloye engaged in an adventure with her lover Gyron which had a very unfortunate issue, as they were both imprisoned, and it was not till after a long period that they were freed by the valour of Danayn, who thus made some reparation for the injuries he had formerly inflicted on his friend. Gyron and his lady, however, were a second time thrown into confinement by the treachery of the Knight of the Tower, and are left in thralldom at the termination of the work, which concludes with the exploits of a son of Gyron by Bloye, referring the reader for an account of the deliverance of his parents to the romance of *Meliadus*:—"Mais quant ils furent delivrez ne fais Je point de mention, pour ce que le livre de Latin se finist en ceste endroit quant a leurs faits; mais le Romant du Roy *Meliadus* de Leonnoys dit la maniere comment ils furent delivrez, et par qui" [fol. 219, etc.].

The great fault, however, of the romance of Gyron is, not that it terminates too soon, but that it is too long pro-

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, No. 8.

tracted. It ought to have concluded with the overthrow of Danayn and the recovery of Bloye by Gyron; for the adventures of their son, which form a considerable part of the romance, are miserably tagged to the main subject. Indeed it is a common blemish in romances of chivalry, that there is no repose in them, and that the reader is led on from generation to generation after the principal interest is exhausted. The earlier part, however, of the romance is uncommonly interesting, and the style is perhaps the finest of all the old fabulous histories of Britain; accordingly it was extremely popular in this country and France, and was translated at an early period into many different languages of Europe. It is the subject of an Italian poem of the sixteenth century, entitled *Girone Cortese*, versified in ottava rima, and containing twenty-four cantos. This poem was written by the celebrated Alamanni, author of the *Coltivazione*, but never obtained much popularity, owing to an injudicious imitation of the ancient epic poems in a romantic subject [see Graesse, p. 241]. That part of the romance which relates to the adventures of Gyron with the lady of Maloanc, has been beautifully versified by Wieland, the German poet, well known as the author of *Oberon*.

The second romance concerning events preceding the reign of Arthur, to which I alluded, and which exhibits a different set of heroes from the tales of the Round Table, is

#### PERCEFOREST,<sup>1</sup>

which comprehends the fabulous history of Britain, previous to the age of Arthur. It is the longest and best

<sup>1</sup> La tres elegante, delicieuse, melliflue, et tres plaisante hystoire du tres noble, victorieux, et excellentissime Roy Perceforest Roy de la Grant Bretaigne, fundateur du Franc Palais et du Temple du Souverain Dieu; avec les merueilleuses enterprinses, faits, et adventures du tres belliqueulx Gaddiffer Roy d'Escosse, lesquelz l'Empereur Alexandre le Grant couronna Roys soubz son obeissance: en lacquelle hystoire le lecteur pourra veoir la source et decoration de toute Chevalerie, culture de vraye noblesse, prouesses et conquestes infinies accomplies des le temps de Julius Cesar; avecques plusieurs propheties, comptes d'amans et leurs diverses fortunes. Paris, 1528, 6 tom.

See a notice of this Romance by F. W. V. Schmidt in the *Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 1825, pp. 108-124.

known romance of the class to which it belongs, and is the work which St. Palaye, and similar writers, have chiefly selected for illustrations and proofs of the manners of the times, and institutions of chivalry.

It is strange that Perceforest, which sets all chronology, geography, and probability at defiance, more boldly than almost any other romance, should begin with a profound, and by no means absurd, investigation concerning the topography of Britain, and the earliest ages of its history. Julius Cæsar, Pliny, Bede, and Solinus, are cited with the utmost ostentation of learning.

The author, however, soon enters on the regions of fiction. That part of his work which immediately succeeds the geographical disquisition, corresponds pretty closely with the fabulous history of Geoffrey of Monmouth; he relates [B. i. c. 3] that Brutus, or Brut, the son of Sylvius, and great grandson of Æneas, having killed his father by mischance, fled to the states of a Greek king, called Pandrasus, whose daughter Imogene he espoused. From this kingdom he fitted out an expedition, and landed in Albion, since called Britain [i. 9] from his name, and conquered the whole country with the assistance of Corinæus, another Trojan chief whom he had picked up on his voyage. Most of the European nations were anciently fond of tracing their descent from Troy. The greater part of them had been at one time provincial to the Romans; and the Britons, who remained so long under their dominion, may have imbibed a general notion of the Trojan story from their conquerors. As Rome, from becoming the capital of the supreme pontiff, was a city highly revered and distinguished, and as the Trojans were believed to be its founders, an emulation gradually arose among the nations of Europe, of claiming descent from the same respectable origin. Nor were the monks and other ecclesiastics (the only writers and readers of the age,) uninterested in broaching and maintaining such an opinion. But, as to the story of Brutus, who is represented as the founder of the kingdom of Britain, in Geoffrey and Perceforest, and is the hero of the most ancient, as well as the most celebrated of all the metrical romances, it may be presumed that it was not invented till after the ninth century, as Nennius, who lived towards

the close of it, mentions him with great obscurity, and seems totally unacquainted with the British affairs which preceded Cæsar's invasion.

After the death of Brutus, the author of *Perceforest* drags us through the history of his numerous descendants. One of these monarchs is King Leyr [i. 11], whose story was first related of a Roman emperor in the *Gesta Romanorum*, and was afterwards told of the British monarch, in the *Chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth*. These works were the origin of Shakspeare's celebrated tragedy, which, however, differs so far from them that both in Geoffrey's *Chronicles* and *Perceforest*, the events have a happy conclusion, as Cordelia defeats her sisters, and reinstates her father on the throne. From *Perceforest* the tale had found its way into Fabyan's "*Concordance of Histories*,"<sup>1</sup> written in the time of Henry VII. and thence passed into various Lamentable ballads of the death of King Leyr and his three daughters, of which the catastrophe probably suggested to Shakspeare the tragic termination which he has given to his drama. The story of King Lear is also in the fifteenth chapter of the third book of Warner's "*Albion's England*," and in Spenser's "*Faery Queen*," (book 2, canto 10,) where, in conformity with the romance and chronicle, the war against the sisters has a successful termination:—

So to his crown she him restored again,  
In which he dyde, made ripe for death by eld.

Gorboduc, who succeeded to the crown of Britain, soon after the death of Lear, profited so little by the example of his predecessor, that he divided his realm during his life between his two sons, Ferrex and Porrex, whose bloody history is the subject of the first regular English tragedy: it was written by Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst, was acted in 1561, and afterwards printed in 1565, under the name of Gorboduc. Sir Philip Sidney says<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Chronicle of Fabyan*, whiche he nameth the concordance of histories newly perused, and continued from the beginnyng of Kyng Henry the Seventh to thende of Queen Mary. J. Kyngston, London, 1559, fol. and several subsequent editions.

<sup>2</sup> *Defence of Poesie*.



that this drama climbs to the height of Seneca, and Pope has pronounced the much higher eulogy, that it possesses "an unaffected perspicuity of style, and an easy flow in the numbers; in a word, *that* chastity, correctness, and gravity of style, which are so essential to tragedy, and which all the tragic poets who followed, not excepting Shakspeare himself, either little understood or perpetually neglected." Both in the drama and romance, the princes, between whom the kingdom had been divided, soon fell to dissension, and the younger stabbed the elder:<sup>1</sup> the mother, who more dearly loved the elder, having killed his brother in revenge, the people, indignant at the cruelty of the deed, rose in rebellion, and murdered both father and mother. The nobles then assembled and destroyed most of the rebels, but afterwards became embroiled in a civil war, in which they and their issue were all slain.

Brennus and Belinus were the first monarchs who reigned over the almost depopulated country. These joint sovereigns, who, we are informed, with rare historical confusion, were contemporary with Artaxerxes, king of Greece, having subdued Gaul, besieged and burned Rome during the consulship of Fabius and Porsenna [i. 15].

At length, after a long succession of princes of the family of Brutus, his race fortunately became extinct on the demise of King Pyr [i. 1];<sup>2</sup> during this interregnum the goddess Venus recommended to the inhabitants to watch for a certain time on the sea-shore, where they would find a king properly qualified to govern them.

About this period Alexander the Great was employed in the conquest of Asia. Parmenio, his lieutenant, slew Gaddiffer, governor of Galde, a city between India and Babylon, who had imprudently attacked the Greek army, on account of some depredations it had committed. Alexander, who was a generous prince, took the children of Gaddiffer under his protection, and in a great battle defeated Claurus, who had seized on their territory. Claurus was killed in the engagement, and his son Porus taken

<sup>1</sup> In the Romance, however, the younger brother, Porrex, falls in battle.—LIEB.

<sup>2</sup> This Pyr is noticed in Wace's "Roman de Brut." Edit. Rouen, 1836, line 3,800.

prisoner. Alexander, however, restored to the latter his father's kingdom, on condition that he should marry Feronas, a lady of whom he knew that Porus was enamoured. Wives are also provided by this bounteous monarch for Betis,<sup>1</sup> afterwards called Perceforest, and his brother Gaddiffer, the two sons of old Gaddiffer, governor of Galde.

The nuptials of Porus were celebrated in the city of Glodofard. About a league from this town, there was an island of the sea called Ciceron,<sup>1</sup> where Venus was worshipped. To this isle Alexander set out on a pilgrimage with all his *knights* [i. 19], but scarcely had they sailed when a frightful tempest arose, which drove their fleet on the coast of England; and a frightful tempest it must have been which carried a fleet from the East Indies to the shores of Britain.

Alexander landed with his barons at the moment the inhabitants, in obedience to the oracle of Venus, were waiting by the sea-side to receive a king, and being accordingly entreated to give them a monarch, he crowned Betis king of England, and Gaddiffer of Scotland. The Macedonian hero solemnized their coronation by the institution of tournaments, of which the intention was to renovate the ancient valour of Britons, who, even in that early age, were suspected of degenerating from their forefathers. These spectacles, which were attended by all the ladies and knights of the surrounding country, are described at full length [i. 29-34].

After the tournaments were concluded, King Betis conceived the project of constructing a palace from the wood of the forest of Glar, which enchanters defended by the most formidable incantations. Betis accordingly set out on this expedition, and proceeded a considerable way in the forest without experiencing any adventures. At length he came to a fountain, where stood an image with an ivory horn, which the statue sounded on his approach. On this warning, the magician Darnant, the inhabitant and guar-

<sup>1</sup> Betis was the name of the brave defender of Gaza against Alexander.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius, iv. 6.

<sup>2</sup> The modern name of the island of Cythera, of old sacred to Venus, is Cerigo.

dian of the grove, issued forth in knightly armour. A combat ensued, and Darnant being defeated, fled away [i. 34]. Betis, in the pursuit, met with enchanted rivers and other obstacles, raised by the power of magic. He at last overtook Darnant at the gate of a delightful castle, but, when about to slay him, the sorcerer changed himself to the resemblance of the beautiful Idorus, the wife of Betis. The king then embraced him with transport, but received a wound in return, on which he instantly cut off the head of the magician.<sup>1</sup> The enchantments were now at an end, and Betis, on account of this exploit, acquired the name of Perceforest [i. 35, 36]. But the wood was ever after known by the name of the forest of Darnant. We are told in the romance of Lancelot du Lac, that Merlin was confined by his mistress in the forest of Darnant, “*qui marcheoit a la mer de Cornouailles et a la mer de Sorelloys.*”<sup>2</sup> The idea of this forest may have arisen from that of Marseilles, in Lucan’s “*Pharsalia*” [iii. 399, etc.], which was hewn down by Cæsar, and may in turn have suggested the enchanted wood to Tasso [c. xiii. and xviii.]. Like Rinaldo, Betis surmounts the obstacles presented by necromancy to his design. As the resolution of the Italian hero is for a moment shaken by a demon from the tree assuming the appearance of the beautiful Armida; so the king of England is about to save the chief magician, who had clothed himself with the form of the fair Idorus.

The labours of Perceforest were not completed by the death of Darnant, as he had many combats to sustain with the son and brothers of that enchanter. Alexander, surprised at his delay in returning from the forest, set out in quest of him: on his way he encountered the family of Darnant, and carried on a long intrigue with Sibille, the Lady of the Lake in those days, from which amour sprung the ancestor of the renowned Arthur.

After the termination of a long war against the posterity of Darnant, of which the siege of Malebranche [i. 42-49] is the leading incident, tournaments were exhibited by the knights of a new order of chivalry, instituted by Alexander

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, No. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sorolois, p. 253, *infra*, a name perhaps suggested by Charollais, or Charolais, a district of France.

and Perceforest. These were attended by the hermit Pergambu, who had been a companion of Brut, and seems to have lived through the intervening centuries for no end but to be present at these tiresome spectacles. The tournaments being concluded, Alexander, whom we have hitherto seen acting so conspicuous a part in this romance, set off for Babylon [i. 162]. The Macedonian monarch was introduced into many other tales of chivalry; he was chiefly indebted for his romantic decoration to a fabulous account of his conquests, which was compiled from eastern fictions by Simeon Seth,<sup>1</sup> but passed under the name of Callisthenes, and was translated into almost all the languages of Europe during the middle ages.

About the time that Alexander returned to Asia, Gaddiffer, the brother of Perceforest, went to take possession of his kingdom of Scotland [ii. 1], of which country there is more said in this work than in any other romance of chivalry. After Gaddiffer arrived in Scotland, he proceeded on an excursion through his dominions, for the sake of dispensing justice and reforming the savage manners of his subjects; and the king and his courtiers, says the romance, entered on the deserts of Scotland, and travelled two days without seeing town, castle, or human being. At length they came to a delightful meadow, through which a fine river flowed. The king regretted that this district was so thinly peopled, but at length perceived some tame cows, and children of ten or twelve years of age running amongst them. The knight Estonne seized one of these tender savages, who, like her companions, was clothed with a sheep skin, but proved to be a girl of twelve years of age. She was extremely handsome, but much more remarkable for beauty than good manners; for, on looking down, the knight perceived that his fair prisoner was gratifying either her hunger or resentment, by demolishing the neck of his courser. She also spoke such bad Greek that it was impossible to comprehend her verbal communications, though accompanied by gestures unusually energetic [ii. 2].<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *infra* at pp. specified in index.

<sup>2</sup> The end of chap. cxlii. and chap. cxliii. of vol. ii. are borrowed from the French version of the *Disciplina Clericalis*.—*Chastoiement d'un père à*



After Gaddiffer had done all in his power to amend the unpolished fashions of his infant kingdom, the incidents related have but a very remote connection with his history, or that of his brother Perceforest, the titular hero of the romance. Everything like unity of action is disregarded, and the rest of the work is occupied with the insulated adventures of individual knights. A great proportion of these is attributed to Estonne, lord of the Scotch deserts. This great landed proprietor was in the good graces of a spirit called Zephyr, who, assuming a variety of shapes, carried his favourite wherever he desired. Estonne, at length, while dozing by an enchanted fountain, was murdered by Bruyant Without Faith [iv. 8]. His death was revenged by his son Passelion [iv. 14], whose adventures are the most entertaining in the latter part of the romance; when only two years old he became a paragon of chivalry, and not long after was carried, by a spirit, around Tartarus, in a manner which may have suggested some of the scenes in the *Commedia* of Dante.

Near the middle of the romance, an account is given of the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar. This chief had landed on a former occasion, but had been worsted in single combat by the British knight Lyonnel; his second attempt was more successful, owing to the treachery of the wife of Bethides, son of Perceforest, a lady to whom the author assigns an intrigue with Lucus, a Roman senator [iv. 22]. All the knights of Britain were destroyed in a great battle. Their bodies are indeed still preserved in Aran, an Irish island, where the climate is such that nothing can decay; but the exploits of a new race of heroes fill up the romance. Of these the chief is Gallifer, grandson of old Gaddiffer, king of Scotland, who experienced innumerable adventures in his pursuit of the lady

son fils—according to F. W. V. Schmidt in *Wiener Jahrb.*, bd. 29, p. 116. It is remarkable that an episode in *Perceforest* was printed before the appearance of the whole romance as a separate work. This was “*Histoire du Chevalier aux armes dorées, et de la pucelle Cœur d’acier*,” and is mentioned in *Mélanges tirés d’une Grande Bibliothèque*, vol. 5, p. 132, as having been printed between 1480-1490, without date. The *Chevalier aux armes dorées* is doubtless Nestor, Gaddiffer’s second son, whose adventures extend, in the longer romance from chap. cxliii. of vol. ii. to the end of vol. iii.—*Ibid.*

with two dragons [v. 1-6, 31]. He also put an end to the enchantments at the tomb of Darnant, which seems to have been the rendezvous of all the evil spirits in Great Britain [vi. 2]. At length, having delivered his country from the anarchy in which it was left by the Romans, he was acknowledged as sovereign of Britain, but did not long enjoy this exaltation, as he was expelled by Scapiol,<sup>1</sup> a German knight, who usurped the throne [vi. 57].<sup>2</sup> Olofer, one of the deposed monarch's sons, became a great favourite of the new king; the other, named Gallafer, retired to a distant part of the island, at first studied astronomy, and afterwards founded a new sovereignty [vi. 62, etc.].

In this kingdom the royal astronomer was visited and converted by Alain,<sup>3</sup> a Christian disciple, who persuaded him to change his heathenish name of Gallafer into Arfaren. He soon after resigned his crown to Josue, Alain's brother, and proceeded to preach the gospel to his ancestors, Perceforest and Gaddiffer, who, the reader will be surprised to hear, were yet in existence, and residing in the island of Life (*l'isle de vie*, perhaps Wight). Perceforest had been severely handled in the wars with the Romans; he had received twelve mortal wounds on the head; he had left his right hand on the field of battle; the other hung by a fibre; his belly was laid open in four places, and he was lame of his left foot. In this fractional state he had passed into the island of Life, where he was joined by his brother Gaddiffer, and afterwards by the deposed Gallifer. On landing on this island, King Arfaran beheld a temple, and, looking in, perceived a group of worshippers before the altar. They were clothed in sheep's-skins; their hair, whiter than snow, descended to their heels; their beards covered their breasts, and thence extended to their knees. These antiques consisted of Dardanon, who had come to Britain soon after Brut; Gaddiffer, with his queen; Gallifer, and the relics of Perceforest. King Arfaran having given them an abridgment of the doctrines of the Old

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a reminiscence of Ostorius Scapula, governor of Britain, with the title of *proprætor*. (A.D. 50-51.)

<sup>2</sup> Towards the close of the work (vi. 56), we find the author making use of the gospel of Nicodemus.—F. W. V. Schmidt in *Wiener Jahrb.*, bd. 29, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, the *Graal Romance*, p. 166.

and New Testament, and baptised them [vi. 66], they expressed a great desire of death. For this special purpose they departed from the isle of Life, and arrived on a shore where five monuments had spontaneously arisen for their accommodation. Dardanon, as the oldest, is honoured with sepulchral precedence, and the rest follow according to seniority. These monuments may have suggested to Tasso, the self-formed sepulchre which rose to receive the body of Sueno (*Gerus. Lib. c. 8*;) and that which in his Rinaldo miraculously enclosed the Knight of the Tomb (*c. 7*).<sup>1</sup>

In this romance the concluding incident of the tombs is indeed abundantly ludicrous, but it has been rendered impressive by description. Nothing can be better painted than the voyage from the isle of Life, and arrival at the unknown solitary shore; the mysterious voice directing whither to proceed; the midnight journey through the wood; the five monuments rising under the light of the moon; the gradual decay of the venerable band, and the voluntary resignation of their breath into the hands of their Creator.

Indeed, ludicrous incident and beautiful description form the chief characteristics of the work. I know no romance of chivalry which more abounds in the beauties and faults of that species of composition; all unity of action, probability, and chronological accuracy are laid aside; but there is an endless variety of enchantments, and a wonderful luxuriance of description.

There is a great difference among the romances concerning the early history of Great Britain, with regard to the introduction of marvellous embellishments. Thus it is impossible to conceive two works more completely different than *Perceforest* and *Meliadus*, of which we have formerly given an account. The latter is almost entirely filled with descriptions of battles and tournaments, and is adorned with no supernatural ornaments. *Perceforest*, on the other hand, abounds with evil spirits, fairies, enchanters, and all those specious wonders which constitute the soul of romance. Dreams, too, and visions, which we have seen

<sup>1</sup> Compare also the legend of the Mausoleum which rose miraculously to cover the body of St. Clement, who was said to have been cast into the sea in the reign of Trajan.

were so much used by Heliodorus, Tatius, etc., and so little in the other romances of chivalry, are common in *Perceforest*.

From the endless variety of enchantments it contains, this romance is, perhaps, the most entertaining, and has become the most popular of the class with which it has been ranged. In consequence of the information it comprehends concerning the manners of the period in which it was written, especially the solemnities observed at tournaments, and the *costume* of our ancestors, it is also the most instructive, and has been chosen as a text-book by M. de Sainte Palaye, and other inquirers into the history and habits of the middle ages. It is said that *Perceforest* was one of the books which Charles IX., during his education, chiefly busied himself in reading; and that to this study he was enjoined (I cannot discover with what view) by his mother Catherine de Medicis.

Mr. Warton informs us [without, however, adducing authority for the statement,] that *Perceforest* was originally written in verse about the year 1220. It is difficult to say precisely at what time it was reduced to prose, but it was probably subsequent to the annexation of Dauphiny to the crown of France, as the son of the King of Galles (Wales) is called the dauphin, which, I think, also proves that the author was a Frenchman. With regard to his name I cannot give even the inconsistent information which I have collected concerning the other writers of romance.<sup>1</sup> There is nothing said on this subject in the preface, which is merely an address to the French nobility, loaded with extravagant compliments, and containing a summary of the whole. The author just hints that he had borrowed the incidents, contained in *Perceforest*, from a preceding work. It is in the second

<sup>1</sup> The MS. *Perceforest* in the British Museum is, according to the prologue prefixed thereto, revised by David Aubert, Librarian to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in 1419-1467. This MS. does not altogether agree with the work as printed. A very curious phase of the sleeping beauty myth is found in the romance of *Perceforest*. "Zellandine is delivered of a child in her sleep; the child is laid by her side, clutches at one of her fingers, and sucks it, and presently begins to cough; the mother awakes, and the child coughs up the sleep-thorn."—Ward's Cat., vol. i., pp. 377-381.



chapter that the fabulous story of its origin is related. We are there told that Philip, Count of Hainault, attended the daughter of the King of France to England, in order to be present at her nuptials with Edward, which were celebrated in 1286. During the count's residence in England, he went on an excursion to the northern part of the kingdom, and arrived one day at a monastery situated on the banks of the Humber. The abbot received him with much politeness, and conducted him through the apartments of the convent. Among other places they entered an old tower, which was then repairing, where the abbot pointed out a vault in the deep walls, which had lately been discovered by the workmen. He informed his guest that in this vault there had been found an old chronicle which no one could read, till a Greek Clerc having come to study philosophy in this country, translated it from the Greek into the Latin language. The count insisted on having a loan of the Latin version; and, on his return to his own territories, he took it with him to Hainault, where it was copied. We are farther told in the course of the work, that the first part of this MS. was originally written by Cressus, *maître d'hôtel* to Alexander the Great. To Cressus the knights every year related their exploits on oath. He was thus enabled to make a compilation, which was preserved by Paustounet, a minstrel, and read by his son Pousson at the coronation of King Gallifer. With this recital the court were so much delighted, that Pousson was commanded by the king to continue the adventures of the knights of his own period, and his labours accordingly formed the last part of the romance of Perceforest [vi. 31].

The whole work occupies three volumes folio, which were first printed in 1528, Gallyot du Pré, at Paris, and afterwards at the same place in 1531, 2.

It has already been mentioned that there are two romances which recount events subsequent to those concerning Arthur or his knights—Artus de la Bretagne, and Cleriadus, both of which may be regarded as continuations of the fabulous history of the Round Table. The authors of these works do not fix the period in which these two descendants of the great Arthur flourished; but the ro-

mances themselves have no doubt been composed at a date much posterior to Lancelot or Tristan.

### ARTUS DE LA BRETAGNE,<sup>1</sup>

which, I think, is the earliest of the two, is supposed by the authors of the *Bibliothèque des Romans*, to have been written during the reign of Charles VI. of France (1380—1422).—First, because the decorations given to the knights and heroines are the same with those which were in fashion while Charles swayed the sceptre; and, secondly, because the language is nearly of the same antiquity with that of Froissard, who lived in the time of that monarch. In the court of his queen, Isabella of Bavaria, it is said, splendour and gallantry reigned in spite of disorder and proscription.—Festivals and tournaments were revived by her to amuse the clouded mind of her husband, or occupy his attention when gleams of reason disclosed to him the miseries of his kingdom.—These exhibitions served to relume that romantic spirit of chivalry which had blazed with so much lustre in the better ages of France, and which was not unsuitable to the character of its unfortunate monarch.

I suspect, however, that too early a date has been assigned to this as to most other romances of chivalry; and there is good reason to suppose that it was not written till some years after the accession of Charles VIII., who ascended the throne in 1483. The subject of the romance is the adventures of a duke of Britany, and the disgrace of Perona, an Austrian princess, whose alliance having been solicited, was finally rejected by the heir to that dukedom, under circumstances by no means creditable to the lady, after she had arrived at his court. Now, it is well known, that in 1489, the French council determined to *send back*

<sup>1</sup> Published in 1493, under the title of *Le Petit Artus de Bretagne*, and republished at Lyons in 1496, and at Paris in 1502 and 1514. An English translation by John Bouchier, Lord Berners, appeared early in the sixteenth century, and a second edition about 1520-30. This was republished in 1814, with a critical preface by E. V. Utterson, who places the composition of the French original in the beginning of the fourteenth century, before the accession of John III. to the Duchy of Britany. (See Ward, *Cat.*, p. 382, and Lieb.)

the princess Margaret of Austria, daughter of Maximilian, to whom the young monarch had been long betrothed, and who had arrived at Paris, where she bore the title of *Madame la Dauphine*. At the same time the council resolved to demand Anne of Britany in her place, and the nuptials by which that last great fief was united to the dominions of France, were celebrated in 1491. Now the romance of Arthur of Britany was first printed in 1493, and I have little doubt was written immediately before its publication, during these important transactions at the court of France, in order to compliment the new queen by celebrating the exploits of her ancestors, and recording the disgrace of her rival. The language of the romance, I confess, appears somewhat too ancient for the close of the fifteenth century; but it was natural for an author of romance and chivalry, rather to adopt the phraseology which was falling into disuse, than to affect a style which had recently come into vogue.

The distinguished part which Anne of Britany performed on the political theatre of France, during the reigns of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII., to whom she was successively united; and the great popularity of her character, may have contributed to the circulation of *Artus de la Bretagne*, of which there were three editions subsequent to that in 1493; one in 4to, 1502; a second in 1539, and the last in 1584.

This romance comprehends the adventures of Arthur, son of John duke of Britany, who was descended from the celebrated Lancelot du Lac. A renowned knight, called Gouvernau from his employment, was appointed tutor to this young prince. One day, while engaged in the pleasures of the chase, the preceptor and his pupil being separated from their party in a forest, arrive at a cottage, where an elderly lady, whose husband had been once a powerful baron, resided with her daughter Jeannette. Arthur is enchanted with the beauty of the damsel, bestows on her the revenues of the spot, and often repeats his visit.<sup>3</sup>

The mother of Arthur, afraid, from his frequent absence,

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, No. 10.

that he is about to be betrayed into an alliance unsuitable to his birth, proposes to the duke to demand Perona, daughter of the duchess of Austria, in marriage for their son. This young lady possessed but an indifferent reputation, and the duke for some time declines the connection, but is at last forced to consent to the wishes of his wife. The seneschal is sent as a proxy, and Perona, who had cogent reasons to accelerate her nuptials, arrives soon after with great ceremony at Nantes [c. 9].

During the preparations for his marriage, Arthur continues to frequent the cottage. He finds Jeannette less troubled than he expected by the news of his approaching nuptials; she merely informs him, that she also was about to be united, that her intended husband resembled Arthur in form, and was matchless in nobility and power.

These ambiguous expressions of Jeannette, and her apparent indifference, are accounted for in the following manner:—During the preparations for the marriage, Lucca, the mother of Perona, had been in some tribulation, as she was aware of the backsliding of her daughter. Ancel, one of her knights, for he too was in the secret, suggests to the Austrian family a stratagem similar to that which for some time preserved the fame of Yseult of Cornwall. He explains that there is a damsel in the neighbourhood called Jeannette, whose mother might be bribed to lend her daughter as a substitute for Perona till Arthur should fall asleep, after which the princess could occupy the place that was allotted her without hazard of detection.

In pursuit of this speculation Ancel proceeds to the cottage. He finds the mother little disposed to engage in this sort of traffic; but Jeannette overpowers all scruples by a torrent of argument, which may have been satisfactory to herself on the score of her future intentions, but certainly possessed very little plausibility for the conviction of others [c. 11].

The nuptials of Arthur and Perona are solemnized, and Jeannette performs the part she had chosen. It seems to have been the custom in Britany that on the night after a marriage the husband should present his wife with a ring and act of dowry. Jeannette does not neglect to demand



the performance of this ceremony, hoping that she will thus be entitled to assert claims to Arthur as her husband. Fortified with these credentials, she readily resigns her place to Perona when the opportunity is presented [c. 12].

Arthur next morning pays a visit to Jeannette, who produces the ring; and at the same time gives him some insight into the character of Perona. This lady is also a good deal nonplussed on being asked by the duke to show him the act of dowry. Gouvernau, who had been at the cottage with Arthur on his last visit, reveals the whole story on his return. Jeannette is confronted with the Austrian family, and Perona is utterly disgraced. Lucca leaves the court with her daughter, and when they came to the fields the mother began to lament, and Perona was so much grieved that she died; at which, says the romance, Arthur and his court had great joy, and Jeannette above all the rest.

Now Arthur remained with Jeannette four years in his father's court. At the end of this period he has a dream, in which Florence, his predestined consort, appears to him, and his other adventures are very clearly portrayed by a vision of eagles and griffins. Arthur is induced by this dream to ask leave of his father to travel in quest of his future mistress. This being granted, he sets out with his cousin Hector, son of the Count of Blois, Gouvernau, and a squire [c. 15].

At this time a king called Emendus reigned in Sorolois,<sup>1</sup> an empire little known in modern geography, but which the romance declares to be situated in the heart of Mesopotamia. This monarch had four vassal kings, who ruled over the uncouth lands of Normal, Valfondeé, &c., and a queen called Fenice, who possessed the contiguous territories of Constantinople and Denmark. On one occasion the royal pair held their court at Corinth, and gave a grand festival to their peers, at which the queen sat on the right hand of the king. It would appear that her majesty had intended to take the liberty of bringing forth in presence of her court, but the king of Yrcania having looked at her,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sorellois, p. 243.

declared she must instantly retire to the place where the king wished her to be confined. A discussion arose at table concerning the most suitable situation. At length it was determined that the castle of the Black Gate (*Porte Noire*,) lying on the Perilous Mount, guarded by every species of monster, and surrounded by a river, abounding in all sorts of vermin, would be the most commodious spot for the ensuing parturition. Another advantage of this situation was, that the castle belonged to a fairy called *Proserpine*, who, if duly propitiated, might bestow a number of fine qualities on the infant. The daughter to whom the queen gives birth receives the name of *Florence*. She is educated with *Stephen*, son to the king of *Valfondeé*, and proves, when she grows up, a miracle of beauty [c. 19].

The great object of *Arthur* is the quest of this incomparable princess; but he is frequently diverted from his chief design by the enticements held out to him in the destruction of monsters and giants. His exploits, however, principally consist in disenchanting castles, one of which is the *Porte Noire*, the birth-place of *Florence*, where an image, holding a hat which it was foredoomed to place on the head of the destined husband of *Florence*, had been in attendance from time immemorial.<sup>1</sup> But the period of this inauguration was not yet arrived. *Arthur* had still to encounter

— fierce faces threatening wars,  
Giants of mighty bone and bold emprise.

In these exploits he is neither assisted by *Hector of Blois*, whom at the beginning of his career he had married to the countess of *Brueil*, a lady whom he had freed from her enemies, nor does *Gouvernau* attend him in many of his expeditions, but experiences separate, though similar, adventures. He is frequently enabled, however, to track *Arthur* by the carcasses he finds on the roads; and he walked, says the romance, till he saw ten robbers lying slain; then *Gouvernau* said to *Jaquet*, My lord has been here [c. 57].

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the statue du commandeur in *Don Juan*. Note also the current phrase, "if the cap fits," etc.

But Arthur occasionally meets with a different species of allurements from that presented in an intercourse with giants and monsters. Proserpine, the protecting fairy of Florence, in order to try his fidelity to her *protégée*, risks her own honour by throwing herself in his way at the foot of an oak in a forest he was traversing. Nor is this vigilant fairy satisfied with one experiment. She contrives a plot by which Arthur comes to her palace, where her own blandishments being again resisted, she employs one of her damsels, who is treated with an indifference as satisfactory to Proserpine as provoking to the damsel, who did not feel the same interest as the fairy in this triumph of constancy [c. 54].

Florence, in the mean time, was exposed to similar difficulties. The emperor of India had demanded her in marriage, and had lately arrived at her father's court to prosecute his suit in person. This alliance was as acceptable to King Emendus as it was disagreeable to the party chiefly interested. Matters, however, having come to a crisis, Florence is obliged to request that the celebration of her nuptials be deferred till a splendid tournament is proclaimed, the fame of which she trusts will lead Arthur to court; for of his approach and attachment she had been apprized by her confidant Stephen, who had met with him at Porte Noire and other places [c. 22].

Arthur, according to expectation, appears at the tournament, and Florence obtains an interview with him, by the intervention of Stephen, or the Master, as he is generally called [c. 61].

On the first day of the tournaments Arthur greatly distinguishes himself, and Florence, in order that her lover might not be exhausted with two days continued exertion, feigns sickness on the following morning, and requests that the tournament be delayed. "*Aura elle ce meschef,*" says Emendus, on hearing of the illness of his daughter, "*Je serois courroucé si elle se mouroit sans hoir de son corps.*" [c. 63.] This paternal monarch is conducted to the chamber of Florence by Stephen, who there commences a harangue, which may give some idea of the mode of managing sick princesses in those times. "My lady, God to-day has done you great honour. Never were there so

many people assembled by the sickness of a princess as there are to visit you ; for here is an emperor, ten kings, thirty dukes, and the whole chivalry of the sovereign of India."

But in this chamber there was something still more important than all this blaze of quality. In a corner of the room stood the image with the hat, which Stephen, who dabbled in magic, had lately smuggled from *Porte Noire* by a stroke of necromancy. The company assembled are informed that the person on whom this statue confers the hat will be acknowledged as the husband of Florence. The emperor of India first presents himself, but the image continues motionless. To the vassal kings of *Emendus* it is equally unpropitious ; till at length Arthur approaching receives the token that was reserved for him [c. 64].

In spite of this unequivocal demonstration on the part of the image, *Emendus* still persists in his intention of bestowing his daughter on the emperor of India. This resolution compels Florence to fly to the *Porte Noire*, accompanied by the kings and knights who were friendly to her cause ; while the fairy *Proserpine*, who exactly resembled her in figure, occupies her place at court. The imposture, however, being at length detected, Florence is besieged in *Porte Noire* by her father and the emperor of India with immense armies. During the siege, *Proserpine* is observed by the latter flying from the castle. As she had assumed the shape of Florence, he overtakes her, and extorts a promise of marriage. Then, having assured her of his protection, he conducts her to *Emendus*, who, on her entrance, salutes her with his foot. This commentary on her returning obedience not being relished by the emperor, a squabble arises between the monarchs, during which *Proserpine* disappears, and the emperor soon after retires to his own country [c. 71].

The night succeeding his departure, Stephen throws the whole army of *Emendus* into a profound sleep, and then, with the assistance of five knights, conveys the king, while in bed, to *Porte Noire*.<sup>1</sup> By this trick of legerdemain he

<sup>1</sup> In *Les Quatre Filz Aymon* (c. 23) is, by a similar device, transported by *Malagis*, or *Maugis*, into *Montalban*, which was besieged by him. Indeed the figure of Master Stephen seems in general to have been borrowed from that of the magician *Malagis*.—LIEB.



is obliged, when he awakes, to give his consent to his daughter's marriage with Arthur. Previous to their union that prince pays a visit to Britany, where he has rather an awkward interview with Jeannette. On his return to Porte Noire, he is accompanied by a number of the peers of France, the duke and duchess, and also Jeannette, whose presence was certainly superfluous. Stephen on the journey informs Arthur, that he had discovered by his books that Florence had left Porte Noire, and was now besieged in the White Tower by the emperor of India, who had returned to the war. Arthur is advised to proceed thither with his host, but he determines on a plan of action more suited to his impatience, and to his confidence in his own prowess [c. 77]. He presses forward in disguise, followed by three knights, to the White Tower, where he signalizes his arrival by cutting up a whole army, with wounds that exhibit great anatomical variety. His other friends having come up soon after, the gates of the White Tower are purposely left open, and the emperor, thinking it defenceless, enters with the remains of his army, still amounting to fifty thousand men. These are speedily despatched; the emperor himself is taken prisoner, and soon after dies of grief.

No farther obstacle remaining to the marriage of Arthur, a splendid tournament celebrates the triple nuptials of Arthur with Florence, Gouvernau with Jeannette, and Stephen the Master with Margaret, a princess whom Arthur had reinstated in her kingdom early in the romance [c. 50].

Florence in due season produces a son, whom the accurate romancer informs us she conceived the night of the espousals. The birth of this child King Emendus solemnizes by dying of joy. Arthur is, of course, crowned king of Sorolois; he reigned, says the romance, thirty-two years, and left the care of his child, and all that he possessed, to Hector, Gouvernau, and the Master—"et d'autre chose plus rien n'en dict l'histoire, ains elle se tait."

The chief excellence of the romance of Artus de la Bretagne is, that it possesses more unity of design than the works of the same nature by which it was preceded. The story of Jeannette at the beginning is indeed episodic,

but it is discussed in fourteen chapters, and through the remainder of the work the adventures relate to one common original, the object that appeared in the dream; and to one common end, the union of Arthur and Florence. Accordingly, the chief employment of Arthur is the search of Florence, and her deliverance from the power of the emperor; and though these objects be occasionally lost sight of by the irresistible temptations thrown out by giants or monsters, they are never entirely abandoned. But in *Tristan*, *Meliadus*, *Perceforest*, and the older romances, there is no permanent motive that inspires the action. In them the momentary gratification of passion, an occasional display of valour, and a concluding paroxysm of devotion, comprise the incidents of the romance.

Neither is there any romance of the Round Table in which so great a war is carried on for the sake of a single woman, as in that just analyzed. We do not behold two knights occasionally tilting for the heart or favours of a lady, but the whole forces of India ranged against the chivalry of France. A single knight, in a paroxysm of valour, overthrows the army of an empire; and though the combats are usually described more circumstantially than intelligibly, the slaughter is always conducted on a magnificent scale, and tends to one purpose.

But though the unity of design in this romance be commendable, the design itself is by no means deserving of applause. Nothing can be more absurd than that Arthur should be enchanted with a woman he had never beheld, desert a beloved mistress, and set out in quest of the unknown fair, in consequence of an obscure vision.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Examples of such dream-begotten passion are by no means rare in romantic compositions. Athenæus observes: "We have no cause for wonder when we hear of people having fallen in love from hearsay, for Chares of Mytilene relates in the twelfth book of his *History of Alexander*, that many persons have become enamoured who have never seen the object of their attachment but in dreams," and then proceeds to quote an apposite story from Chares himself (cf. *Lucian in Hermotimus*, § 73, in reference to *Medea*, and *Hyginus*, *Fab.* 20). An instance is found in *Amadis of Greece*, in *Palmerin d'Oliva* in the *Romans des Sept Sages* (Keller's ed., v. 4218, etc.), in the *Fabliau of the Chevalier à la Trappe*, in the *Nibelungenlied*, st. 13, etc.). So common, indeed, was this mode of love in the romances of chivalry, that Chaucer seems (*Rime of Sir Thopas*, v. 13717, etc.) to deride it. Nor are the poets of

There is something, too, extremely cold and hard-hearted in thus abandoning Jeannette, which gives us, at the first, a very unfavourable idea of the character of the hero. Nor, as we advance, do we find him possessed of a single quality, except strength and courage, to excite respect or interest. This remark might, perhaps, be justly extended to all the other characters in the romance, except Stephen, or the Master, as he is called. That young and royal astrologer is painted and endowed with every personal grace and accomplishment—he has endless resources in every emergency—he possesses a delightful frankness and gaiety, united to an invincible heroism; the utmost warmth of friendship for Arthur, and an unshaken fidelity to Florence. He also constantly amuses the reader by raising up delightful gardens,<sup>1</sup> fountains, and singing birds, by the operations of natural magic,—a knowledge of which was at one time believed to be a common attainment, and was known in Scotland by the name of *glamour*. The Jongleurs were professors of this mystery; and Sir John Mandeville saw many proficients in the East. In particular [c. 22], he gives a description of the marvels displayed before the khan of Tartary, so strikingly similar to those in the romance of Arthur, as to afford a strong presumption that such exhibitions were actually attempted in the middle ages, and were not merely the offspring of the romancer's fancy. “And than comen jogulours and enchantoures that don many marvaylles: for they maken to come in the ayr the sonne and the mone, be seeminge to every man's sight. And after they maken the nyght so derk, that no man may see no thing. And afre they maken the day to come agen fair and plesant, with bright sonne, to every mannes sight. And than they bringen in daunces of the fairest damyselles of the world, and richest arrayed. And after they maken to comen in other damyselles, bringinge coupes

the East strangers to this device; Suleicha, Potiphar's wife, becomes enamoured of Joussouf in dream (cf. Fortlage Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Poesie, p. 200), and similarly Kamrup and Kala become mutually enamoured. (Les Aventures de Kamrup, par Jahcin Uddin, trad. de l'Hindoustani, par Garcin de Tassy, ch. iii. and iv.).—  
LIEB.

<sup>1</sup> See Scheible's “Kloster,” Bd. v. p. 190, etc. Humboldt's “Cosmos,” ii. 130. Note to Boccaccio (x. 5), and index.

of gold, and geven drynke to lordes and to ladyes. An than they make knyghtes to jousten in armes full lustyly ; and they breken here speres so rudely, that the tronchouns flen in peces alle aboute the halle. And than they make to come in huntyng for the hert and for the boor, with houndes renning with open mouthe, and many other thinges they don be craft of hir enchauntments that it is marveyle for to see." And elsewhere the traveller remarks, " And wher it be by craft or nygromancye, I wot nere."

It can hardly be doubted that the leading incident of the romance of Arthur of Britany suggested to Spenser the plan and outline of his Faery Queene ; where Arthur, the hero, sees in a vision, and, seeing, falls in love with the fairy queen, whose quest is the great object through the whole of that romantic poem.

#### CLERIADUS<sup>1</sup>

is the last romance that has been ranked among those of the Round Table. It does not strictly belong to that class of fictions, but has been numbered with them, as a great proportion of the adventures happen in England, and as the hero was married to a princess descended from the great Arthur.

Philippon, king of England, one of the successors of Arthur, being far advanced in life, sent to Spain, in order to request that the count of Asturias, a man renowned for his wisdom, would come to England to assist him in the government of his kingdom. The count arrived according to invitation, and brought with him his son Cleriadus, who soon became enamoured of Meliadice, the daughter of Philippon. To render himself worthy of her affections, he engaged in many hazardous enterprises both in Britain and in his native country. Among other exploits, he subdued a lion which ravaged all England, but who turned out to be a gallant knight metamorphosed by the malevolence of a fairy ; and on one occasion he challenged and overcame

<sup>1</sup> Published by Antoine Verard at Paris in 1495 ; an edition unknown till 1850 (Brunet), and again in 1514, and twice subsequently. An abstract of the romance is given in the Bibliothèque des Romans for January, 1777, pp. 26-68.—Ward, Cat., p. 384.



all the heroes of the court of Philippon. After this exhibition, Philippon gave a splendid entertainment in honour of Cleriadus, who contributed a *pic-nic* of sparrowhawks and dressed dogs, which seem to have been the delicacies of the time; he also danced for the amusement of the company, and sung a duet with Meliadice by order of the king.

The final happiness of the lovers seemed fast approaching, when ambassadors arrived from the court of Cyprus to beg assistance against the Saracens, who had invaded that island. Though this enterprise was somewhat out of the line of his English majesty's politics, yet, in order to testify his zeal for the Christian cause, he sent eight hundred men to Cyprus, with Cleriadus at their head, an expedition which may, perhaps, have been suggested to the imagination of the romancer by the circumstance of a king of Cyprus having resided in England during the reign of Edward III.

The Queen of England had a brother Thomas, Count of Langarde, a man of infamous character, who had conceived an incestuous passion for his niece. As his proposals were rejected with horror, he seized the absence of Cleriadus as a fit opportunity for revenge. He forged letters, which he made appear to have passed between Cleriadus and Meliadice, in which the lovers agreed to poison the king, and ascend the throne in his stead. The good monarch, though he seems generally to have dispensed with the trouble of reflection, at first betrayed an inclination for a trial, but at the persuasion of Langarde, Meliadice, without farther ceremony, is sent under the charge of four ruffians to be murdered in a wood. Two of their number, however, are seized with compunction, and persuade their comrades to agree in saving her. She is accordingly allowed to escape on condition of leaving England, but is previously stripped, that she might not draw observation by the splendour of her dress. Thus she wanders through the country, in a dishabille which was fully as likely to attract attention as her royal vestments. At many gates she was refused admittance, as a person of suspicious character; but at length found refuge in the cottage of an old woman, who gave her clothes, and sent her, with letters of introduction, to a

merchant, who lived on the sea-coast, and was speedily to embark for Spain. After a prosperous voyage she was landed at Villablanca, the capital of Asturias, where she entered into service with a female cousin of the merchant.

Meanwhile Cleriadus having conquered the Saracens, returned to England, where he was informed of the death of Meliadice. He also found that his father, having lost all influence, had retired to Asturias, and that the defamer of his mistress was acting as viceroy. He assaulted Langarde next morning, and defied him to single combat; but that traitor preferring the certainty of immediate execution to the risk of a battle, confessed his crime. Philippon, as may be imagined, was inconsolable for the loss of his daughter, but, spite of his entreaties, Cleriadus would not consent to remain in England. He assumed a pilgrim's habit, and embarked on board a vessel which was bound for the Tagus. The ship, however, fortunately encountered a storm on the coast of Gascony, which forced it to enter the port of Villablanca. Although Cleriadus had formally renounced his country, he could not refrain from ascending a hill in the neighbourhood to take a last geographical survey of the abode of his parents.

While ruminating on his misfortunes, a young woman, whom the reader divines to be Meliadice, arrived, bearing a water-pitcher on her head. Seeing him plunged in distress, she attempted to console him, and concluded with offering charity. She persuaded him to disclose the cause of his grief; and while he was yet speaking she recognized her lover, broke her water-pitcher, and threw herself into his arms.<sup>1</sup> The happy couple set off for the seat of the count of Asturias, who, in a few days, accompanied them to England. There they were legally united with the consent of Philippon, who soon after resigned his crown to Cleriadus.

The above work is the foundation of a Scotch metrical romance, written in the reign of Queen Mary, and entitled *Clariodus*, of which there is a MS. copy in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See supplementary note to Apollonius of Tyre at the end of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> This was printed in 1830 for the Maitland Club. The preface contains a brief account of the romance.

There exists one other prose romance of the knights of the Round Table, Giglan.

### L'HISTOIRE DE GIGLAN.

If the prologue prefixed to this work is to be believed, "frère Claude Platin humble religieux de l'ordre Monseigneur Sainet Anthoine found one day in a little librairie where he was a big parchment book in very old writing, in Spanish verse . . . in which book he found a little history, which seemed to him very entertaining . . . and resolved to translate the said history into French prose," which was printed at Lyons in 1530.<sup>1</sup> I have never seen this romance; but to judge from extracts, it is not scarcer than it deserves to be.

Besides the metrical romances from which the prose compilations above analyzed have been chiefly formed, there are a number of others which existed in MS. in the library of M. de Sainte Palaye. Of those which were written by the Trouveurs of the north of France an abridged version has been given in the admirable selection of Le Grand. A great proportion of the metrical romances concerning Arthur and his knights was written in the twelfth century by Chrestien de Troyes,<sup>2</sup> and many of them were

<sup>1</sup> L'histoire de Giglā filz de messire Gaunain qui fut roy de Galles. Et de Geoffroy de Maience son compaignom tous deux chevaliers de la table Ronde. Lyon. Several other editions are mentioned by Benecke in the advertisement to his edition of Wirnt von Gravenberg's Wigalois, the Knight of the Wheel, Berlin, 1819. See appendix. An account of Giglan is given in the Bibliothèque des Romans, October, 1777, i. p. 59. (See also *Mélanges tirés d'une Grande Bibliothèque*.) Benecke (loc. cit.) gives an account of the work and allied stories. The romance, says F. W. V. Schmidt, deserves far better than Artus de Bretagne, or Cleriadus, to close the Arthurian series; it abounds in marvel, adventure, and variety. The German Wigalois (Gwi von Galais), the French Giglain, and the English "Lybeaus Desconnus" published in vol. ii. of Ritson's "Metrical Romances," are in great part substantially the same, the original of which, however, does not seem to have been traced. (See F. W. V. Schmidt, *Wiener Jahrb.*, Bd. xxix. pp. 125, 126, 127.) For mention of several other works which may be attached to the Arthurian romances, see *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> See C. Potvin, *Bibliographie de Chrestien*, etc., 1863, and W. L. Holland, *Chrestien de Troies, eine Litteraturgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, 1854.

afterwards continued by Huon de Mery. Some of these relate new adventures concerning knights of the Round Table, and others introduce new heroes.

1. One of the most beautiful of these metrical tales is

### EREC AND ENIDE,<sup>1</sup>

by Chrestien de Troyes. Erec vanquishes a knight who had insulted an attendant of Queen Geneura at a national hunt. After the battle, Erec discovered on the domains of the person he had conquered, his beautiful niece, called Enide, who resided near her uncle's castle, but had been allowed by him to remain in the utmost poverty. Erec marries this lady, and soon forgets all the duties of chivalry in her embraces; his vassals complain bitterly of his sloth, and Enide rouses him to exertion. Attended by her alone he sets out in quest of adventures, of which a variety are related. One day Erec swoons through fatigue, and Enide readily believes him dead. A baron, whose castle was in the neighbourhood, happens to pass at the time, and Enide is married to him while her husband is in the fainting fit.<sup>2</sup> A nuptial feast is prepared in the room where Erec lay, but a squabble arising between the baron and his bride, on account of the obstinacy of the latter in refusing to eat, Erec is roused by the noise; and being, it would appear, much refreshed by his swoon, instantly beats out the brains of his rival, and disperses the attendants.

<sup>1</sup> This is the story of Geraint (or Gerontius) ab Erbin, King of Defriaint (Devon and Cornwall). He was called in the Triads one of the three Llynghesawg, or naval commanders, of the Isle Britain, Gwenwynwyn ap Naf and March ap Merchion (the husband of Isolt and uncle of Tristan) being the other two. He was slain at the battle of Llongborth (probably Langport in Somerset), and is celebrated in the elegy of Llywarch Hen. He was buried, according to local tradition, in a golden ship, at Gerrans, not far from Truro. The romance has been used, in the form in which it occurs in a Welsh MS. in the Hengwrt collection (published in Lady C. Guest's "Mabinogion," vol. ii), as the groundwork of one of Lord Tennyson's "Idylls of the King." German and Icelandic versions of Chrestien de Troye's poem exist. (See "Mabinogion," vol. ii. p. 178, for full descriptions.)—H. JENNER.

Cf. Graesse, p. 249. Villemarqué, *Contes Popul.*, etc. i. p. 156, ii. 329. San Marte, *Arthursage*, p. 321; Göttinger Gelehrte. Anzeiger, 1843, No. 101, p. 1007.—LIEB.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Widow of Ephesus*, p. 94, etc., supra.



As the provisions had by this time cooled, he immediately departs with Enide, and arrives in safety at his own castle, after experiencing a curious adventure in a subterraneous labyrinth, from which he rescued a lady who was there detained by enchantment.

The romance of

#### LE CHEVALIER DE LA CHARRETTE,

the first part of which was written by Chrestien de Troyes, and the conclusion by Geoffrey de Ligny, relates the early adventures of Lancelot, and the commencement of his amour with Queen Geneura. This was published at Rheims in 1849, with a notice of the life and works of the authors by P. Tarbé, and again by W. J. A. Jonckbloet, at the Hague in 1850, under the title, "Le Roman de la Charrette d'après Gautier Map et Chrestien de Troies." It contains both the versified romance and the portion of the prose Lancelot, which corresponds thereto. (See *supra*, pp. 182, 184.) Among the familiar Arthurian personages who retain their characteristic physiognomies two new figures play prominent parts, the traitor Meleagans and his father Baudemagus. The Charrette has been much praised for its literary merit. The following passage may convey some idea of the style. The queen is withdrawing to her apartment, and Lancelot can only escort her with his eyes and his heart, but the eyes had all too short a distance to travel, for the queen's chamber was near, and they would fain have entered it, if it might be. The heart, which is a more puissant seignour and master, and endowed with greater power, entered in after her, but the eyes, full of tears, remained with the body outside.

Et Lanceloz jusqu'à l'antrée  
Des ialz et de l'euer la convoie,  
Mes as ialz fu corte la voie  
Que trop estoit la chambre près;  
Et il fusst antré après  
Molt volontiers s'il poist estre.  
Li cuers, que plus est sire et mestre,  
Et de plus grant pooir assez,  
San est outre après li passez,  
Et li oil sont remès dehors  
Plein de lermes avec li cors.

## The

CHEVALIER AU LION<sup>1</sup>

has been generally attributed to Chrestien de Troyes, but the Abbé de la Rue ascribes it to Wace. This romance must not be confounded with another of the same name, of which Perceval is the hero. In the present work Yvain is the principal character, and it has given rise to an old English poem, Ywain and Gawain, published by Mr. Ritson [i. 1-169].<sup>2</sup> A knight at the court of Arthur relates that he had been induced to try the adventure of a fountain, where a dreadful storm was raised by throwing the water on a marble stone, and that the commotion brought to the spot a valiant knight, by whom he had been defeated. Yvain resolves to try this stormy experiment, and the expected combatant appears. Our hero kills this champion, and marries his widow, who resided in a castle in the neighbourhood, and finds that a knight is necessary to defend her territories, and reply to the whirlwinds from the fountain. After remaining some time with his wife, Yvain sets out in quest of new adventures, promising to return in a year. When he had exceeded the appointed time, a damsel on the part of his wife comes unexpectedly to the court of Arthur, and reproaches him with his infidelity. Yvain instantly goes mad, and roams through the country, committing extravagancies, which, it may be remarked, bear much closer resemblance to those of Orlando, than the transports of Lancelot or Tristan. It is after being cured of this phrensy that he rescues the lion, which he finds engaged in a peri-

<sup>1</sup> The Chevalier au Lion is printed in full as an appendix to the "Jarlls y Ffynnwawn" (Lady of the Fountain), an abridgment in Welsh prose of the same story in Lady C. Guest's "Mabinogion," vol. i., where may be found copious notes on the subject.—H. JENNER.

<sup>2</sup> For the fullest analysis and comparison of the various versions of the story, see the essay by George Stephens, forming the third part (Inledning, m. m.) of the Swedish metrical version, Herr Ivan Lejon-Riddaren, published by the Svenska Fornskrift, Sällskapet, 1845-49. (See also Eugen Kölbing, in his introduction to Ivents saga, in his Riddarasögur (Strassburg, 1872). Ward, Cat., p. 392. See also Villemarqué, Contes Popul., i. 109, 305; ii. 328. The evidence in favour of the Celtic origin of the story is strong.

lous combat with a dragon. The grateful animal attends him ever after, and is of great service in all his adventures. Yvain at last thinks of being reconciled to his wife, and begins his overtures towards accommodation, by raising storms from the fountain. The lady, who had resolved against agreement, is shaken by this species of eloquence: as she finds she must either be reconciled to her husband, or pass her life in an eternal hurricane. This notion of a knight having obliged, and being afterwards accompanied by a lion, which is the leading incident in the above tale, seems to be a fiction common to all nations: every one knows the story of the Roman knight, and in the Teutonic romance of the Book of Heroes, written in the beginning of the thirteenth century, Wolddietrich having aided a lion in a combat with a dragon, is ever after followed by the grateful quadruped.<sup>1</sup>

There are a great number of fabliaux relating to the knights of Arthur, of which Gauvain is generally the hero, but which also contain a vast deal about Queux, Keux, or Kay, the seneschal of Arthur.

In

#### LE CHEVALIER A L'ÉPÉE,

erroneously ascribed by some to Chrestien de Troyes, Gauvain is received in a splendid castle, where it was a rule that every person should be put to death who found fault with any thing he saw in the habitation. Owing to a hint he received from a peasant on entering this ceremonious residence, he abstains from all criticism: but he was not aware of a second regulation, that an enchanted sword cut off the head of those who took liberties with the daughter of the Châtelain. On the second night of his stay, the father locks him up in the same chamber with his daughter; but the lady having taken a liking to him, warns him of his danger, and he escapes with a slight

<sup>1</sup> Or rather slave. Cf. the story of Androclus in Gellius Noct. Att., v. 14. Cf. Robert, *Fables Inéd.*, ii. 473; *Gesta Rom.*, No. 104, and *La Chronique du bon Chevalier Gilles de Chin.*, ch. 32, and the story of Godfrey de la Tour, and allied legends in Mone's "*Anzeiger*," viii. 351, No. 64. Cf. also F. W. V. Schmidt in his notes to *Straparola*, p. 342; and see Migne, *Dict. des Superstitions*, Lion.

wound in the arm. This damsel was afterwards married to Gauvain, and of her is related the example of female infidelity, contrasted with canine attachment, which has been given in the abstract of Tristan.

#### LA MULE SANS FREIN

has by some been attributed to Payans Maizieres, and by others to Chrestien de Troyes. A disconsolate lady, mounted on a mule without a bridle, comes to the court of Arthur, and requests that one of his knights would go in search of this bridle, declaring that the mule knew the road to the place where it lay. Queux, the seneschal, offers his services, but speedily returns, appalled by the dangers he encounters. Gauvain then sets out, and after much procedure with giants and monsters, recovers the treasure from the lady's elder sister, who had robbed the younger of it. In the original romance there is not the smallest advantage to be derived from the possession of this bridle; but, in an abstract in the *Bibliothèque des Romans* [Fevrier, 1777, p. 98], it is feigned to procure for the holder the comforts of eternal youth and unfading beauty, which gives a semblance of probability to the contest of these freakish sisters. A prose rifacimento is contained in Legrand d'Aussy's "*Fabliaux ou Contes*," i. p. 13. The tale has been versified by Mr. Way and by the German poet Wieland [Des Maulthier's *Zaum*].

The well-known story of

#### LE COURT MANTEL,

printed in the sixteenth century, and analyzed by Le Grand, under the title of *Le Manteau mal Taillé*, or *fabliau of the Mantel mautailé*. It is found combined with the *Lai du corn of Robert Bikez*, in an English ballad. (See Ward, *Cat.*, i. p. 404).

History of the

#### ADVENTURES OF FOUR BROTHERS,

Agravain, Gueret, Galheret, and Gauvain, sons of Loth, King of Orkney, all of whom set out in different direc-



tions, in quest of Lancelot du Lac. Agravain, as a *coup d'essai*, kills Druas, a formidable giant, but is in turn vanquished by Sornehan, the brother of the deceased. His life is spared at the request of the conqueror's niece, and he is confined in a dungeon, where his preserver secretly brings him refreshments. Gueret also concludes a variety of adventures, by engaging Sornehan, and being overcome, is shut up in the same dungeon with his brother. Galheret, the third of the fraternity, arrives at a castle, where he is invited to play with its lady at chess, on condition that if he win he is to possess her person and castle, but should otherwise become her slave. The chess men are ranged in compartments on the floor of a fine hall, are large as life, and glitter with gold and diamonds. Each of them besides is a fairy, and moves on being touched by a talisman. Galheret loses the game, and is confined with a number of other check-mated knights. Gauvain, however, soon after arrives, and vanquishes the lady at her own arms; but only asks the freedom of the prisoners, among whom he finds his brother. Having learned from an elfish attendant of the lady, the fate of his two other kinsmen, he equips himself in the array of the chess king. In this garb he engages Sornehan, who, being dazzled by the brightness of his attire, is easily conquered, by which means Agravain and Gueret are delivered from confinement.

This story is told, with little variation, in the prose romance of Lancelot du Lac,<sup>1</sup> to which it was probably transferred from the metrical tale above mentioned.

An account has now been presented of the romances of the Round Table, the most ancient class of chivalrous composition.<sup>2</sup> Of the usual tone of incident in these works,

<sup>1</sup> And in Perceval. See also San Marte, *Arthursage*, p. 214, No. 29, and Villemarqué, *Contes Popul.*, ii. p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> Græsse, *Literärg*, Bd. 2, § 3, p. 249, enumerates several other romances of chivalry, among which, on account of its rarity, may here be Paris, mentioned *Triumphe des neuf Preux* (abstract in *Bibl. des Romans*, 1782, 4to., i. p. 71). The author feigns that there appeared to him in a vision nine heroes, and in a second vision a tenth hero, viz., Josua, David, Judas Maccabeus, Hector, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar; and then Arthur, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bouillon, and finally Bertrand du Guesclin; they charge him to undertake the description of their Lives and Feats, in order that Lady Triumphe who appears with them may be

I trust the reader may have formed some idea from the abstracts already given. In many of those points that have been laid down, as constituting excellence in the materials of fictitious narrative, they will be found extremely defective. The novelty of adventure is not great, as most of the events related were drawn from those metrical romances, by which the prose ones were preceded. But, if we at one view consider the originals and imitations, the incidents are of such a nature as were never before presented in combination to the world, and form in every particular a complete contrast to the Greek romances. As the fictions concerning the Round Table, in common with all other tales of chivalry, are full of stories of giants and enchanters, they have no claim to probability of incident in one sense of the term, and even that species of verisimilitude, which we expect in the actions and machinations of unearthly beings, is more often violated than preserved.

A modern reader, too, is shocked by the glaring ana-

enabled to decide which of them has deserved her crown. The writer performs this task with many divergences, however, from the records of sacred and profane history. Differently to the account in Lancelot (p. 183), Arthur is here made to commit incest knowingly with his sister, the consort of Lot, King of Orcania, she, however, being innocent. Brunet gives the titles and editions of the original as ostensibly a translation from the Spanish. The nine heroes of this romance are not infrequently mentioned in the earlier English literature. Shakespeare alludes in *Love's Labour's Lost* (act v. sc. 2), to the Nine Worthies (Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, p. 149. Cf. also the Provençal Roman de Flamença, in Raynouard's "*Lexique Roman*," vol. i. p. 10, etc.) Further, they appear in the verses which precede the Low-German history of Alexander the Great (Brun's "*Altplattdeutsche Gedichte*," p. 336, etc. See also Warton, vol. iv. p. 151, note a, Lond. 1824). They figure also in tapestry and paintings (Warton, ii. p. 44, note 9). This selection of thrice three heroes may very likely have originated in the Welsh Triads, where (see San Marte, *Arthursage*, p. 46) the three Pagan, Jewish, and Christian Trinities are enumerated as follows: Hector, Alexander, and Julius Cæsar; Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabæus; Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey de Bouillon. For Godfrey is sometimes substituted Guy of Warwick. (See Douce, loc. cit., p. 170, etc., and Graesse, *Literärg*, Bd. 2, § 3, p. 255).—LIEB. In the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, t. xix., are given abstracts, p. 678, of the *Philippide d'Aymes de Varannes*, of which there are both verse and prose romances in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, p. 681, of the *Romance of Julius Cæsar*, by J. Forrest; p. 735, of the *Romance of Trubert*, by Doins de Laverne.

chronisms and geographical blunders which deform the romances of chivalry. These and other absurdities have been happily ridiculed by Butler in his *Hudibras* :

Some writers make all ladies purloined,  
And knights pursuing in a whirlwind ;  
Others make all their knights in fits  
Of jealousy to lose their wits ;  
Some force whole regions in despite  
Of geography, to change their site,  
Make former times shake hands with latter,  
And that which was before come after.

The story is invariably told in the person of the author, and in this the writers of romance have perhaps acted judiciously. As the exploits of so many knights were to be related, it would not have suited to put the account of them in the mouth of the principal character, as he could not be minutely acquainted with adventures, in which, for the most part, he had no concurrence. The story is never carried on, as in the Greek romances, in the form of an epic poem, commencing in the middle of the action, but truly begins with the egg of Leda—the adventures of the father or grandsire of the hero. After being protracted through a period of twenty or thirty years, the romance concludes with the death of the principal character, or his retirement into a hermitage ; or drags us through a long list of descendants. The interest, also, is too much divided, and the part of the titular hero is not always the most considerable. He appears and vanishes like a spirit, and we lose sight of him too soon to regard him as the most important character in the work. In the Greek romances, all the adventures accelerate or impede the solution of the fable ; but in the tales of chivalry there is a total want of unity of design, which prevents our carrying on the story in our mind, and distracts the attention. Indeed, I believe that in the metrical romances, and those few that were originally written in prose, the author had no idea where he was to stop ; he had formed no skeleton of the story, nor proposed to himself a conclusion to which his insulated adventures should lead.

With respect to those excellencies which have been termed the ornaments of fictitious narrative : the *characters*

of the heroes are not well shaded nor distinguished. The knight, however, is always more interesting than the heroine, which must appear strange when we reflect that these romances were composed in an age when devotion to the ladies formed the essence of chivalry, and that it is quite the reverse in the Greek romances, though, at the time in which they were written, women acted a very inferior part in society. In the romance of Perceval, he appears a great deal, and Blanchefleur very little. Some romances, as *Meliadus*, have no heroine at all, and the mistresses of Lancelot and Tristan are women of abandoned character,

In all these works the *sentiments* are thinly scattered, and perhaps a greater number would not have been appropriate in that species of composition. During the chivalrous ages, as Madame de Staël has well remarked, “L’honneur et l’amour agissoient sur le coeur de l’homme comme la fatalité chez les anciens, sans qu’on réfléchit aux motifs des actions, ni que l’incertitude y fut admise.”

The charm of style and beauty of description form the most pleasing features of the romances of chivalry. There is something in the simplicity of the old French tongue which surpasses that of all other nations, and, from an assiduous perusal of romances, where it is exhibited in its greatest richness and beauty, we may receive much additional insight into the etymology of our own language.

M. de Sainte Palaye talks in high terms of the light which these works are calculated to throw on the labours of the genealogist, and of the information which they afford with regard to the progress of arts among our ancestors. That writer was an enthusiast for this species of lore; and, like other enthusiasts, was disposed to exaggerate its importance and value. It may indeed be granted, that the romances of chivalry are curious as a picture of manners, and interesting as efforts of the imagination, in a certain stage of the progress of the human mind; but with this exception, and the pleasure occasionally afforded by the *naïveté* of the language, the most insipid romance of the present day equals them as a fund of amusement, and is not much inferior to them as a source of instruction.

Those, too, who have been accustomed to associate the



highest purity of morals with the manners of chivalry, will be greatly deceived. Indeed, in their moral tendency, many of the romances are highly reprehensible.<sup>1</sup> In some, as Perceforest, particular passages are exceptionable, and the general scope in others, where the principal character is a knight, engaged, with the approbation of all, in a love intrigue with the wife of his friend or his sovereign. In one of the best of these romances, Tristan carries on an amour through the whole work with the queen of his benefactor and uncle. I need not mention the gallantries of Lancelot and Geneura, nor the cold hard-hearted infidelity of Artus de la Bretagne. "The whole pleasure of these bookes," says Ascham, with some truth and *naïveté*, "standeth in two specyall poyntes, in open mans slaughter and bolde bawdrie, in which bookes those be counted the noblest knights that doe kill most men without any quarrell, and commit fowlest adoulteries by sutlest shifts, as Syr Launcelott with the wife of Kyng Arthure his maister; Syr Tristram with the wife of Kyng Marke his vncl; Syr Lamerocke with the wife of Kyng Lote, that was his own aunte. This is good stuffe for wise men to laugh at, or honest men to take pleasure at."

<sup>1</sup> Much of the morality blamed by Ascham is doubtless derived from semi-historical material, which the romancer could not suppress any more than Lord Tennyson in his *Idylls of the King*, without ceasing to embody in his work a mass of received legend which it must be remembered was current and to a large extent believed. In many episodes there seems an attempt to mitigate prior records in accordance with a higher standard. "If it were to be conceded that Wace, Layamon, and the whole cycle of romances of the Round Table, might have been consigned to oblivion without any serious injury to the cause of literature, we may be reminded that Don Quixote certainly, and Ariosto's Orlando most probably arose out of them. Perhaps Gorboduc, and Ferrex, and Porrex, might not be much missed from the dramatic literature of Europe; but what should we think of the loss of *Lear* and *Cymbeline*? Let us, then, thankfully remember Geoffrey of Monmouth, to whom Shakespeare was indebted for the groundwork of those marvellous productions, and without whose *Historia Britonum* we should probably never have had them."—*Quarterly Review*, March, 1848, Rev. R. Garnett. Other romances evolved from or connected with Celtic or British traditions, would naturally find a place here, but the limits of our work would be unduly extended by notice of them. It will be sufficient to refer the reader for the most recent information upon them to Mr. Ward's "*Catalogue of Romances*," in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, 1883, etc., where he will find ample indications for the further pursuit of the subject.

## CHAPTER IV.

ROMANCES OF CHIVALRY RELATING TO CHARLEMAGNE AND HIS PEERS.—CHRONICLE OF TURPIN.—HUON DE BORDEAUX.—GUERIN DE MONGLAVE.—GALLIEN RHETORÉ.—MILLES ET AMYS.—JOURDAIN DE BLAVES.—OGIER LE DANOIS, ETC.

IT was formerly shown that the romances relating to Arthur and the knights of the Round Table were in a great measure derived from the History of Geoffrey of Monmouth. It now remains for us to investigate what influence the chronicle falsely attributed to Turpin, or Tilpin, archbishop of Rheims, the contemporary of Charlemagne, exercised over the fabulous stories concerning that prince and his paladins.

The chronicle of Turpin is feigned to be addressed from Viennes, in Dauphiny, to Leoprandus, dean of Aquisgranensis (Aix la Chapelle), but was not written, in fact, till the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. Its real author seems not to be clearly ascertained, but is supposed by some to have been a Canon of Barcelona, who attributed his work to Turpin.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tilpinus, or Turpinus, said by Flodoardus (ob. 966) in his *Historia Ecclesiæ Remensis*, lib. ii. c. 16, to have been Archbishop of Rheims from about 753 to 800. The writers of *Gallia Christiana* say that he died in 794. He was archbishop in 778, when Charlemagne made his only recorded expedition into Spain, when the French rearguard was defeated in the Pyrenees, and, as Eginhart says, "Hruodlandus, Brittanici limitis præfectus," was slain. It is therefore quite possible that Tilpinus pronounced a funeral oration over Roland at Roncesvaux, an event which forms the climax of the present work, but no one now supposes that there is any real connection between the chronicler and the archbishop.

R. P. A. Dozy (*Recherches sur l'histoire de la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge*, Paris, 1881, ii. pp. 372-431) has shown that the

This production, it is well known, turns on the expedition of Charlemagne to the peninsula. Some French writers have denied that Charlemagne ever was in Spain, but the authority of Eginhart is sufficient to establish the fact. It seems certain, that about the year 777, the assistance of Charlemagne was invoked by one of those numerous sovereigns, among whom the Spanish provinces were at that time divided; that, on pretence of defending this ally from the aggressions of his neighbours, he extended his conquests over a great part of Navarre and Arragon; and, finally, that on his return to France he experienced a partial defeat from the treacherous attack of an unexpected enemy. These simple events have given rise to the famous battle of Roncesvalles, and the other extravagant fictions recorded in the chronicle of Turpin.

Charlemagne, according to that work, having conquered Britain, Italy, Germany, and many other countries, proposed to give himself some repose, though the Saracens were not yet extirpated; but, while in this frame of mind, being fortunately addicted to star-gazing, he one night perceived a cluster of stars,<sup>1</sup> which, commencing their procession at the Frisian sea, moved by way of Germany and France into Gallicia. This phenomenon being repeated, attracted the thoughts of Charles, but he could form no rational conjecture as to what was portended. The prodigy, which eluded the waking researches of the monarch, was satisfactorily expounded in a vision. A figure appeared to Charles while he was asleep, introduced itself as the apostle James, and announced that the planetary

first five chapters of Turpin were the work of a French monk at Compostella, and cannot have been written before 1065, and probably not before 1131. He agrees with Gaston Paris (*De Pseudo-Turpino*, Paris, 1865) that the remaining chapters are by another hand, or rather by other hands. G. Paris has reviewed Dozy's work in the *Romania*, July, 1882, pp. 419, etc., accepting most of his conclusions, and finally conjecturing that the whole work may have been completed towards 1150 by Aimeri Picaud, the author of the *Itinerary to Compostella*. Turpin's Chronicle has been republished by the Montpellier Société pour l'Étude des Langues Romanes, by F. Castets, under the title of *Turpini Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, 1880. See Ward, *Cat.*, vol. i. pp. 950, 951 and 546-560.

<sup>1</sup> "Intentione sagaci," says Eginhart, "siderum cursum curiosissime rimabatur." (C. 25.)

march typified the conquest of Spain, adding, that he had himself been slain by King Herod, and that his body had long lain concealed in Gallicia. Hence, continued he, I am astonished that you have not delivered *my* land from the yoke of the Saracens. The apostle's appropriation of territory was somewhat whimsical, but Charles did not dispute his title. This prince, however, seems not to have been renowned for a retentive memory, and accordingly the apostle took the precaution, on the following night, of renewing his suggestion.

In consequence of these successive admonitions, Charles entered Spain with a large army [c. 1], and invested Pampeluna. He lay three months before this town, but could not take it; because, says the chronicle, it was impregnable. At the end of this period, however, he bethought himself of prayer, on which the walls followed the example of their tottering prototypes of Jericho. The Saracens who chose to embrace Christianity were spared, but those who persisted in infidelity were put to the sword. Charles then paid his respects to the sarcophagus of James, and Turpin had the satisfaction of baptizing a great proportion of the Gallicians in the neighbourhood [c. 2].

The main object with this bishop and his master was to destroy all the idols which could be discovered; an undertaking which, among a people who abominate idolatry, must have required a very patient research. At length these images were completely extirpated, except an obstinate mawmet at Cadiz, which could not be broken, because it was inhabited by a cluster of demons [c. 4].

After this Charles founded a number of churches, and endowed them with much wealth; grants which were afterwards reclaimed with great zeal by a successor, who boasted him as a prototype [c. 5].

Charles had scarcely returned to France, when a strenuous pagan, named Aigolandus, recovered the whole country, which obliged the French monarch to return with great armies, of which he gave the command to Milo, the father of Orlando [c. 6].

While these troops were lying at Bayonne, a soldier, named Romaricus, died, after having ordered one of his relations to sell his horse, and distribute the price among



the clergy and the poor. His kinsman sold the horse, but spent the money in carousing. After thirty days the deceased, who had been detained that time in purgatory, appeared in a dream, upbraided his faithless executor for the misapplication of the alms, and notified to him that he might depend on being in Tartarus in the course of the following day. While reporting this uncomfortable assurance next morning to his fellow-soldiers, he is hurried off by a flight of demons, and dashed against a rock as a preliminary to subsequent punishment [c. 7].

After this there follows a long account of the war with Aigolandus, which was first carried on by two hundred, or two thousand, soldiers, on one part, engaging an equal number of the enemy: but at length a general battle was fought, in which were slain *forty thousand* Christians, Milo the commander of the forces, and the horse of Charles. Next day, however, the French having been reinforced by *four thousand* men from the coast of Italy, Aigolandus fled to a different part of the peninsula, and Charles departed for France [c. 8].

Aigolandus now carried the war into Gascony, followed by the Moabites, Ethiopians, Parthians, and Africans [c. 9]. At Sanctona (Saintonge), previous to a great battle, certain Christians having fixed their spears in the ground towards night, found them decorated next morning with leaves, which signified to the proprietors of these warlike instruments that they were about to obtain the crown of martyrdom [c. 10]. Aigolandus was defeated in the battle with the loss of four thousand of his troops, and fled to Pampeluna. Thither he was followed by Charles, and an army of a hundred and thirty-four thousand men [c. 11]. On this occasion the reader is presented with a list of the chief warriors, among whom are mentioned the names of Orlando, Rinaldo, Oliviero, and Gano. Charles having arrived at Pampeluna, received a message from Aigolandus, requesting a truce till his army should come forth fully prepared for war [c. 12].

This being granted, Aigolandus in the interval paid a visit to Charles, and was much astonished to hear himself attacked as an usurper in the Arabic tongue, which Charles had learned at Coletus (Toulouse). Aigolandus expostu-

lated, that his competitor had no right either in his own person, or derived from his ancestors, to the throne of Spain; but Charles replied, that the country must be conquered for the extension of the Christian religion. This brought on a theological dispute between the two sovereigns, which terminated in a resolution to fight on the following day, with a hundred soldiers against a hundred, and a thousand against a thousand: but Aigolandus being ultimately vanquished in this singular species of warfare, agreed to be baptized with his people. For this purpose he came to Charles next day, and found that monarch carousing, while thirteen naked beggars were sitting on the ground looking on the feast. The malapert heathen asked who these were. Charles replied, rather unfortunately, that they were the people of God whom he was feeding, and that they represented the apostles. Aigolandus thereupon notified that he would have nothing to do with such a faith [c. 14].<sup>1</sup>

Next day a pitched battle was fought, in which Aigolandus having only a hundred thousand troops, and his enemy a superiority of thirty-four thousand, was entirely defeated, and was himself slain, which demonstrated the propriety of the mode which Charles had adopted of entertaining the representatives of the apostles [c. 15].

The French monarch next carried on a war against Furra, a prince of Navarre. On the approach of a battle, he prayed that the sign of the cross might appear on the shoulder of those who were predestined to perish in the action. In order to evade the decrees of Providence, Charles shut up the soldiers who had been marked in consequence of this application, in his oratory; but on returning from the battle, in which he vanquished the enemy, he found that all those he had in ward were dead, to the number of a hundred and fifty, which evinced the impiety of his precaution [c. 17].

While in Navarre, it is reported to Charles that a Syrian giant of first-rate enormity, called Ferracutus (the Ferrau

<sup>1</sup> A similar story occurs in the *Cento Novelle Antiche*, No. 24. In this case the answer is "gli amici di lor Signore." Sachetti (Nov. 115), tells the same story, with a Spanish Jew instead of a Sultan.—H. JENNER.

of the Italians),<sup>1</sup> had appeared at Nagera. This creature possessed most exuberant proportions: he was twelve cubits high, his face was a cubit in length, and his nose a measured palm. As soon as Charles arrived at Nagera, this unwieldy gentleman proposed a single combat, but the king was so little tempted by a personal survey, that he declined his offer. Ogerius the Dane was therefore selected as the Christian champion, but the giant trussing him under one arm, carried him off to the town, and served a succession of knights in a similar manner, Orlando at length went out against him. The Saracen, as usual, commenced the attack by pulling his antagonist from the saddle, and rode off with him, till Orlando, exerting all his force, seized him by the chin, and both fell to the ground. When they had remounted, the knight thinking to kill the pagan, only cut off the head of his horse. Ferrau being now on foot, Orlando struck a blow on his arm that knocked the sword from his hand; on which the giant slew his adversary's horse with a pat of his fist. After this the opponents fought on foot, and with swords, till towards evening, when Ferrau demanded a truce till next day.

In the morning Orlando had recourse to a new sort of implement; he attacked his enemy with an immense club, which had no more effect than the finer weapon. The champions now assaulted each other with stones; but when this species of warfare was at the hardest, giants being naturally prone to somnolency, Ferrau became overpowered with sleep, and again begged a truce. When he had composed himself to rest, his courteous antagonist placed a stone below his head, that he might sleep more softly. When he awoke, Orlando took an opportunity of asking him how he was so hardy, that he neither dreaded sword nor baton. The giant, who must have been more remark-

<sup>1</sup> Boiardo (*Orlando Innamorato*, i. iv. 8) with whom Berni agrees, calls Ferragu's father Falsirone and his mother Laufusa, mentioned as a witch by Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.*, xxv. 74, xxxv. 74). The incidents of Ferragu's carrying off his antagonists under his arm is used by Boiardo, i. 4, 40, 7, 12, and of his religious disputation, i. 18, 41, etc. See further respecting Farragut in Boiardo's "*Roland*," von G. Regis, *Glossar.*, p. 407.

able for strength than caution, explained the whole mystery, by acknowledging that he was everywhere invulnerable except in the navel. Ferrau, in his turn, made less pertinent enquiries concerning the name, lineage, and faith of his foe. This last subject being started, Orlando, hoping to make a convert, explained the articles of his creed. The giant opened the controversy by questioning the possibility of three being one, but Orlando vanquished his arithmetical scruples by a number of ingenious illustrations; as that an almond is a single nut, though it consists of three things, the husk, the shell, and the kernel. The disputant replied, that he had now a very clear conception how three made one, but that he was scandalized at a virgin producing. Orlando reminded him that there was nothing more remarkable in this, than in the original creation of Adam. Our giant readily waived this point, but could not comprehend how a God could die. The arguments on this head he seems to have been as little prepared to canvass as the other topics, but entrenched himself within what he considered his last stronghold, that the God who died could not come alive again. It was argued by Orlando, that there was nothing impossible in this, as Elijah and Elisha readily revived after their death, and that the dead cubs of a lioness can be resuscitated on the third day, by the breath of the mother. Orlando must, no doubt, have expected, that the ingenuity of this last illustration would have completed the work of conversion; what then must have been his disappointment, when the pertinacious Saracen, by demanding that a sword should be admitted into the conference, proved that his head was as impenetrable to argument as his body to the incomparable edge of Durindana. In the ensuing combat, Orlando made great use of the information he had received concerning the perforable part of his antagonist, who being slain in consequence, the city of Nagera surrendered to the arms of Charlemagne [c. 18].

After this success, the French monarch received intelligence that Ebraim, king of Sibia (Seville), who had escaped from the battle before Pampeluna, was encamped at Cordova, ready to resist his invasion. Charles, without loss of time, marched to the south of Spain. When the



French vanguard approached the enemy, it found that the troops of the hostile army wore bearded masks, that they had added horns to their heads, and that each soldier held a drum in his hand, which he beat with prodigious violence. The horses, quite unaccustomed to this sort of masquerade, immediately took fright, and spread considerable confusion in the Christian army, which with difficulty retreated to an eminence. Next day, however, previous to an attack, Charles ordered his horses to be hoodwinked, and their ears to be stopped with wax. This stratagem, or *ars mirabilis*, as it is called in the chronicle, rendered useless the martial prelude of the enemy, and gained Charles the victory. A similar device is resorted to, on a like occasion, in the metrical romance of Richard Cœur de Lion, by the English monarch.<sup>1</sup>

The capture of Cordova was the immediate fruit of the success of Charlemagne, and Spain being now entirely subdued, the conqueror made a proper partition of the kingdom. He bestowed Navarre on the Britons, Castille on the French, and Arragon on the Greeks, while Andalusia and Portugal were assigned to the Flemings [c. 19].

After the account of this distribution, the historian most seasonably introduces a description of the person of his hero, and the capacities of his stomach. As to his external appearance, he had dark hair, a ruddy countenance, a stern aspect, but a graceful and elegant form. This, indeed, appears from his dimensions, for his legs were thick, his altitude eight feet, and his belly protuberant. His daily consumption of provisions, though almost incredible, scarcely exceeds that of Louis XIV., of whose diet an account has been served up in the Walpoliana.<sup>2</sup> During night, Charles was guarded by a hundred and twenty of the orthodox, who relieved each other during three watches, ten being placed at his head, ten at his feet, and the same number on either side, each holding a naked falchion in one hand and a burning torch in the other [c. 21].

When Charles had arrived as far as Pampeluna on his return to France, he bethought himself that he had yet left in Spain two Saracen kings, Marsirius (the same who in

<sup>1</sup> See Ellis, *Metr. Rom.* iii. p. 267, etc.

<sup>2</sup> This reference of Dunlop's would seem to be erroneous.

Ariosto is present at the siege of Paris by Agramante), and his brother Beligandus, who reigned jointly at Cæsaraugusta (Saragossa). To these miscreants he despatched Gannalon (the Gan Traditor of Italian poets) <sup>1</sup> to expatiate on the necessity of their paying tribute and receiving baptism. They sent Charles a quantity of sweet wine and a thousand houris, but at the same time bribed the ambassador to betray his master. Gannalon, on his return to head-quarters, reported that Marsirius was well disposed to become a Christian and to pay tribute. Trusting to this information, Charles made a disposition on his march to France, by which he lost the half of his army. He himself passed the Pyrenees in safety with part of his troops; but the second division, commanded by Orlando, consisting of 20,000 men, was unexpectedly attacked in the defiles of

<sup>1</sup> Ganelon is placed by Dante (Inf. xxxii.) in the second division of the ninth circle of Hell :—

“ I turn’d  
And saw before and underneath my feet  
A lake whose frozen surface likèr seem’d  
To glass than water . . . thus low  
Blue pinched and shrined in ice the spirits stood,  
Moving their teeth in shrill note like the stork.  
His face each downward held ; their mouth the cold,  
Their eyes express’d the dolour of their heart.

\* \* \* \* \*

If I misdeem not, Soldanieri bides,  
With Ganellon, and Tribaldello,” etc.

While, on the one hand, very various etymologies have been suggested for the word Ganelon, on the other it has been sought to derive from it the Romance verb *ingannare*, *engañar*, to cheat, a word from which more probably, however, the name itself took origin. *Ingannare*, old French *engigner*, is probably from *ingenium* in its later sense of *dolus*, *astutia*. Ganelon became a mediæval proverbial type of perfidy. The historical personage which underlies the character is probably the Aquitanian Duke Lope or Lupus, see Grimm (Einleitung zum Rolandslied, p. cxix.), who cites a document dated January 21, 845, issued by Charles the Bald, wherein the latter calls Lupus, “omnibus pejoribus pessimus, ac perfidissimus supra omnes mortales, operibus et nomine Lupus, latro potius quam dux dicendus,” etc. See F. W. V. Schmidt, Wiener Jahrb., bd. xxxi. p. 101, and Regis, Boiardo, p. 415-16. See also Ducange (voc. Ganelo), who conjectures an identity between Ganelon and Guinille or Wenille, upon whom Charles the Bald conferred the archbishopric of Sens.

Roncesvalles, by a guerilla of 50,000 Saracens, and was cut to pieces, except Orlando and a few knights [c. 22].<sup>1</sup>

The main body of the pagans having retired, Orlando discovered a stray Saracen, whom he bound to a tree. After this exploit he ascended an eminence, and sounded his ivory horn,<sup>2</sup> which rallied around him a hundred Christians, the remains of his army. Though the pagans had, with little loss to themselves, reduced his soldiers from 20,000 to 100, Orlando by no means despaired of discomfiting the host of his enemy. He returned with his small band to the Saracen he had put in durance, and threatened to kill him unless he would show him Marsirius. The Saracen yielded to so powerful an argument, and pointed out his king, who was distinguished by his bay horse and round shield. Orlando rushed among the pagans and slew their monarch, which induced Beligandus to fall back with his army on Saragossa. In this brilliant enterprise the hundred Christians were killed, and their commander severely wounded. Wandering through a forest, Orlando arrived alone at the entrance to the pass of Cisera, where, exhausted with wounds, and grieving for the loss of his army, he threw himself under a tree. As a refreshment, he commenced a long address to his sword Durindana,<sup>3</sup> which he complimented with all the super-

<sup>1</sup> The valley of Roncesvalles, where this catastrophe is supposed to have happened, lies to the north-east of Pampeluna. It extends to St. Jean Pied de Porte in Basse Navarre, and receives its name from the mountain of Roncesvalles, which terminates this plain, and is accounted the highest of the Pyrenees.

<sup>2</sup> Named Olivant or Oliphant. Turpin calls it "tuba eburnea."

<sup>3</sup> The name is found with several variations, Durandal, Durendar, Durrenda, Durandarda. Boiardo makes it first Hector's, then Almont's, then Roland's sword. For conjectured etymologies see Ducange, Gloss. See also Regis, Boiardo, p. 406, for an account of the weapon. In the same connection may be consulted an article upon swords in the Contemporary Review, vol. xxxviii. p. 595, etc. Plutarch says (Mallet's Northern Antiquities, cit.) that the heroes of the Cimbri called their swords by such names as might inspire terror.

See an article on Swords of Celtic Romance, All the Year Round, 1879, xxii. p. 271.

#### SWORD NAMES.

Balmung, in the Nibelungenlied. Siegfried's sword.

Ascalon. St. George's. Seven Champions.

latives in the Latin language—"Fortitudine firmissime, capulo eburneo candidissime, cruce aurea splendidissime," &c. &c.

The dying champion next blew his horn with such force that he burst it.<sup>1</sup> Charles, who was then in Gascony, heard the peal distinctly, and wished to return to the succour of his nephew, but was persuaded by Gannalon that he could be in no danger, and that he was merely taking the diversion of hunting in the forests. The blast, however, brought to him Theodoricus, the only surviving knight. Orlando had received the Sacrament that morning, and had confessed himself to certain priests, which this learned chronicle informs us was the universal custom of knights before proceeding to battle. Nothing, therefore, remained for the hero but to make a long prayer before he expired.<sup>2</sup>

Marandaise. Ryance's.  
 Excalibur or Caliburn. King Arthur's.  
 Arondight. Lancelot's.  
 Joyeuse. Charlemagne's.  
 Durindana. Roland's.  
 Floberge. Renaud de Montauban's.  
 Maroke. Sir Eglamour's.  
 Morglay. Sir Bevis of Hampton's.  
 Tizona (Firebrand). The Cid's.  
 Colada. The Cid's second.  
 Bowannee. Sivajee's (India).  
 Corouge. Sir Otuel's.  
 Curtana. At coronation of Henry III.  
 Crocea Mors. J. Cæsar's.

<sup>1</sup> This horn has been of infinite service to future poets and romancers. Logystilla, in the *Orlando Furioso* (c. 15, 14), bestows it on Astolpho, and Prince Arthur's squire is furnished with a similar one by Spenser (*Faery Queen*, b. i. c. viii. st. 3, 4). Warton (*History of English Poetry*, ed. 1871, ii. p. 135) thinks the idea of this potent horn may have originated in Simeon Seth's "Life of Alexander." Warton, however, merely writes as he says from memory, and may have had in his mind the history *De Cornu Sancti Simeonis*, apud Gervase, *Tilbur. Otia Imper.* iii. 70. These marvellous horns are perhaps to be traced to that of Alecto in *Æneis* vii. 513.

The idea, says Liebrecht, in a note on the present passage, may be more plausibly regarded as a reflection of the Gjallarhorn of Heimdal, audible throughout the world, and wherewith he is to give the signal for battle at the Twilight of the Gods. The whistle of the Slavonic robber chief Solovyof is audible afar and slays all (except the hero) whose ears it reaches.

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted, however, that the knights sometimes confessed one



At this very moment Turpin was standing by King Charles, saying mass for the souls of certain persons lately deceased, and informs the reader, that while thus employed, he heard the songs of the angels who were conveying Orlando to Heaven. At the same time a phalanx of demons passed before the archbishop, and notified that they were so far on their way to Gehenna with the soul of one Marsirius, but that Michael, with an angel crowd, was conveying the trumpeter aloft (*Tubicinem virum cum multis Michael fert ad superna*). As no person could doubt the accuracy of these respectable deponents, Turpin announced to Charles the death of his nephew. Charles immediately returned to Roncesvalles, where he uttered a learned lamentation over the remains of Orlando, whom he compared to Samson, Saul, Jonathan, and Judas Macabeus, and then embalmed the body with balsam, myrrh, and aloes.

Charles now thought of taking vengeance on the heathen, as an incitement to which the sun held out to him the same encouragement it had formerly done to Joshua. By this means he came up with the Saracens, while yet reposing on the banks of the Ebro in the neighbourhood of Saragossa. Of them he killed four thousand, a favourite number with this historian, and then returned to Roncesvalles. Here he instituted an inquiry into the conduct of Gannalon, and the champion of that traitor having been slain in single combat, he was tied to the four most ferocious horses in the army, and thus torn to pieces.

There is next related the manner in which the Christians preserved the bodies of their friends, and the final interment of each species of mummy.<sup>1</sup>

to another, when no priest was at hand. See Joinville, *Histoire de St. Louis*, ed. De Wailly, Paris, 1874, p. 195. There were also symbolical or superstitious forms of communion, with leaves, etc. See *Chanson de Roland*, ed. L. Gautier, line 2023, and note. See also Cæsarius Heisterbacensis *Dial. de Mirac.* *Distinctio* 5, cap. xix.; and Hugo Grotius, *Dissert. de Cœnæ Administratione ubi pastores non sunt*. Letters containing some information on these points appeared in the "Tablet," January and February, 1886.

<sup>1</sup> The origin and incidents of this expedition of Charlemagne are told in a totally different manner by the Spanish historians. They assert that Charlemagne was called into Spain by Alphonso, king of Leon, on

The emperor having returned to Paris, St. Denis informed him, in a dream, that all those who had fallen in Spain had their sins forgiven; and at the same time took the opportunity of mentioning that a similar mercy would be extended to those who gave money for building his church. Those who contributed willingly were freed from all servitude, whence the name of Gaul was changed into France.

Charles had been much debilitated by his campaign in the peninsula. For the sake of the warm baths he repaired to Leodio (Liege), where he built a palace, in which was painted the story of his wars in Spain. Now it fell out that one day, while Turpin, who resided at Viennes, was officiating before the altar, a host of demons, who seem to be the newsmongers in this history, passed before him with unusual velocity. Having interrogated one of these, who resembled an Ethiopian, and was lagging behind the rest, he was advertised that they were all going to attend at the death of Charles, and hurry his soul to Tartarus. Turpin requested that, having despatched their errand, they would return with the earliest intelligence. The fiends were faithful to their appointment, but were reduced to the mortifying acknowledgment that a Galician, without a head, having weighed the sins and merits of Charles, had deprived them of their expected prize, and conveyed the soul in a quite contrary direction from what they had intended. In fifteen days after, a special messenger or express arrived at Viennes, who confirmed the deposition of the demons as to the death of Charles, a loss which could have excited no surprise, as the sun and moon

a promise to nominate him as a successor if he would assist in the expulsion of the Moors. Charlemagne was successful in his efforts against the infidels, but the nobles and chieftains of Alphonso disapproving of the ulterior part of their sovereign's compact, supported by Bernardo del Carpio, and at length by their own monarch, attacked and cut to pieces an immense army, with which the French emperor had encamped on the plain of Roncesvalles. The incidents are represented in a similar manner in the Spanish romantic poems. In the Orlando of Nicholas Espinosa, *Con el verdadero successo de la famosa Batalla de Roncesvalles*, published 1557, Bernardo del Carpio stifles Orlando to death, and the poet declares,

“Cantera la verdad aquesta historia,  
Y no segun Turpin Frances lo siente.”

had prepared the minds of his subjects for the event, by assuming a black colour for six days preceding his decease. Besides, his name was spontaneously effaced from a church; and a wooden bridge over the Rhine, which took six years to build, had been recently consumed by internal fire.

Turpin concludes his history with a remark, which seems to be intended as the moral of the whole work, that he who builds a church on earth cannot fail of obtaining a palace in Heaven.

I have given this minute analysis of the absurd chronicle of Turpin in deference to the common opinion, that it had a remarkable influence on the early romances relating to Charlemagne, and thence on the splendid monuments of human genius that have been erected by the Italian poets. It must, however, be remarked, that there are few incidents in this work which breathe the spirit of romantic fiction. There are no castles nor dragons, no amorous knights, and no distressed damsels. The chronicle is occupied with wars on an extensive scale, and with the theological controversies of chiefs in the Saracen and Christian armies. Indeed the campaign of Charlemagne seems to have been chiefly formed on the model of the wars of Joshua. Jericho and Pampeluna fall in the same manner into the hands of the besiegers: the stratagem of Marsirius resembles that of the Gibeonites, and the victors divide the conquered lands in a similar manner among their followers. Many wonders, it is true, are related in the chronicle of Turpin, but they more resemble the miracles of the monkish legends than the beautiful fables that decorate romance. These fictions, according to the principles already established, must have flowed from other sources, though the historical materials to be found in some of the romances of Charlemagne may have been derived from the chronicle.<sup>1</sup> It has been much doubted whether the Italian poets consulted the original Turpin. Ariosto quotes him for stories of which he does not say a single word, and which are the most absurd and incredible in his poem; as Voltaire, subsequently, in the *Pucelle d'Orleans*, laid the *onus probandi* on the Abbé Tritheme. Thus in the *Orlando Furioso*,

<sup>1</sup> Modern critics no longer hold this view. See note *infra*, p. 293.

Scrive Turpino, come furo ai Passi  
 Dell alto Atlante, che i cavalli loro  
 Tutti in un punto diventaron Sassi.—C. 44, st. 23.

Boiardo, whose *Orlando Innamorato*, in its original form, is the most serious of the romantic poems of Italy, jocularly calls the chronicle of Turpin his *True History*, as Cervantes terms his feigned authorities,

La vera Historia di Turpin ragiona  
 Che regnava in la terra d'Oriente, &c.  
 ORL. INN., c. 1, st. 4.

The incidents in the *Morgante Maggiore* of Pulci are those which approach nearest to the chronicle, yet Crescimbeni has asserted that it was never seen by that father of romantic poetry.<sup>1</sup> The conclusion of the *Morgante*, however, seems almost copied from Turpin. Gano is there sent ambassador to King Marsilio to negotiate a treaty: he treacherously writes that this king is ready to pay tribute, and requests Charlemagne to send his paladins to Roncesvalles to receive it. There they are attacked by the Saracens. Orlando sounded his horn, but Gano at first persuaded Charles that he was hunting. At the third blast, however, the king proceeded to Spain, but Orlando was dead before his arrival. He then besieged and took Saragossa; and, after the return to France, Gano was pulled to pieces by four horses. These circumstances bear a stronger resemblance to the chronicle of Turpin than to any intermediate romance, for it is clear that the French romance of *Morgante* is not the original, but a version of the Italian poem.

But whatever may have been its effect on the Italian poems, it is probable, from its wide circulation and great popularity, that the chronicle of Turpin had some influence on the romances of Charlemagne, or at least the metrical tales from which they were immediately formed.<sup>2</sup> The work was very generally read in the fourteenth century, and was several times translated into French with variations and additions. Of these versions the first is by

<sup>1</sup> "Luigi Pulci spesso volta la cita piu per giuoco, crediam noi, che perche egli l'avesse veduta."—*Istoria della Volg. Poes.*, i. 329.

<sup>2</sup> See note, p. 293, and *Romania*, Nos. 55-56, p. 398, etc.



Michel de Harnes, who lived as early as the time of Philip Augustus,<sup>1</sup> and the next by Gaguin, who was librarian to Charles VIII.<sup>2</sup> There were also a number of French metrical paraphrases, which were nearly coeval with the original chronicle.

In the reign of St. Louis (1226-1270) there appeared a romance in verse on the exploits of Charlemagne by Jean Bodel, which chiefly relates to the wars of that monarch with the Saxons and their celebrated chief Guitichens (Witikend).

About the time of Philip the Hardy (1270-1285), Girard, or Girardin, of Amiens, composed a metrical romance on the actions of Charlemagne, divided into three books. Of these the first gives an account of an early expedition of Charles, under the name of Maine, into Arragon, to assist Galafre, a Saracen, whose daughter he marries after vanquishing her father's enemies; a story which, in a much later romance, is told of Charles Martel. The second book contains his wars in Italy against Didier, king of the Lombards, and differs little from what is contained in the authentic histories relating to Charlemagne. The third book is a rhythmical version of the chronicle of Turpin.

Nearly at the same time, in another voluminous metrical romance, an account was given of Charlemagne's preparations for his expedition to the Holy Land, and the adventures of some of his knights who preceded him to that region. Nothing, however, is said of the conquest of Palestine, and indeed the reality of this enterprise is denied by all authentic historians, though it found its way into many of the absurd and fabulous chronicles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Ducange, Glossaire to Villehardouin's "*Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople*," Paris, 1657, s.v. Bozine, Guenchir, etc. According, however, to Reiffenberg, see in Philippe, Mouskés, ii. p. clxxix., it was composed by Maistre Jean at the behest of Michel de Harnes, a Belgian nobleman.—LIEB.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Litt. de la France, iv. p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> On this *Chanson du pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, see an article in Romania, ix. (1880), pp. 1-50, by M. Gaston Paris, who shows that it may probably have been composed in the eleventh century, before the first crusade, but not have received its present form till the thirteenth century. An analysis and account of the work is given by Léon Gautier,

## PHILOMENA.

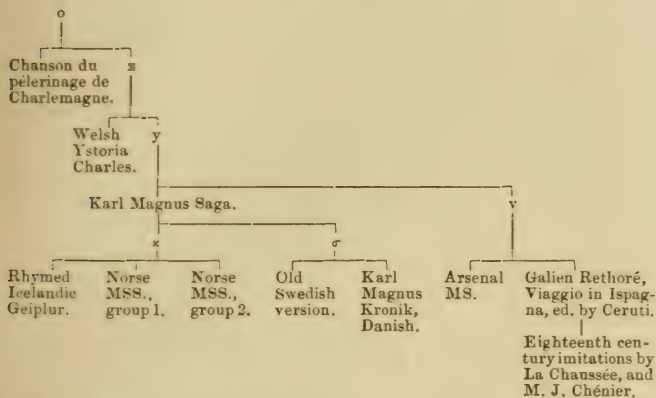
There is another work somewhat resembling the chronicle of Turpin, which, according to the authors of *L'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, was not later than the middle of the tenth century, while the Count de Caylus places its composition in the reign of Louis IX. (1226-1270). It is called

in *Epopées Françaises*, iii. (1880). It has been edited by F. Michel, London, 1836, and by E. Koschwitz, in the *Altfranzösische Bibliothek* (Heilbronn, 1880), from the only MS. extant, formerly in the British Museum (Reg. 16, E. viii.). Simon de Pouille, another *chanson de geste* of about 5,200 alexandrines, relating an expedition sent by Charlemagne against the Saracens in the East, is also analyzed by Michel in the work above mentioned. Ward, Cat. i. pp. 625-629. The printed prose version of Charlemagne's pilgrimage, which appeared under the name of Galien Rhetoré, or Restoré, will be found described further on, p. 315. Albericus Trium Fontium, under date 802, mentions an expedition of Charlemagne to Constantinople and Jerusalem.—LIEB.

This figment of Charlemagne's voyage to the East offers a striking example of the growth of fiction about a historical personage, and, in accordance with the scope of the present work, affords an opportunity for presenting the reader with a view of the filiation of the different versions of the romance, as deduced from the internal evidence of the material extant, by modern specialist critics, and will be as good a way as any of giving some idea of the nature of their labour, though by no means of its extent, which has in recent years attained enormous proportions.

The Danish fifteenth century Karl Magnus's "Krönicke," and the old Swedish version, have both been deduced to a common source, which is no longer extant, and may, therefore, be hypothetically designated by  $\sigma$ . Similarly, the four known Norse manuscripts, distinguished into two groups, are all derived through probable intermediate texts,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , from a prior supposed text,  $\kappa$ , which also perhaps was the basis of the Icelandic rhymed *Geiplur*.  $\kappa$  and  $\sigma$  are regarded as descended from the *Karlamagnus Saga* in the text edited Christiania, 1860. Now, besides the above Scandinavian forms of the work, several French prose versions of the romance exist: that known as the Arsenal Library MS., and that which passed under the name of Galien de Restoré, which itself has various texts. These later prose versions exhibit indications of an immediate metrical source, no longer known,  $\nu$ , which in its turn proceeds, with the *Karlamagnus Saga*, from a common fount, again hypothetical,  $y$ . In collateral relation to this fount,  $y$ , stands the Welsh *Ystoria Charles of the Mabinogion*, both being further referred to a supposed text,  $z$ , which again is derived from the same original,  $o$ , as the old French *Chanson du pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, Brit. Mus. Reg. 16, E. viii. So that the stemma may be thus represented:—

Philomena,<sup>1</sup> a name derived from that of a presumed contemporary of Charlemagne, to whom it was attributed, and by whom it was reported to have been composed *en langue vulgaire*. It is said to have been subsequently translated into Latin, between 1015-1019, by a certain Vidal or Gilles, at the request of Bernard, abbot of the monastery of Notre Dame



The works which have been consulted for these remarks, and in which the subject may be further pursued are :—

G. Paris, *Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne*, Paris, 1865 ; E. Koschwitz, *Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem*, Bd. ii. of the *Altfranzösische Bibliothek*, Heilbronn, 1880 ; E. Koschwitz, *Sechs Bearbeitungen des Altfranzösischen Gedichts von Karls . . . Reise*, etc., Heilbronn, 1879 ; and E. Koschwitz, *Ueberlieferung und Sprache der Chanson du Voyage de Charlemagne*, etc., Heilbronn, 1876, and M. Léon Gautier's fine work, "*Les Epopées Françaises*," etc., 1878, etc., vol. iii.

<sup>1</sup> The *Philomena* has been edited by S. Ciampi, under the title, *Gesta Caroli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam et de ædificatione Monasterii Crassensis* (Florence, 1823). This Latin text is pronounced by M. Paul Meyer (*Recherches sur l'Épopée française*, 1867, pp. 26-33) to be a translation from the Provençal text, composed about 1200, which has been preserved only, as far as is known, in the British Museum MS. 21,218, and in a Gascon variety in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* MS. Fr. 2232. See Ward, *Cat.*, vol. i. p. 596-8, where reference to various notices of the work will be found. Specimens of the Provençal text, which has not been printed as yet in extenso, will be found in the *Bibliothèque des Romans*, October, 1777, i. p. 170. See also the *Académie des Inscriptions*, etc., vol. xxi. ; Gaillard, *Hist. de Charlemagne*, iii. 384.

de la Grasse. It contains an account of the exploits of the emperor against the Moors of Spain, but is more especially devoted to the history and miracles of the abbey, the foundation of which the author attributes to Charlemagne.

In the

### REALI DI FRANCIA,<sup>1</sup>

an ancient Italian chronicle, we are presented with a fabulous account of the early periods of the French monarchy previous to the age of Charlemagne, the first exploits of that monarch, and the amours of Milo, father of Orlando, with Bertha, Charlemagne's sister.

There were also many rhythmical French romances on the subject of the *paladins* of Charlemagne. The northern bards, who followed Rollo to France, introduced their native traditions; those, for instance, relating to Ogier the Dane, and other northern heroes, who were afterwards enlisted into the tales of chivalry. The earliest French metrical romances related, as we have seen, to Arthur; but when Normandy had fallen under the dominion of the kings of France, and that country began to look on England with an eye of jealousy, which was the prelude to more open hostility, the native minstrels changed their theme of the praises of the Round Table knights to the more acceptable subject of the paladins of Charlemagne. In the thirteenth century, Adenez, who was a kind of poet laureat to Henry III., duke of Brabant, wrote the metrical romance, *L'Enfance d'Ogier le Danois*; and about the same period, Huon de Villeneuve produced the still more celebrated compositions of Regnault de Montauban, Doolin de Mayence, Maugis d'Aigremont, and Quatre fils Aimon.

<sup>1</sup> Li sei libri de li Reali di Franza: ne liquali se contieneno la generatione delli Imperatori; Re; Duchi; Principi; Baroni; Paladini di Franza: con li gran fatti & battaglie da loro fatte. Commenzando da Constantino Imperatore fino ad Orlando conte Daglante. Dunlop says, so little of this work, notwithstanding its importance in connection with the Carolingian romances, that one is led to think he may not have seen the work itself, which, despite numerous impressions, is rare in the old editions, while the later North-Italian popular reprints are often very incomplete, and sometimes want the sixth book.—Wiener Jahrb., xxxi. p. 105.



The metrical romances above mentioned<sup>1</sup> may be con-

<sup>1</sup> The popular ballads, or cantilènes, as French writers have styled them, where the exploits of the great Charles were sung and handed down from his own to later days, formed at once the basis of the longer *chansons de geste* and of such spurious relations as Turpin's Chronicle. Wholly distinct from sober history, as recorded in works such as Eginhart's "Memoir of Charlemagne," written in Latin, and therefore accessible to but few, they were composed in the language of the people, uncommitted to writing, and consequently subject to all the diversifying and differentiating influences of oral tradition. The French, the Spaniards, and the Gascons have all their different versions of the defeat of Roncesvalles. Turpin's Chronicle, far from being the foundation of this early poetical fund (see *supra*, pp. 287, etc.), is composed either from the *Chanson de Roland*, as it is now known, or upon the previously existing materials which supplied the foundation of that poem, now claimed by the French as a national epic. In the absence of written monuments recent French criticism, taking into consideration Charlemagne's Frankish nationality, has manifested a strong tendency to regard this earlier ballad literature as Teutonic in language, though a reaction against this theory may be surely looked for soon. The ballads no doubt celebrated single episodes and incidents, and must have been sung in both Romance and Teutonic dialects. There is, indeed, a record of how one such metrical tale (see Gautier, *Roland*, *Introd.*, p. xvii.) was handed down and sung in chorus by women. They may, perhaps, be looked on as analogous with the numerous early ballads of Spain, or with those which were incorporated into the Saxon Chronicle. In the eleventh century we find the *jongleurs*, or wandering minstrels, forming a class in France, whose profession it was to amuse by chanting or reciting such ballads. They had thus the opportunity and materials for the combination of these into the longer *chansons de geste*, a work which was also done by the *trouveurs*, or professional poets, who committed their works to writing, which have thus remained to us, while the earlier songs, the original scattered components, have been lost. These longer works in the fifteenth century were reproduced in prose, a form in which they have been fixed by the invention of printing, while it has been left for the erudite of the present century to re-awaken national interest in the poems which had remained so long the manuscript treasures of libraries and the learned. The prose form of these romances is that from which they were conveyed to England, as for instance in the translations of Lord Berners (*Huon*), and that (of *Aymon*) ascribed to Caxton and others. It is to be regretted that the prose romances were so degenerate in comparison with the poems on which they were founded. Charlemagne, the hero of the earlier works, often becomes a mere dotard in the later compositions. It is unnecessary to dwell longer here on this subject, whereon so much has recently been written. Good articles in several leading English magazines upon the Song of Roland have been, during the last few years, particularly numerous. Information of a more detailed character will be found in the introduction to M. Léon Gautier's edition of *Roland*, in M. Gaston Paris' dissertation on Turpin,

sidered as sources which supplied with materials the early writers of the prose romances relating to Charlemagne; but though they may have suggested his expedition to Spain and the Holy Land, with several other circumstances, the authors of the prose romances of Charlemagne seem to have written more from fancy, and less slavishly to have followed the metrical tales by which they were preceded, than the compilers of the fables concerning Arthur. They added incidents which were the creatures of their own imagination, and embellished their dreams with the *speciosa miracula*, derived from the fables of Arabia, or from northern and classical mythology. Heroes of romance, besides, are frequently decorated with the attributes belonging to their predecessors or descendants. Many of the events related in the romantic story of Charlemagne are historically true with regard to Charles Martel. When the fame of the latter was eclipsed by the renown of Charlemagne, the songs of the minstrels and legends of the monks transferred the exploits of the Armorican chief to his more illustrious descendant.

Thus, from the ancient chronicles and early metrical romances; from the exploits of individual heroes, concentrated in one; from the embellishments added by the imagination of the author, and the charms of romantic fiction, sprung those formidable compilations we are about to encounter, and which form the second division of Romances of Chivalry.

It is still more difficult to fix the dates of the fabulous times relating to Charlemagne than of those of the Round Table.

#### HUON DE BOURDEAUX,<sup>1</sup>

though written in verse as far back as the thirteenth cen-

in remarks of Lee, Hausknecht, and others, prefixed to the Charlemagne romances published by the English Text Society, and, accessible to everyone, the introduction prefixed to O'Hagan's English verse translation of the Song of Roland, where much information on the subject will be found in a very readable form. See Romania, Juill.-Oct., 1885, p. 398, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Les prouesses et faictz merueilleux du noble Huon de bordeaux, per de France, duc de guyenne. Paris, Le Noir, 1516. The original *chanson de geste* is supposed from its dialect, etc., to be the work of a *trouvère* of Artois. See Guessard. Les Anciens Poètes Français.

ture, is not, in its present form, supposed to be long anterior to the invention of printing, as there are no manuscripts of it extant. It is said, indeed, at the end of the work, that it was written by desire of Charles Seigneur de Rochfort, and completed on the 29th of January, 1454; but it is suspected that the conclusion is of a date somewhat more recent than the first part of the romance. The oldest edition is one in folio, without date, and the second is in quarto, 1516.<sup>1</sup> There are also different impressions in the original language of a more recent period. Huon of Bordeaux, indeed, seems to have been a favourite romance, not only among the French, but also with other nations. The English translation, executed by Lord Berners in the reign of Henry VIII., has gone through three editions, and it has lately formed the subject of the finest poem in the German language.

As the incidents in the *Oberon* of Wieland are nearly the same with those in the old French romance, and are universally known through the beautiful translation of Mr. Sotheby, it will not be necessary to give so full an analysis of the work as it would be otherwise entitled to, from its antiquity, singularity, and beauty.

Huon, and his brother Girard, while travelling from their own domains of Guyenne to pay homage to Charlemagne, are treacherously waylaid by Charlot, the emperor's son, who, by the advice of evil counsellors, had formed the design of appropriating their possessions. Having killed, though in self-defence, the favourite son of his sovereign, Huon could not obtain pardon, except on the whimsical condition that he should proceed to the court of the Saracen Amiral, or Emir Gaudisse, who ruled in Bagdad—that he should appear while this potentate was at table—cut off the head of the bashaw who sat at his right hand—kiss his daughter three times, and bring, as a tribute to Charlemagne, a lock of his white beard, and four of his most efficient grinders.

Before setting out on this excursion, Huon proceeds to Rome, where he is advised by his uncle, the pope,<sup>2</sup> to per-

<sup>1</sup> A copy in the British Museum, printed by Le Noir, bears the date "mil. v. cens et treize."

<sup>2</sup> Huon claims relationship also with the Abbot of Clugny (see *infr.*

form a pilgrimage to Palestine, and thence depart on the remainder of his expedition.

Having complied with this injunction, and visited the holy sepulchre, Huon sets out for the coast of the Red Sea, but wanders in a forest, where he supports himself with wild fruits and honey till the end of the third day, when he meets an old man of gigantic stature, naked, as far as clothes were concerned, but covered with long hair. This *ancien preudhomme*, as he is called, addresses Huon in a dialect of the French language, informs him that his name is Gerasmes, and that he is brother to the mayor of Bordeaux; he had been made prisoner in a battle with the Saracens, but having escaped from slavery, and possessing much of the *sçavoir vivre*, he had judiciously chosen to reside thirty years in the forest in his present comfortable predicament.

Gerasmes informs Huon that from this wilderness two roads led to the states of Gaudisse, one a journey of forty days, the other less tedious, but extremely dangerous, as it passed through the forest inhabited by Oberon,<sup>1</sup> who metamorphosed the knights who were bold enough to trespass, into hobgoblins, and animals of various descriptions.

p. 308), with Garyn of Saint Omers, with Macaire, and many others. The absurd length to which the author "pushes the endeavour, that characterizes the later poems of the *jongleurs*, to bring his hero into lineal relationship with all sorts and conditions of men with whom he comes in contact on his journeyings, is another testimony to the lateness of the present form of the legend." See Huon, p. xxvii.

<sup>1</sup> Oberon, as the son of Julius Cæsar and Morgan the Fay, is connected with the Arthurian genealogy. He resembles in many respects the Elberich in the story of Otnit (see *infra*, p. 309, etc.). Grimm connects the name with Alp, Alb, = elf, and he may be regarded as an importation from the Teutonic Pantheon, invested, however, with many Keltic and Christian, as well as Asiatic attributes. M. Longnon, in the *Romania*, vol. iii., has carefully worked out the probable connection of Huon with the reign of Charles the Bald. Whatever the historical element in the romance, Oberon became an essential part in it as early as the thirteenth century. Albericus Trium Fontium, in his *Chronicles*, finished about 1240, says that in the year 810, "Hugo, qui Karolum, filium Karoli, casu interfecit, Almaricum proditorem in duello vicit, exul de Patria ad mandatum regis fugit, Alberonem, virum mirabilem et fortunatum reperit, et cætera sive fabulosa sive historica connexa." See S. L. Lee, *Introduction to Huon*, Eng. trans., 1882.



Our hero having, of course, decided in favour of the most perilous road, he and Gerasmes penetrate into the thickest part of the forest of Oberon. Having followed a path through the wood to a considerable distance, they sit down almost exhausted with famine under an oak. At this hour Oberon, who was apparently a child of four years of age, of resplendent beauty, and clothed in a robe sparkling with precious stones, was parading through the forest. The dwarf accosts Huon and his attendants, but, enraged at their silence, raises a frightful tempest. Huon attempts to escape through the thickets, but is soon overtaken by Oberon, who allays the storm, and sounds a magic horn, which throws the attendants of Huon into convulsions of merriment and dancing. Oberon, at length having ceased to blow the horn, enters into conversation with the knight: he commences an account of his own pedigree, and declares that he is the son of Julius Cæsar and a fairy, who was lady of the Hidden Isle, now Chifalonia, in which she had received the Roman chief, when on his voyage to Thessaly to attack Pompey. Many rare endowments had been bestowed on Oberon at his birth, but a malevolent fairy, offended at not being invited to attend on that occasion, had decreed that his stature should not increase after he was three years of age. Oberon farther professed the utmost esteem for Huon and his kindred, as a proof of which he immediately raised up a sumptuous palace for his reception, where he was entertained with a magnificent banquet, at which the fairy presided in great state. After the repast he presented Huon with a goblet, which, in the hands of a good man, spontaneously filled with wine, and also the ivory horn, which, if softly sounded, would make everyone dance who was not of irreproachable character, and, if blown with violence, would bring Oberon himself to his assistance, at the head of 100,000 soldiers.

Fortified with these gifts, Huon proceeds on his journey. After travelling a few days, he arrives at the city of Tourmont, which he finds is governed by one of his uncles, who, in his youth, had gone on a penitential pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and having become the slave of the Emir Gaudisse, had been deputed to govern a Saracen city as a

reward for renouncing the Christian faith. In this place Huon attracts immediate notice by feasting all the poor of the city out of his enchanted cup. This procures Huon a visit from his apostate uncle, to whom he introduces himself as a nephew, and presents him with the goblet filled with wine; but as his relative was a person of abandoned character, the liquor instantly disappears. The renegado receives his nephew with apparent kindness, but privately meditates his destruction. He accordingly invites him and Gerasmes to a sumptuous banquet, but orders one of his agas to place guards in the ante-chamber, who should be ready to attack the Christians. This officer was of French birth, and having been befriended in his youth by the father of Huon, he fills the ante-room with Christian prisoners, whom he had set at liberty. Accordingly the traitor's command for an attack on Huon is the signal for a general massacre of the pagans. The emir, however, having escaped, assembles his forces and besieges his nephew, who remained in the palace. Huon, considering this as an occasion sufficiently important to demand the assistance of Oberon, sounds his horn, and while the besiegers are in consequence dancing with prodigious agility, the Christians are reinforced by an army of a hundred thousand men, with the fairy as a generalissimo. The governor's troops being immediately cut to pieces, and he himself slain, Huon prepares for his departure. Oberon gives him a last advice concerning his journey, warning him particularly not to approach the tower possessed by Angoulaffre, a cruel giant, who could only be vanquished by a person defended by a certain hauberk, which the monster unfortunately kept in his custody.

To this very tower Huon directs his course, and, entering it while the giant is asleep, he arms himself with the fatal hauberk, awakens the lord of the manor, and kills him by the assistance of a lady, who was confined there, and who finds a kinsman in her deliverer.

Huon follows up this exploit by possessing himself of a ring which had been sent to the giant as a tribute from Gaudisse. Here he dismisses Gerasmes and the rest of his retinue, and having crossed an arm of the Red Sea on the back of Malebron, one of the spirits of Oberon, he at length

arrives at Babylon (Bagdad) in Arabia, where that emir held his court.

Having entered the palace, and passed the saloon where the emir was banqueting with a few tributary sultans, Huon suddenly interrupts the pleasures of the entertainment by removing the head of the king of Hyrcania, who was the intended husband of Esclarmonde, the daughter of Gaudisse, and was then seated at the right hand of her father. He next fulfils the second part of his mission, on the lips of the princess, and concludes with promulgating his designs against the beard and grinders of the emir. This potentate was but ill prepared with an answer to so novel a proposition, and a mode of address somewhat unusual at his board. Huon, however, having produced the ring of Angoulaffre, is at first heard with tolerable patience; but when he mentions how he became possessed of it, the emir orders him to be apprehended. The knight at first defends himself with great courage, and kills many of the assailants, but is at last overpowered by numbers. It was now in vain to have recourse to his horn; at the first gate of the palace, Huon, in order to gain admittance, had professed himself a Mussulman, a falsehood which rendered the horn of no avail, since from that moment his character had ceased to be irreproachable. He is loaded with chains and precipitated into a dungeon, where the emir intended he should be tormented with the punishments of hunger and bondage, as preparatory to that of being burned alive, which was in reserve. Huon receives sustenance, however, and many consolatory visits, from the beautiful Esclarmonde, interviews which must have been the more agreeable, as he could not be conscious of any claims to the favour of that princess, farther than having cut off the head of her lover, insulted her father, and knocked out the brains of his body-guards.

After a few tender conversations, Esclarmonde professes her readiness to become a Christian. In many of the romances of Charlemagne, the fable hinges on the assistance given by Saracen princesses to Christian knights, and the treasons practised for their lovers' sake against their fathers or brothers. It must, indeed, be confessed, that they are not of the sex to which the Mahometan religion is most seductive.

When this good understanding had been established, in order to secure Huon against the dangers with which he was threatened, his jailer, who had been bribed by Esclarmonde, informs the emir that his prisoner had died two days ago, and had been interred in the dungeon.

At this period, Gerasmes, whom we left at the tower of Angoulaffre, arrives at Bagdad, and, along with Esclarmonde, plots the deliverance of Huon. The princess had now become so furious a Christian, that she declared to Huon, "*que n'est homme que plus Je hais que l'admiral Gaudisse mon pere, pource qu'il ne croit en nostre seigneur Jhesu Christ.*" Her hatred, indeed, had risen to so high a pitch, that she insisted on her father being murdered in his sleep.—"*A l'heure de minuit Je vous meneray en la chambre de mon pere; vous le trouverez dormant, puis incontinent le occirez: Et quant est a moy, Je vueil bien estre la premiere qui le premier coup luy baillera.*" These plans are aided by the invasion of Agrapard, the brother of Angoulaffre, who enters the capital at the head of a formidable army, reproaches the emir (most unreasonably one should think) for not having avenged the death of that giant, and suggests the alternative of paying a triple tribute or denuding himself of his kingdom.

The emir could find no person at his court who would encounter this champion. After cursing his gods at considerable length, and to no purpose, Esclarmonde embraces this favourable opportunity to confess that Huon is still in existence. The knight is accordingly brought forth from his dungeon, and the emir promises that if he vanquish Agrapard, he will not only allow his beard to be plucked, but will patiently submit to a partial extraction of his grinders.

Huon, having overcome the giant, proposes to Gaudisse, that, in lieu of the despoliation of his beard and grinders, he should consent to be baptized. This alteration in the agreement not being relished by the emir, he orders Huon to be seized, who, trusting that his long sufferings had now appeased Oberon, sounds the horn with the requisite vehemence. The surmise of the knight is justified by the event: the fairy king appears with a formidable army, and the head of the emir is struck off by an invisible hand.



The beard and teeth thus become an easy prey to the conqueror, and are sewed up by Oberon in the side of Gerasmes, who was in attendance. Huon loads two vessels with the treasures of the emir, and sails for Italy with Esclarmonde, after being threatened by Oberon with the severest punishments, if he should anticipate the delights of matrimony previous to the fulfilment of its graver ceremonies.

In most romances, when a superior being receives a mortal into favour, some test of obedience is required. This is usually violated, and the consequent misfortunes form a series of endless incidents. As to Huon, he seems never to have received any injunction from Oberon, without acting in direct opposition to it. Gerasmes, foreseeing the fate of the lovers, sets sail for France in one of the ships, carrying in his side the precious deposit of beard and grinders. Scarcely had he left the vessel in which Huon and Esclarmonde are conveyed, when their conduct gives rise to a tempest<sup>1</sup> more boisterous than the description of the youngest poet. The ship goes to pieces on a desert island, where the lovers wander about for some time, and renew the offence that had given rise to the late hurricane; but, though on shore, they are not permitted to violate the injunctions of Oberon with impunity. A band of corsairs arriving on the island, one of their number, who had been a subject of the emir Gaudisse, immediately recognizes Esclarmonde. These pirates leave Huon in the island, bound to a tree, and, in hopes of a great recompense, sail with the princess for the capital of Yvoirin, emir of Montbrant, and uncle of Esclarmonde. Though Huon was not in the vessel, a tempest drives it to the coast of Anfalerne. The captain having entered one of the ports of that king-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the following passage in Hector Boethius:—"Navicularius tantam tamque insolitam aeris inclementiam, eo temporis demiratus (suberat enim solstitium æstivum) quum id non sideri sed malorum dæmonum, qui hominibus semper sunt infesti, insidiis magnis tribueret clamoribus: reddita est vox ex ima navi mulieris se miserè incusantis, quòd incubo humana sub effigie, qui cum per multos anteactos annos habuisset consuetudinem, iam tunc fuisset commixta et ab eo subacta: mari ergo celerius se tradendam, ut ipsa pereunte, quæ tanti mali imminens causam præstitisset," etc.—*Scotorum Historiæ*, lib. viii. p. 149, ed. Paris, 1575.

dom, Galafre, the ruler of the country, comes on board, and on their refusal to deliver up the princess, puts the whole crew to death, with the exception of one pirate, who escapes to Montbrant. Esclarmonde is conducted to the seraglio, and informed that she must prepare to accept the hand of her new master; but she pretends that she had lately made a vow of chastity for two years, which the emir promises to respect.

Oberon, meanwhile, being touched with pity for the misfortunes of Huon, permits Malebron, one of his spirits, to go to his assistance. This emissary, taking Huon on his back, lands him in the territory of King Yvoirin. As the mercy of the fairy king had not extended so far as to provide the delinquent with victuals or raiment, he wanders naked through the country in quest of provisions. In a meadow he falls in with an old man eating heartily, who had formerly been a minstrel at the court of Gaudisse, and engages Huon to carry his harp and his wallet for food and clothing. On the same evening they arrive at the court of Yvoirin. The minstrel performs in such a manner as to obtain rewards from all the courtiers: his attendant also attracts much notice, and by command of Yvoirin, plays at chess with his daughter, on conditions which show that this emir possessed the greatest confidence in the skill of the princess, or had very little regard to the honour of his family. The lady, who fell in love with Huon during the game, purposely allows herself to be checkmated. But the knight being resolved to preserve his fidelity to Esclarmonde, commutes the stake he had gained for a sum of money,—“*Et la pucelle sen alla moult dolente et courroucée, et dist en elle mesme; ha mauvais cueur, failly de Mahom, soys confondu, car si J’eusse sceu que autre chose n’eusses voulu faire, Je te eusse matté, si en eusses eu le chief tranché.*”

Yvoirin, long before this time, had been informed of the detention of his niece by Galafre. He had accordingly sent to demand the restitution of Esclarmonde, which being refused, hostilities had commenced between these neighbouring sultans. The day after the arrival of Huon at the court of Yvoirin had been fixed for an invasion of the enemy’s territories. Huon having learned the cause

of the war, feels every motive for exertion: he procures some rusty arms, mounts an old hackney, and, though thus accoutred, his valour chiefly contributes to the defeat of Galafre.

A new resource, however, presents itself to the vanquished monarch. It will be recollected that Gerasmes had left Huon at a most momentous crisis, and the lover had rendered himself culpable so soon after the departure of his friend, that the ship in which Gerasmes was embarked, had experienced the full force of the tempest which wrecked the vessel of Huon and Esclarmonde. He had, in consequence, been driven out of his course, and, after being long tempest-tossed, had sought shelter in the port of Anfalerne. To Gerasmes the king communicates the situation of his affairs, and proposes that he should defy a champion of the army of Yvoirin. Gerasmes having consented to this, goes out from Anfalerne with a few Christian friends, and, in a short time, finds himself engaged with Huon of Bordeaux. Having recognized each other in the course of the combat, Gerasmes, with great presence of mind, proposes that they should unite their arms, and defeat the miscreants. The small band of Christians makes a prodigious slaughter in the Saracen army, and pushing on at full speed, gets possession of the capital of Galafre.

That prince, who seems to have been no less remarkable for rapidity of conception than the Christians, joins the remains of his forces to those of Yvoirin, and begs him to lead them on against Huon, to recover his capital. Galafre is as unsuccessful in the coalition as he was singly. The allied army is totally repulsed in an attack upon the city, and Esclarmonde being now delivered from her captivity in the seraglio, the Christians possess themselves of the treasure of Galafre, and embark on board a vessel in which the mayor of Bordeaux, with more good fortune than probability, had arrived during the siege. Huon is landed safe in Italy, and is formally united to Esclarmonde at Rome: but, on his road to the court of Charlemagne, he is waylaid by his brother Girard, who had possessed himself of his dukedom, and was ruling over it with unexampled tyranny. The usurper pays his brother an appa-

rently kind visit at the abbey of St. Maurice, where he lodged a few days on his journey to Paris. Having learned from Huon the secret of the treasure contained in the side of Gerasmes, he attacks the bearer on his way from the monastery, opens his side, takes out the beard and grinders, and sends him along with his master and Esclarmonde in chains to Bordeaux. The traitor then proceeds to Paris, informs Charlemagne that his brother has not accomplished the object of his mission, and asks a gift of his dukedom. Charlemagne repairs to Bordeaux, where Huon is tried by the peers, and after much deliberation he is finally condemned by the voice of the emperor. Huon and Gerasmes are sentenced to be drawn and quartered, and Esclarmonde to be led to the stake. Charlemagne defers the execution till midday, that while seated at dinner he may feast his eyes with the punishment of the destroyer of his son. The spectacle is about to commence, when suddenly the gates of the hall in which the emperor was seated are seized by a formidable army. A splendid table is prepared, and elevated above the sovereign's. Oberon enters the hall to the sound of trumpets and cymbals. The chains drop from the prisoners, and they are arrayed in splendid vestments. Oberon reproaches Charlemagne with injustice, and threatens him with the disclosure of his most secret crimes. He concludes with producing the spoils of the emir, and delivering up Girard to the punishment that had been destined for Huon. The fairy then retires with the same solemnity with which he had entered, after inviting Huon and Esclarmonde to pay him their respects in his enchanted dominions.

The story of Huon of Bordeaux is here completely finished, but there is a long continuation, which seems to be by a different hand, and is apparently of a much later date than the work of which an abstract has been given. In the original romance, Huon begins his exploits by slaying the son of Charlemagne. He recommences his career in this second production by cutting off the head of the son of Thierry, emperor of Germany. That monarch in revenge carries war into the states of Guienne. Huon defends himself successfully for some time, but at length sets out for the east, to beg assistance from the brother of



Esclarmonde, to whom, though he had slain his father and seduced his sister, he thought himself entitled to apply.

During his absence Bourdeaux is taken, Gerasmes killed, and Esclarmonde conducted captive to the German court, where she is persecuted with love propositions by the emperor.

While on his voyage to Asia, Huon experiences a tremendous storm. When the tempest has abated, the vessel is carried away by a rapid and irresistible current, which draws it into a dangerous whirlpool. Huon perceiving a man swimming in the midst of the waters, and hearing him utter deep lamentations, orders the seamen to slack sails in order to gratify his curiosity. The swimmer proclaims himself to be Judas Iscariot, and declares that he was doomed to be tossed in this gulf to all eternity, with no protection from the fury of the elements but a small piece of cloth, which, while on earth, he had bestowed in charity.<sup>1</sup> Judas also recommends to Huon to use every exertion to get out of the whirlpool. At his suggestion, all the sails being set, the vessel is carried before a favourable wind, and the master of the vessel makes for a distant shore, on which he descries what appears to him a small house, surrounded by a wood. After four days' sail these objects prove to be a palace of miraculous magnitude and splendour, and the masts of innumerable vessels which had been wrecked on the rock of adamant on which this magnificent structure was situated.<sup>2</sup> The pilot having now no longer power over the helm, the ship strikes on the rock, to which it was irre-

<sup>1</sup> St. Brandan in the course of his travels likewise comes across Judas Iscariot suffering tortures upon a rock in the open sea.—LIEB. Cf. also the expiation in the Gregory legend, see *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> The fable of the loadstone island, familiar to our youth in the story of Sinbad and the old man of the sea, was widely diffused both in the east and west, but more especially as it would appear in China. See Mandeville's "Travels," ed. 1839, pp. 318, 163, and ch. 15 and 27. Also Feliceis Fabri *Evagatorium*, ii. 469, published by the Stuttgart Literarischer Verein. See also Von Hagen and Büsching, *Deutsche Gedichte des Mittelalters*, Bd. i., note 49 to Herzog Ernst, p. xii., and the *Altdeutsches Museum*, i. p. 298, etc. Graesse, p. 339, remarks upon the above works as well as upon verse 4505, etc., of the *Gudrunlied*, also on verse 1727 of *Gott Amur* (*der Werden Minne lere*, published by the Stuttgart Literarischer Verein, v. 263, etc.). Cf. also Konrad von Würzburg's *Goldene Schmiede*, verse 139, etc.—LIEB.

sistibly attracted. Huon alone gets safe on shore, and after wandering for some time among tremendous precipices and sterile valleys, he climbs to the enchanted palace, which is beautifully described.<sup>1</sup> Here he enjoys no society for a long while but that of a hideous serpent, which he has the pleasure of despatching; but at length, in a remote apartment, he discovers five fairies performing the office of pastry cooks, who explain to him that this building had been constructed by the Lady of the Hidden Isle to protect her lover Julius Cæsar from the fury of three kings of Egypt, whose vessels, while in pursuit, had struck on the rock of adamant, and from whose treasures the palace had been so splendidly furnished. After a long stay in this island Huon is at length carried off by a griffin,<sup>2</sup> which occasionally haunted the shore; and at the end of a long aërial voyage, is set down on the top of a high mountain, which seems to have been a place of rendezvous for these animals. Our hero kills four of their number, which was rather an ungrateful return for the safe conduct which he had received from their fellow-monster. Soon after his arrival on this spot he discovers the Fountain of Youth, in which he has no sooner bathed than he feels recruited from the effects of his late perils and labours, and recovers his pristine vigour. This fiction of the fountain of youth has been almost as universal as the desire of health and longevity. There is a fountain of this nature in the Greek romance of Ismene and Ismenias,<sup>3</sup> in the German Book of Heroes, and the French Fabliau of Coquaigne,—

———— La Fontaine de Jovent  
Qui fit rajovenir le gent.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, No. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See De Gubernatis, Zoological Mythology, *supra*, p. 120. Cf. Sinbad's second voyage, Duke Ernest of Bavaria (published in Simrocks, Volksbücher, Bd. iii.), verses 3359, etc., the Somadheva Stories, chap. xii., the Story of Rupinika, and chap. xxvi., the Story of Saktivega.—LIEB.

<sup>3</sup> F. W. V. Schmidt, in his notes to his selection of Tales from Straparola, Berlin, 1817, p. 276, etc., gives account of similar rejuvenating springs and apples. Cf. also the Swedish story of the Land of Youth, in Old Norse Fairy Tales, translated by Arlberg. Delrius (Disquisitionum Magicarum, lib. sex, lib. ii. p. 241, ed. 1657) mentions two springs credited with similar virtues in the New World. The belief in healing waters is common among the Slavonians.

By the margin of this fountain, in which Huon had immersed himself, grew a tree, of which the apples partook of the resuscitating properties of the waters by which its roots were nourished. Huon is permitted by a celestial voice to gather three of these apples, and is also directed to the path by which he is to proceed. Having therefore descended the hill, he reaches the banks of a river, and embarks in a pinnace decked with gold and precious stones. This boat is carried down a stream with surprising velocity, and enters a subterraneous canal<sup>1</sup> lighted by the radiance of gems,<sup>2</sup> which formed the channel of the water, and of which Huon gathers a handful. The roar of the waves and tempest above is distinctly heard, but after a few days' voyage the bark emerges into a tranquil sea, which he recognizes to be the Persian Gulf. He lands in safety at the port of Tauris, where a skilful lapidary having inspected the precious stones which he had picked up during his subterraneous voyage, declares that one preserved from fire and poison, a second cured all diseases, a third repressed hunger and thirst, and a fourth rendered the wearer invisible. The possession of these very valuable articles procures for Huon a favourable reception from the old sultan of that district, on whom our hero bestows one of the apples of youth, which he had no sooner tasted than he receives the strength and appearance of a man of thirty. From motives of gratitude the sultan permits himself to be baptized, and places a fleet and army under the command of Huon, with which he now proceeds to the assistance of Esclarmonde. On his way he lands at the desert island of Abillant in quest of adventures, and his fleet being instantly dispersed by a storm, he is forced to remain. After wandering about for some time he ascends a mountain, whose summit formed a plain, round which a cask was rolling with wonderful noise and velocity. Huon arrests its progress with a hammer, and the inhabitant proclaims himself to be Cain, adding, that the cask is full of serpents

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the subterraneous voyages in Sinbad's sixth voyage, in the *Arabian Nights*, Herzog Ernst, verse 3554, etc., Voltaire's "*Candide*," ch. 17, etc., Tasso's "*Gerusalemme Liberata*," xiv. 32.—LIEB. See *infra*, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> Luminous stones. See index.

and sharp spikes, and that he is doomed to roll in it till the day of judgment. The knight accordingly refuses to interfere in his punishment, and leaves him to prosecute his career in this uncomfortable conveyance.

In the course of his conversation with Cain, Huon was informed that a demon, who had been the contractor for this machine, was waiting for the fratricide in a boat near the shore. Availing himself of this hint he proceeds to the beach, and the evil spirit mistaking him for Cain, whom he personates, receives him into the bark and lands him on the opposite coast,—a contrivance which shows that the knight had not altogether forgotten the practices by which, in his youth, he gained admission to the hall of the emir of Babylon, and by which he first forfeited the favour of Oberon. In the present instance, however, his departure from truth is not followed by any punishment or disaster: on the contrary, he rejoins his fleet on the coast to which he had been transported by the fiend, and thence sets sail for France.

Huon does not seem to have been in any great haste to bring assistance to Esclarmonde. He visits Jerusalem on his way, and enters most gratuitously into a war with the sultan of Egypt.

On arriving at Marseilles he dismisses the Asiatic fleet, and proceeds to pay a visit to his uncle, the abbot of Clugny, whom he presents with one of the apples of youth. In the habit of a pilgrim he next comes to the court of Thierry, emperor of Germany, who at length agrees to restore his wife, and receives the third apple as his reward. Huon and Esclarmonde pay a short visit to their dominions, and then set out, according to invitation, for the enchanted forest of Oberon, who installs his favourite knight in the empire of Faëry, and expires shortly after. The remainder of the romance, or rather fairy tale, contains an account of the reign of Huon, and his disputes with Arthur (who had hoped for the appointment) as to the sovereignty of Fairyland; and also the adventures of the Duchess Clairette, the daughter of Huon and Esclarmonde, from whom was descended the illustrious family of Capet.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Various continuations and extensions of Huon exist, which have been published by Professor Graf from a fourteenth century MS. at Turin (I



There are few romances of chivalry which possess more beauty and interest than *Huon of Bordeaux*;—the story, however, is too long protracted, and the first part seems to have exhausted the author's stores of imagination. *Huon* is a more interesting character than most of the knights of *Charlemagne*. Even his weakness and disobedience of *Oberon* arise from excess of love or the ardour of military enterprise; and our prepossession in his favour is much enhanced by a mildness of nature and tenderness of heart, superior to that of other heroes of chivalry. The subordinate characters in the work are also happily drawn: nothing can be better represented than the honest fidelity and zeal of *Gerastes*, the struggles in the breast of the mother of *Huon* between maternal tenderness and devoted loyalty to *Charlemagne*, and the mixed character of that monarch, in which equity and moderation predominate, but are ever warped by an excess of blind paternal affection.

The early part of the romance of *Huon* bears a striking resemblance to the adventures of *Otnit*, king of *Lombardy*,<sup>1</sup>

complimenti della *Chanson d'Huon*, etc., Halle, 1878). Numbers of MSS. of the metrical romance in various forms and languages remain to prove its extensive popularity, while very numerous editions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries attest the wide dissemination of the prose work founded on them. It was dramatized for representation by the Fraternity of the Passion and Resurrection during the Christmas-tide of 1557, but was permitted only on condition that it should be performed when no church services were taking place, and "without scandal." The strictly religious character of the French drama of the period made the work, no doubt, appear in the light of a profane innovation. An English translation by Lord Berners, who follows the French text of 1530 with great fidelity, was published probably between 1530 and 1540. The only copy known belongs to Lord Crawford and Balcarres. At least two other editions appear to have been published. The text of Lord Berners has been reprinted for the Early English Text Society, with an admirable notice of the work prefixed, by S. L. Lee, to which the reader is referred, and to which I am mainly indebted for the foregoing remarks. Further information will be found in Guessard's "*Les Anciens Poètes Français*," pt. 5; Léon Gautier's "*Épopées Françaises*;" Gaston Paris, in the *Revue Germanique*, xvi. p. 350-90, and notices in vols. iii., vii., and viii. of the *Romania*. Mr. Lee (in his introduction to *Huon*, pp. xlvii.-liii.), gives an interesting though brief account of "*Oberon* in English Literature."

<sup>1</sup> See *Romania*, iii. p. 494. A. Kirpichnikof, *Opyt cravnitelnava izouchenia zapadnava i rousskavo eposa. Poemy Lombardskavo tsikla*. Moscow, 1873.

related near the commencement of that celebrated production, the Teutonic metrical romance of *The Book of Heroes* (ascribed to Wolfram von Eschenbach and Heinrich von Ofterdingen), written early in the thirteenth century, and of which an entertaining analysis has been given in the *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*.<sup>1</sup> Otnit, we are told, before setting out for Syria in order to gain the hand of its princess, met the dwarf Elberich, who was clothed in armour dighted with gold and diamonds. This dwarf presented Otnit with various gifts which possessed a magic power, and which prove of infinite service on his arrival in Syria. Elberich afterwards gave him personal assistance in his contest with the heathen father of his destined mistress; and on one occasion, having rendered himself invisible, he tore a handful of hair from the beard of the pagan, and pulled out several of the teeth of his queen. The princess becomes enamoured of the knight, and is at last willingly delivered into his hands by the dwarf, who warns him, however, not to be guilty of any amorous indiscretions till his bride should be baptized.<sup>2</sup>

Some analogy also subsists between the second part of *Huon* and the second and sixth voyages of *Sindbad*; but its resemblance to the voyages of *Aboulfaouaris*, in the *Persian Tales*, is much more striking. Judas swimming in the gulf corresponds with the story of the man whom the Persian adventurer fished up on his first voyage, and who had whirled about for three years, as a penance, in the sea near Java. This renowned mariner also escapes from an island, on which he had been wrecked, by a subterraneous passage which the sea had formed through one of its mountains; and by the assistance of a neighbouring king he is enabled to succour his wife, of whose danger he had been apprised in a dream. The story of Cain and the attendant fiend in *Huon* is the model or imitation of the *Brazen Island*, to which the ship of *Aboulfaouaris* is carried by an irresistible current, and in which he beholds the

<sup>1</sup> *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*, from the earlier Teutonic and Scandinavian romances, being an Abstract of the *Book of Heroes*, and *Nibelungen Lay*, etc. Edinburgh, 1814, 4to. It has been suggested that Otnit is a corrupted form of Odenatus, assassinated at Emesa in 267.

<sup>2</sup> See Keightly's "*Fairy Mythology*," p. 206.

punishment of the Afrite or Rebel Genius. Indeed the works of eastern fable are full of traditions concerning the punishments of Cain, one of which, it is somewhere said, was, that he could not be killed by spikes piercing his body. The author of the Arabic Catena, a collection of oriental commentaries on scripture, makes him proof against all the elements; a sword could not hurt him, fire could not burn, water could not drown, nor lightning strike him (c. 8), a curse resembling that which was imposed by Kehama.

The next romance relating to knights, contemporary with Charlemagne, is that of

#### GUERIN DE MONTGLAVE.<sup>1</sup>

“A l'issue de l'yver que le joly temps d'esté commence, et qu'on voit les arbres florir et leurs fleurs espanyr, les oysillons chanter en toute joye et doulceur tant que leurs tons et doulx chants retentissent si melodieusement que toute joye et lyesse est de les escouter et ouyr; tant que cueurs tristes pensifs et dolens s'en esjouissent et esmeuvent a delaisser dueil et toute tristesse, et se perforcent de valoir mieux—en celuy temps estoit a Montglave le noble Duc Guerin qui tant fut en son temps preux et vaillant chevalier.” This Guerin, who was brother of the duke of Aquitaine, and ruled in Montglave (Lyons), a city he had acquired by his own prowess, had four sons. After reproaching them at a high festival for indolence and gluttony, he dismisses them from his palace in order to push their fortunes in the world. Arnaud, the eldest, is sent to his uncle Girard, duke of Aquitaine; Millon, the second, proceeds to Pavia, and Girard and Regnier to the court of Charlemagne. The romance contains the separate adventures of the four knights, of which those of Arnaud alone are in any degree interesting.

<sup>1</sup> Histoire du tres preux et vaillant Guerin de Montglave, lequel fit en son temps plusieurs nobles et illustres faits en armes; et aussi parle des terribles & merueilleux faictz de Robastre & Perdigon pour secourir le diet Guerin et ses enfans.—A. Lotrian, Paris, no date, 4to. For critical account, full bibliography, analysis, and genealogical table of this romance, see Gautier's “Epopées Françaises,” 2nd ed., Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 126, etc. The earliest edition is of 1518.

Arnaud on his arrival at the capital of Aquitaine finds that Girard was dead, and that Hunault, his natural brother, had seized on the dukedom; but, though attended only by a single squire, so completely was the usurper detested, that the principal inhabitants immediately invest Arnaud with the sovereignty. Hunault, unable openly to withstand this general disaffection, has recourse to stratagem. He pretends that he had only meant to preserve the dukedom for his brother, gradually insinuates himself into the confidence of Arnaud, and becomes his chief adviser. In a short while he proposes to him an union with the Saracen princess Fregonda, the daughter of a sultan, called Florant, who reigned in Lombardy; and farther, persuades him to pay a visit to the court of that monarch. Hoping to obtain a beautiful princess, and convert an infidel, Arnaud sets out for Lombardy, accompanied by Hunault, who had previously informed the sultan that his brother was coming to solicit his daughter in marriage, and to abjure the Christian religion. The sultan and Arnaud are thus put at cross purposes. The former leaves the work of conversion to his daughter, but this princess had no sooner begun to love Arnaud, than she found that she could not endure Mahomet. Hunault is informed of the sentiments of the princess by his brother Arnaud, and immediately acquaints the sultan. In communicating this intelligence, he proposes that Arnaud should be confined in a dungeon, and at the same time offers on his own part to assume the turban, should Florant agree to assist him in recovering possession of Aquitaine. These proposals being accepted, Arnaud is thrown into confinement, and Hunault sets out by a retired road for the duchy. On his way he is suddenly seized with remorse for his apostacy and treason. Hearing a clock strike while in the midst of a forest, he turns towards the place whence the sound proceeded, and arrives at the gate of a hermitage, which is opened by a giant of horrible aspect. This singular recluse was Robastre, who had been the companion in arms of Guerin of Montglave, and had retired to this forest to perform penance. Hunault insists on confessing his sins, and the catalogue being finished, Robastre immediately knocks out his brains. The



ground of this commentary on the confession is, that he would thus die penitent; but that if he lived, he would infallibly relapse into iniquity; a train of reasoning certainly more gigantic than theological.

Robastre next turns his attention to the best means of delivering Arnaud from prison. He first goes to consult with Perdigon, who had been formerly a companion of Guerin, and was once tolerably versed in the black art, but had for some time renounced all his evil practices, and retired to a cell in the same forest with Robastre. This enchanter is at first scrupulous about renewing his intercourse with the devil, but at length satisfies his conscience on the score of good intentions.

The giant arms himself with an old cuirass, which was buried below his hermitage, and throwing over it a robe, gains admittance to the court of the sultan Florant in the character of a mendicant dervis. He soon obtains a private interview with the princess, and introduces himself as a Christian, and the friend of Arnaud. In return he is informed by her that she pays frequent visits in secret to Arnaud, to whom she promises to procure him access. With this view she acquaints her father that Robastre is the most learned Mollah she had ever conversed with, and that if admitted to the prisoner he could not fail to convert him. Robastre is thus introduced into the dungeon, and privately concerts with Arnaud the means of escape. In the course of the ensuing night the princess arrives with provisions, with which the Mahometan ladies in romance are always careful abundantly to supply their lovers. Robastre taking a goblet of water, baptizes the princess, and unites her to Arnaud. Having then knocked out the brains of the jailer, he breaks open the trap-door of the prison, and thus gets possession of the tower, of which the dungeon formed the foundation.

Arnaud escapes to Aquitaine, that he may assert his sovereignty, and afterwards return to the assistance of Robastre and the princess, who remain together in the tower. In that hold they are besieged by the sultan and his forces, but Robastre makes different *sorties*, in which he is always successful, being aided by the enchantments of his friend Perdigon, who at one time pelts the Saracens

with incessant hail, and at others cuts them up by means of fantastic knights in black armour. Robastre, availing himself of the confusion into which the Saracens were thrown by one of these attacks, escapes with the princess, and arrives safe in Aquitaine. Here they have the mortification to find that Arnaud had been imprisoned by the maternal uncles of Hunault. They are vanquished, however, in single combat by Robastre. Arnaud is then restored to his dukedom, and soon after succeeds to the Lombard principality, by the conversion and abdication of his father-in-law. His subjects also become Christians, for in those days they implicitly conformed to the religion of their prince, instead of forcing him to adopt the faith of his people.

During these interesting transactions, Millon, the second son of Guerin of Montglave, had married his cousin, the daughter and heiress of the duke of Pavia. Regnier had been united to the duchess of Genoa, after defeating a ponderous giant, who was an unwelcome suitor, and Girard had espoused the countess of Thoulouse by the interest of Charlemagne, who conceived himself obliged to provide for the children of Guerin of Montglave, as he had, on one occasion, lost his whole kingdom to him at a game of chess.

To these provisions, however, there seems to have been no end, for Aimery, Arnaud's son, having grown up, came to demand a settlement on the plea of the game at chess. During one of his audiences, at which the queen was present, he seizes her majesty by the foot and overthrows her. Charlemagne thinks it necessary to avenge this insult by besieging Viennes, the capital of Girard's territories, who is assisted in his defence by his three brothers and Robastre. After a good deal of general and promiscuous fighting, it is agreed that the quarrel should be decided by single combat. Roland is chosen on the part of Charlemagne, and Olivier, son of Regnier, duke of Genoa, on the side of Girard.<sup>1</sup> These two champions had become acquainted during a truce, and recognizing each other in the heat of combat, they drop their arms and embrace with much

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, No. 12.

cordiality. By their means a reconciliation is effected, and the paladins of France resolved to turn their united arms against the Saracens.

During the combat with Olivier, Roland had been at one time in imminent danger, and Charlemagne had vowed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The account of that expedition is detailed in the commencement of the romance of

#### GALYEN RHETORE,<sup>1</sup>

which was first printed at Paris in the year 1500. In that work Charlemagne and his paladins, among whom was Olivier, son of the duke of Genoa, proceed incognito to Jerusalem. Having betrayed themselves at that place by their eagerness in search of relics, the patriarch of Jerusalem considers it indispensable that they should pay a visit of ceremony to King Hugues. They find this monarch encamped on a vast plain with his grandees, who were all neat-herds or drovers, and his majesty a waggoner. Roland looked into court, where he counted 100,000 hogs, who were feeding on wheat. The paladins inquired if there was lodging for them, and were told by the porter that he had room for four thousand. On the day of their arrival the French peers were very kindly entertained at table, but, notwithstanding the ample accommodation, they were lodged in the same apartment at night. King Hugues, though a very good man, was extremely curious to learn what strangers said of his hospitality, and accordingly concealed an interpreter in a corner of the chamber allotted to his guests. The peers being unable to sleep, began to brag (*gaber*).<sup>2</sup> Roland boasted that he could sound his horn with such force that it would bring down the palace: Ogier le Danois averred that he would crumble to dust one of the chief pillars of the edifice: the boasts of Olivier, the youngest of the peers, related to the beautiful Princess

<sup>1</sup> . . . le romant de Galyen Rethore avec les batailles faictes a ronceualx par la trahison de Gannes per de France avec sa miserable execution faicte de par lempereur Charlemaigne . . . A. Verard, Paris, 1520. Other editions at Paris, Lyon, Troyes.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of this word, see Menagiana, iii. p. 96, and Graesse, 292.

Jacquelina, the daughter of Hugues. The king is informed of this conversation before retiring to rest, and being much disappointed at hearing nothing but improbable lies, instead of the expected praises of his hospitality, he treats his guests with much less civility, next morning, than he had formerly used. Having learned the cause of his resentment, the paladins deputed Orlando to acquaint him that their boasts were mere pleasantries.<sup>1</sup> King Hugues, however, informs him that he thought they were in very bad taste, and that the paladins must consent to remain his prisoners, or perform what they had undertaken. Nothing but a very bitter aversion to liars could have driven the good king to this hasty measure, since he was obliged in its execution to expose the honour of his family in a very delicate point. The French peers accept the latter alternative proposed to them ; and from the fulfilment of the boast of Olivier, sprung Galyen, the hero of the romance, surnamed Rhetoré, or Restauré, by the fairy who presided at his birth, because by his means there was to be revived in France the high spirit of chivalry, which was in danger of being lost by the death of the paladins, who perished at Roncesvalles.

This young prince having grown up, set out for Europe in quest of his father. Having arrived at Genoa, he learned that Charlemagne and his peers were engaged in an expedition against the Saracens of Spain. To Spain he accordingly directed his course, but met with many adventures, and performed a variety of exploits, before reaching the camp of Charlemagne. Thence he departed for a division of the army, in which he understood his father was brigaded. He arrived after the defeat of Roncesvalles, and was only recognized by Olivier in his expiring moments.<sup>2</sup> Galyen having performed the last duties to his father, was of great service in the subsequent war with Marsilius, and also detected the treason, and insisted on the punishment, of Gano (or Ganellon) ; the account of which nearly corre-

<sup>1</sup> The gabs are analyzed in the *Menagiana*, 1715, p. 110. These famous gabs are first met with in a romance of the twelfth century, published by J. Michel, from a MSS. in the Brit. Mus., 12mo., London, 1836. Madden.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix, No. 13.



sponds with the detail in the chronicle of Turpin. He was soon, however, obliged to depart on hearing of the death of Hugues, and the usurpation of the crown by the brothers of that prince; he vanquishes them in single combat, rescues his mother, whom they had condemned to death, and afterwards, in her right, ascends the throne.

The two following romances are believed to have been written in the beginning of the fifteenth century, but the first edition of both is without date. In the prologue to

### MILLES ET AMYS.<sup>1</sup>

which shall be first mentioned, the work is said to be extracted from ancient chronicles. “J’ay voulu extraire leurs faicts et gestes, et les fortunes a eux advenues ainsi comme Je les ay trouvées en histoires anciennes jadis trouvées et enregistrees en plusieurs livres faisant mention d’eux par maniere de croniques,” and in the 58th chapter, “il est assavoir que ceste hystoire icy a este extraicte de l’une des trois gestes du royaume de France, et ne furent que trois gestes au dit pays qui ont eu honneur et renomme, dequoy le premier a este Doolin de Mayence, l’autre Guerin, la tierce si a este de Pepin dequoy est issu le Roy Charlemagne.” This detail about the ancient histories, and the three Gestes, is probably feigned to give the stamp of authority. Milles and Amys, however, are mentioned in the Chronicle of Albericus Trium Fontium [Leibnitz, Access. histor. ii. s. 1, p. 108], but it is also related in the earlier metrical Ogier le Danois of Raimbert de Paris (v. 5884, &c.), an author of the thirteenth century, who says they perished in the year 774, in an expedition undertaken by Charlemagne against Didier, king of the Lombards. Their story is besides related in the Speculum Historiale of Vincent de Beauvais [xxiii. c. 162], and is there said to have occurred in the reign of Pepin. The early part of the romance, particularly that which relates to the leprosy of Amys, and his cure by sacrifice of the children of Milles, is the subject

<sup>1</sup> La tres ioyeuse plaisante & recreatiue hystoire des faitz, gestes, triumphes & prouesses des . . . vaillans chevaliers Milles et Amys, etc. The first edition, wit a title in verses, was published, according to Brunet, about 1503, by A. Verard at Paris.

of the English metrical Amys and Amylion, of which an account has been given by Mr. Ellis, in his *Specimens of Metrical Romances* [iii. p. 396-432, ed. 1811].<sup>1</sup>

Milles was the son of Anceaume, count of Clermont, and Amys of his seneschal. The former came into the world with the mark of a sword on his right hand, to the utter

<sup>1</sup> This story was one of the most renowned and widely diffused. Numerous versions of it are found, especially in poetry, in the different European countries from Italy to England and from Spain to Iceland. See Weber, *Metrical Romances*, ii. pp. 369-473. The germ of it is found in the Seven Wise Masters. See Loiseleur Deslongchamps, *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes*, p. 163, 166. Conrad of Würzburg translated it into German, calling the heroes Engelhard and Engeldrud. It furnished the subject for an Italian drama, and found its way to Iceland (*Saga bibliothek med Anmærkninger*, etc., af P. F. Mueller, Kjöb., 1820, iii. p. 480). Grimm's notes to *Der arme Heinrich*, p. 188, etc., 161; Keller, *Li Romans di Sept Sages*, 1856, p. ccxxxvi., etc.; Warton, *History of English Poetry*, etc. The text of the Celtic version from the *Llyfr Coch o Hergest* (fourteenth century), together with French translation, will be found in the *Revue Celtique*, Paris, 1880, t. iv. p. 201, etc. A new rhymed version of it, entitled the *Dit des trois pommes*, ed. by Trebutien, Paris, 1836, was made in the fourteenth century, at which time was also composed the *Miracle de Nostre-dame d'Amis et d'Amille*, edited by Mommerqué and Michel, in the *Théâtre Français du Moyen Age*. Like so many other poems it was reduced into prose in the fifteenth century. The legend is imitated in another romance, often printed, called *Hystoire de Olivier de Castille et de Arthur d'Algarbe, son loyal compaignon*. See *Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque*, vol. i. p. 79, etc. At last it dwindled into a street ballad. Amis and Amiloun are there transformed into Alexander and Lodowick, princes of Hungary and France, the Steward into Guido, Prince of Spain, and the part of Duke is given to the Emperor of Germany.—Evans, *Old Ballads*, vol. i. p. 77. See F. Michel's concise notice of the story in the *Théâtre Français du Moyen Age*, p. 216-218. Dr. C. Hofmann has a monograph on the legend: "*Amis et Amiles und Jourdain de Blaives. Zwei Altfranz. Heldengedichte.*" Erlangen, 1882. See also Kölbing (E.), *Zur Ueberlieferung der Sage von Amicus und Amelius*, in Paul and Braune's "*Beiträge zur geschichte der deutschen Sprache u. Literatur*," 1877, iv. p. 272, etc. See also Depping (*Romancers*, ii. 191), who connects the tale with different Spanish romances; also J. W. Wolf's "*Niederländische Sagen*," No. 38. Cf. an old Spanish chronicle in F. Wolf, *Ueber die Romanzen Poesie der Spanier*, p. 2, and F. Wolf, *Ueber eine Sammlung Spanischer Romanzen in fliegenden Blättern*, etc., Wien, 1850, pp. 82, 181; also Ward's "*Catalogue of Romances*," i. pp. 674-680. See also Graesse, *Lehrbuch*, Bd. ii. abth. 3, p. 348; *Wiener Jahrb.*, Bd. xxxi. p. 130, and *Acta Sanctorum*, Octobris, tom. vi. p. 130-133. See also an article in the third vol. of the *Romania*.

amazement of the pope, who held him at the baptismal font. His parents, in gratitude for his birth, set out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The count was taken captive by the sultan of Acre, and banished to an island which for forty years had been governed by a griffin. But instead of being devoured by this monster, as was intended, he contrived to despatch him by favour of St. George, who descended from heaven on horseback, clad in white armour bright as the sun [c. 7].

During the absence of Anceaume, however, the Count de Limoges seizes on Clermont. The nurse of Milles is in consequence forced to fly with her charge, and beg alms from province to province. Amys, son of the seneschal, is meanwhile brought up as a foundling by his uncle Regnier of Langres, who durst not educate him as his nephew, being a vassal of the Duke of Burgundy, who was an ally of the Count de Limoges [c. 10].

Milles commences his career in chivalry by purloining his nurse's hoard, which she had amassed while flying with him from Clermont. With this treasure he repairs to the province of Burgundy, where he forms an intimate friendship with Amys. Their perfect resemblance in appearance is the amusement of everyone, and gives rise to many comical mistakes [cc. 17, 47].

At length Milles being discovered to be the son of the rightful count of Clermont, is forced to leave Burgundy, and escapes with his friend Amys to Constantinople. Here Milles meets with his mother, the countess of Clermont, who had escaped from the power of the sultan of Acre, and was acting as governess to the Greek princess Sidoina. The city was at that time besieged by the sultan, but he is totally defeated, and the father of Milles, who was still detained prisoner by the Saracen monarch, is freed from captivity; Milles marries Sidoina, and soon after ascends in her right the throne of Constantinople [c. 29].

After some time spent in the cares of empire, Milles departs with Amys for France, recovers his paternal inheritance, and bestows a dukedom on his friend. In his absence the Saracens burn his capital, his empress, and her mother; and Milles, in consequence of this conflagration, espouses Bellisande, daughter of Charlemagne, while

Amys is united to Lubiane, the heiress of the duke of Friezeland [c. 43].

Some years having passed in unwonted repose, the friends at length set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. When about to return, Amys is unexpectedly smitten with leprosy. On their arrival Milles is joyfully received by Bellisande; but his unfortunate companion is driven from his own castle by his wife, who appears to have been ignorant of the value of a husband of this description.<sup>1</sup> The servants whom she detaches to drown him, being moved with compassion, conduct their master to the castle of Milles, where he is received with the utmost hospitality [c. 53].

Soon after his arrival it is revealed to Amys in a dream, that he could only be cured of the leprosy with which he was afflicted, if bathed in the blood of the children of Milles. The leper informs his friend of the prescription he had received, which I suppose was in those days accounted a specific for this disorder, as Gower, in the 2nd book of his *Confessio Amantis*, tells a story of Constantine, when struck with leprosy, ordering a bath of this description.<sup>2</sup> The heads of his two infants are immediately struck off by the father. Amys thus enjoys the benefit of the prescribed bath, and Milles soon after returning to lament over the bodies of his children, finds them in as perfect health as before they had been beheaded, “et se jouoyent dedans le liet, l’un a l’autre,

<sup>1</sup> Contrary to modern medical opinion, lepers were in the Middle Ages popularly credited with great sexual vigour. Women who were willing to do so were permitted to marry lepers by the Gregorian Decretals.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, note to Ser Giovanni, iv. 1, Grimm's notes on *Der arme Heinrich*, p. 173; Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, iii. p. clii., etc.; Germania, vii. p. 323, etc., and Wolf, *Niederländische Sagen*, No. 434.

The Mongol chief Tcharmaghoun, who flourished in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, is reported to have been apprised by a Jew that he would recover from a malady which afflicted him by plunging his feet into the entrails of young children newly killed. For this purpose he caused thirty infants to be massacred, but when the remedy proved ineffectual he caused the Jew to be put to death. See Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas Empire*, vol. xvii. p. 456, note by Brosset. See on this subject an article in *The Month*, Feb., 1885, entitled: *The Pound of Flesh*.



d'une pomme que nostre Seigneur leur avoit donné" [c. 54].<sup>1</sup>

In gratitude for these miraculous cures, the two friends set out on a pilgrimage; but on their return through Lombardy they are treacherously killed by Ogier the Dane, who was at that time in rebellion against Charlemagne [c. 58].

Milles, when he proceeded on his pilgrimage, left his two children, Anceahme and Florisell, in the cradle. These infants were constantly guarded by an ape, who acted as an assiduous nurse, and was gifted with a most excellent understanding and benevolent disposition.—“ Si n'est point de memoire d'homme que jamais on n'ouyt parler de la condition de tel Cinge: Car il avoit en luy grant sens et memoire, et mainte bonne maniere avoit apprise tandis qu'on le nourrissoit. Sy aymoît parfaicte-ment ce Cinge les deux petis enfans du Comte, tellement que nuit et jour ne les pouoit laisser; et ne sceut on oncques garder qu'il ne couchast toutes les nuits avecques eux sans leur faire nulle mesprison, ny aucun mal: ne pour quelque bature qu'on luy sceust faire jamais ne vouloit laisser les petis enfans, et tout le long du jour leur tenoit compagnie, et estoit toute son intention aux enfans. Et ne faisoit que les baiser et accoller, et jamais ne vouloit ne boire ne menger si ce n'estoit de la propre viande qu'on bailloit aux enfans.” This ape had prepared the minds of the household of Milles for the intelligence of his death, by equipping his children in a complete suit of mourning [c. 58].

Lubiane, the wicked widow of Amys, seeing that the children were now left without the protection of a father, resolves, in concert with her brother, on their destruction. The countess, their mother, is privately put to death, and the children carried off, to the great consternation of the ape, who insists on accompanying them. After three months' detention at the residence of Lubiane, they are thrown by her command into the sea. The ape swims after them till two angels of paradise descend in disguise of

<sup>1</sup> The Welsh version does not mention this apple, but states that each had a red mark like a silk thread round his neck in attestation of the miracle.

swans, and bear away the children safe through the sea; one carries Anceaume to the coast of Provence, where he is picked up and educated by a woodman [c. 74]. The other conducts Florisell to the shores of Genoa, where he is taken under the protection of a lioness, who introduces him to her cubs, with which he is gradually accustomed to hunt. The ape having lost sight of them, continues to swim till he is received on board a merchant vessel, which soon after comes into harbour. Its crew propose to take him home to their own country, but he hastily wishes them good morning.—“*Et pour le bien qu'ils luy avoient fait ne leur dist aultre grant mercy, sinon qu'il leur fist la moue.*”

Our ape spent fifteen days in a forest, searching for the children, for whose sake he subsisted all that time on herbs and water, although habitually he was somewhat addicted to the pleasures of the table. Finding his search in the forest vain, he set out for Clermont, the paternal inheritance of his wards, where he was received with acclamations by the populace; but he declined the honours of a public entertainment, as he felt his spirits depressed on account of the loss of the children: it would also appear that he was in very bad humour, “*car il mordoit et esgratignoit tous, qui n'estoit pas sa coustume.*” He paid his first visit to Richer, the old seneschal of Milles, whom he persuaded to proceed to the palace of Lubiane, to ascertain the fate of the children. The seneschal is immediately thrown into prison by Lubiane [c. 79], who sets out, accompanied by her brother, for the court of Charlemagne, to obtain a grant of the county of Clermont, on pretence that the race of Milles is extinct. Meanwhile the ape having insinuated himself into the confidence of the jailer, gains access to the seneschal, and at the very first interview suggests the propriety of writing to Charlemagne, to give him some insight into the character of the claimants. The ape charges himself with the letter, but from the badness of the roads and want of relays, he does not reach Paris till some days after the traitors. He makes his first appearance at court, though still in his travelling dress, during a great festival, and signalizes his arrival by assaulting the Countess Lubiane, rending her garments, and even committing ravages on her person. He then respectfully pre-

sents the letter to Charlemagne [c. 82], who thinks the matter of sufficient importance to consult his peers. The difficulty is to find a champion to maintain the accusation: the ape, however, readily steps forth as opponent to one of the relatives of Lubiane, who offered himself as her defender. Defiances of this description, singular as they may appear, were not unknown in France about the period of the composition of this work. In Monfauçon (*Monumens de la Monarchie Française*, vol. iii. p. 68), there is an account of a combat which took place in 1371, between a greyhound and a knight who had treacherously slain the dog's master. This animal attacked the assassin with such violence whenever they happened to meet, that suspicion was at length excited, and Charles appointed a solemn combat between the parties. The knight was provided with a club: the dog had only his natural arms, but was supplied with an open cask as a place of retreat; the just cause prevailed, the traitor was forced to confess his crime, and a sculpture commemorating the event long adorned the chimney-piece in the hall of the castle of Montargis.<sup>1</sup> On the present occasion, too, the good cause and our ape are triumphant. The champion of Lubiane is soon obliged to confess himself vanquished, in order to avoid being torn piecemeal: according to the established customs, he is hanged after the combat, and Lubiane is burned alive. We are informed by the author of the romance [c. 85], that

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Scaliger also relates the event. The actual circumstances were that Aubry de Montdidier was assassinated by a certain Chevalier Macaire, in the forest of Bondy, and buried at the foot of a tree. His faithful dog only left the spot when urged by the pangs of hunger, and went to the house of a friend of Aubry's in Paris, and by his behaviour induced search to be made, which led to the discovery of the body. Some time afterwards the animal perceived Macaire, whom he attacked with fury. The King heard of this, and declared *qu'il échéait gage de bataille*, that is, ordered one of those combats, called *jugemens de Dieu*, on which innocence, it was supposed, was privileged to triumph. M. de Sainte Foix, in his *Essais historiques sur Paris*, i. 215, places the event in the time of Philippe Augustus. See further, Graesse, ii. ab. 3, p. 352, and Hagen's *Gesammtabenteuer*, i. cv., etc. Liebrecht recalls a passage of Plutarch's "*Moralia*, de *Sollertia Animal.*" c. xiii., and makes the following quotation from Pliny's "*Natural History*," viii. 40 (61): "Ab alio (sc. cane) in Epiro agnitum in conventu percussorem domini, laniatuque et latratu coactum fateri scelus."

the history of the ape, and particularly of this judicial combat, were delineated in his time on the walls of the great hall of the palace of Paris, which was burned, I believe, in 1618.

While the ape was thus distinguishing himself at court, and preparing materials for the genius of future artists, Florisell, the son of Milles, having followed his comrades, the young lions, in the course of their field sports as far as the Venetian territory, is caught by Gloriant, the Saracen king of that country, who delighted in the chase of wild beasts [c. 87]. In a few days the lioness and her cubs came to Venice, to reclaim him, but by this time her *eleve* had fallen in love with the king's daughter, "*parquoy Florissell ne pensa plus au lion, ne n'entint conte;*" and they are accordingly obliged to return without him to their den, after depopulating the neighbourhood [c. 88].

Anceaume, the other son of Milles, being detected in an intrigue with the daughter of the woodman, is driven from the house, and flies for refuge to an adjacent monastery. To this place Richer, the seneschal, accompanied by the ape, comes to pay his devotions. The animal, by the fineness of his nose, soon recognizes his young master, and persuades the seneschal to take him along with them.

He is accordingly introduced by the ape at the court of Charlemagne, and serves in an expedition undertaken by that monarch against Venice, of which the professed object was to recover the body of St. Mark, which had been interred there about five hundred years before [c. 93]. In this campaign Florisell distinguishes himself on the side of the Saracens, and Anceaume on that of the Christians. Anceaume takes Gloriant, king of Venice, prisoner; and Florisell overthrows and sends captive to Venice the bravest peers of Charlemagne. At length the two brothers are sent out against each other, and after a furious contest, being both tired, they sit down to rest. The young warriors are thus led mutually to recount the story of the early part of their lives. From this reciprocal detail they conjecture that they are related, and Florisell in consequence proceeds with Anceaume to the camp of Charlemagne [c. 110]. There the surmises of the brothers are confirmed by the testimony of Richer and of the ape, who



embraces them alternately with much sympathy. "Les deux freres s'en allerent coucher ensemble, et le Cinge s'en alla avec eux, et se mussa dessoubz leur liet ainsi qu'il avoit apprins. Et puis, quant ils furent couchez, les vint accoller et baiser tout a son ayse; tout ne plus ne moins que fait ung amant qui baise s'amy. Si fut ce Cinge celle nuit si surprins d'amour, qu'il se coucha entre les deux enfans, la ou il mourut la nuit de joye. Et quant le roy Charlemagne le sceut si en getta maint soupir, et alla dire—Haa Cinge moult avois le cuer scavant; Je seay de vray que tu es mort de joye."<sup>1</sup>

The romance of

### JOURDAIN DE BLAVES<sup>2</sup>

may in one respect be regarded as a continuation of Milles and Amys; Jourdain, who gives name to the work, being the son of Girard of Blaves, one of the children of Amys. It is said to be "extraite d'ung viel livre moult ancien qu'estoit en Ryme et viel Picart;" a form in which it is often cited by Du Cange in his Glossary. Having been converted into prose, it was printed at Paris in 4to., without date, and at the same place in folio, 1520.

The hero of this romance came into the world with one of his legs white as snow, and the other black as ebony; while the right arm appeared of a rose, and the left of a citrine colour. A clerk explained that these personal peculiarities portended a chequered life—that at one time this party-coloured infant would be seated on a throne, that at another he would be poor and in captivity.

<sup>1</sup> See supp. note.

<sup>2</sup> Les faitz et prouesses du noble et vaillant cheualier Jourdain de Blaues, . . . lequel . . . conquesta plusieurs royaumes sur les Sarrazins, etc. Paris, Michel le Noir, 1520. See Reiffenberg's introduction to his edition of the Chronicle of Mouskes, where he notices (ii. ccliv.) a MS. of this romance in the Tournay library. This MS. contains about 22,000 verses. It is very different, at least in form, from the Romance similarly entitled, of which F. Michel has given an extract in his edition of the *Chanson de Roland* (p. xxxi.-xxxv.). The romance of Jourdain cited by Renouard, *Journal des Savants* (July, 1833, p. 389), MS. Bibl. du Roy, supp. fr. 632-15, is likewise different. See also notices by Reiffenberg in the *Bulletin de l'Academie Royale de Bruxelles*, tom. iv. and v., 1837-8, and Hofmann (C.), *Amis et Amiles und Jourdain de Blaves*. Erlangen 1882.

These predictions are verified by the event, for Jourdain in his youth is so much persecuted by a knight who had treacherously slain his father, that he is obliged to abandon his paternal estates. On his voyage from Blaves, being unfortunately shipwrecked, he is preserved, not by a dolphin or a swan, but by a stag which was luckily in waiting, and which carries him to the shore of Gardes. The incidents that occurred on that coast have a strong resemblance to the landing of Ulysses in the kingdom of Alcinous, and his interview with Nausicaa. Jourdain, like the Grecian hero, is discovered by Driabelle, the king's daughter, while he was reposing under a tree, and although he did not use the modest precaution of Ulysses,<sup>1</sup> he is accosted by the princess, who conducts him to her father's palace, and clothes him in suitable raiment. He is at first mistaken for a person of low degree; but having vanquished an host of pagans and giants, by which the kingdom of Gardes was attacked, he receives the Princess Driabelle in marriage as the reward of his prowess.

Soon after the nuptials, Jourdain sets out with his bride for France, in order to recover his paternal inheritance. During the voyage a storm having arisen, it is proposed that Driabelle, who was by this time pregnant, should be thrown overboard as a victim to appease the tempest. Her husband at first hesitates, but one of his knights removes his scruples by suggesting that if an air-hole were bored in one side, she might be placed in a large cask, fitted up with a comfortable bed, and stocked with gold and silver. On his return to Gardes, Jourdain boasts of this admirable expedient to his father-in-law, who of course could feel no uneasiness as to the fate of a daughter thrown overboard in a cask which contained so much gold and silver, and had an air-hole bored in its side.

Some years after, our hero having succeeded to the crown of Gardes, sets out in quest of Driabelle, and, after a long search, finds her residing with a female hermit on the borders of a forest in the territory of Pisa. The wooden cask in which she had been enshrined was picked

<sup>1</sup> Έκ πυκινῆς δ' ὕλης πτόρθον κλάσε χειρὶ παχείῃ,  
Φύλλων ὥς ῥύσαιτο περὶ χοῦτ' μήδεα φωτός.

ODYSSEY, vi. 128, 129.

up on the shore, to which it had miraculously floated, by a miller in the neighbourhood, who received Driabelle in his house, but exposed the daughter to whom she shortly after gave birth. To avoid the amorous solicitations with which she was persecuted by her host, she had sought refuge with the recluse. Soon after this discovery, Jourdain, while hunting one day in the forest, meets his daughter in company with two fawns and a hind, by whom she had been kindly entreated when exposed by the miller. Fortunately the princess had inherited some personal peculiarities from her father, whence the queen is enabled to identify her by certain marks that had been observed on her person shortly after birth; and as she was very beautiful, and of course well educated, she was betrothed to Sadoine, the Saracenic king of Scotland, whom Jourdain had recently converted along with his people to the true faith.

In this work the leading incident bears a striking resemblance to the history of Apollonius of Tyre, whose queen, to appease a storm, was thrown overboard in a chest, which floated to the coast of Ephesus. (See above, p. 84.)

The romance of

### DOOLIN DE MAYENCE <sup>1</sup>

is supposed to have been written during the reign of Charles VIII. of France, that is, about the end of the fifteenth century. This inference has been drawn partly from the language of the work—partly from the character and actions attributed to Charlemagne. The romancers who wrote a few centuries after his death did justice to his talents and virtues; but their successors have painted him as an unreasonable monarch, and sometimes even as a cowardly knight. At whatever period written, the work was first published in 1501, at Paris, by Verard. This edition was followed by a second in 1549, 4to., from the same place; and a third at Rotterdam, 1604.<sup>2</sup>

Doolin of Mayence, the hero of this tale of chivalry, was

<sup>1</sup> Doolin de Maience (la fleur des batailles), chevalier preux et hardi, fils du noble et cheualeureux Guy, Comte de Maience.

<sup>2</sup> An analysis is given in the Count de Tressan's "Bibliothèque des

the son of Guyon de Mayence, who, while engaged in the chase, had the misfortune to run down a hermit in mistake for a stag. As a suitable penance for this inadvertence, he resolved to occupy the cell of the deceased for the remainder of his days. During his absence the seneschal having seized on Mayence, his countess is condemned to death, on pretence that she had privately procured the assassination of her husband, and all she can obtain is a delay in the execution of the sentence, in hopes that some champion may appear to espouse her quarrel. Her children are also committed to a ruffian, with instructions that they should be murdered: this design is accomplished on the younger children, but Doolin escapes, and is found by his father wandering in the neighbourhood of the hermitage. There he is brought up in perfect seclusion, till, having attained the proper age, he and his father set out to recover Mayence, and to rescue the countess. On their way to the city Guyon is struck with sudden blindness, which was a manifest indication of the will of Heaven that he should not quit his retirement. Doolin therefore proceeds alone, and after experiencing a singular adventure at a castle which lay on his route,<sup>1</sup> he arrives at Mayence. There, by overthrowing her accuser, who must have been possessed of wonderful patience, he rescues his mother from the death that had so long awaited her. He is now invested with the sovereignty of Mayence, but has soon to sustain a war with Charlemagne, who had been exasperated at Doolin having failed on some occasion to salute him with proper respect. In the course of this war the conduct of Charlemagne is that of a weak and tyrannical prince; but he at length attempts to effect a reconciliation, by offering his enemy the hand of the countess of Nivernois, who was his niece. This proposal is rejected by Doolin, who was fully as unreasonable as Charlemagne,

Romans," 1771, Fév. 1-70, *Mélanges tirés*. See also Reichard, *Bibl. der Rom.*, iv. 45-90, and Schmidt, *Wiener Jahrb.*, xxxi. p. 125, etc. Graesse, *All. Lit.*, iii. 3, p. 340, says it is extant only in the French prose versions. There is, however, an incomplete poem of the story, MS. 7635 A. fond de Bruxelles, *Bib. Nat.*, and also, perhaps, a very old metrical text of the same, also incomplete, in the library of St. Mark. See P. Lacroix, *MSS. Ital.*, p. 163.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, No. 14.



with great contempt. "Vrayment," says Charlemagne, "beau sire Doolin, Je ne me puis assez esbair de vous trouver si dur a appointer." Doolin, however, had placed his affections on the daughter of the lord of Vaclere, a city beyond the Rhine, not on account of her beauty or accomplishments, but because she was beloved by the sultan of Turkey, "lequel est si beau damoyseau que merveille;" and he coveted possession of the city, not for its extent or riches, but because it was held by a cruel giant, the lady's father, who had under him thirty thousand Saracens of uncommon stature and ferocity. Charlemagne expresses his astonishment that Doolin should be "si outrecuidé et indiscret, qu'il cuide que Je luy feray don de la chose ou Je n'ay nul droiet, non plus que a ce qui est au plus profond des Indes." The refusal of Charlemagne to bestow this territory on Doolin, produces a single combat between them, which is interrupted by an angel, who commands the emperor to acquire it for Doolin by force of arms. Accordingly the remainder of the romance is occupied with the wars against Vaclere and the king of Denmark, who supported the pretensions of the handsome sultan. These campaigns terminate with the capture of Vaclere, the marriage of Doolin with the giant's daughter, and his accession to the throne of Denmark by right of conquest.

The exploits of Doolin are the subject of a German poem, by Alxinger, in the style of Oberon, and which, next to the work of Wieland, is accounted the best in the mixed class of heroic and comic poetry. But whatever may be the merit of the poem, the *Histoire de Doolin* is not an interesting romance, and its hero is chiefly remarkable as the ancestor of a long race of Paladins, particularly Ogier the Dane, so frequently mentioned by the Italian poets.

The fabulous history of

#### OGIER LE DANOIS,<sup>1</sup>

though not printed till about the same period with that of

<sup>1</sup> . . . le rommant nôme ogier le dannoy, A. Verard, Paris, circa 1498, and numerous subsequent editions.

"Aucharius gloriosissimus dux" is mentioned by Paul I. in a letter

Doolin, was written at a much earlier date, or at least the incidents were earlier imagined. There can be little doubt that a northern hero of the name of Ogierus, or Hulgerus,

to King Pepin in 760, as one of the two envoys sent by Pepin to compel the Lombard king, Desiderius, to restore certain places to the Pope (G. Cenni's "*Monumenta dominationis Pontificiæ*," i. p. 163, Rom., 1760; other recensions of the papal letter spell "*Antharius*"). In the *Life of Pope Adrian I.*, written in the ninth century by Anastasius, the Vatican librarian, "*Autcharius*" appears five times: he is a refugee at the court of Desiderius; he takes part in the march of the Lombards towards Rome; he is warned back by Adrian; he flies before Charlemagne into Verona; and he surrenders in 774, together with the widow and the two orphan sons of Carloman, the brother of Charlemagne (Anast. Vit. Rom. Pont., Rome, 1718, i., sections 296, 307, 308, 310, and 314, pp. 236, 243, 244, 246, 247). The monk of St. Gall (fl. circ. 885) describes "*Otkerus*" (or "*Oggerus*," according to some MSS.) as standing on one of the towers of Pavia to watch the approach of the French army, and as pointing out to Desiderius the person of the iron Charles ("*ferreus Karolus*," Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, ii., Han., 1829, p. 759). A church legend, headed "*Conversio Othgerii militis*," describing the retirement of Ogier, with an old comrade, into the abbey of St. Faron, at Meaux, occurs in a MS. (Bib. Nat. anc. S. Germain des prës, No. 1607, sæc. x. vel xi.), printed in *Acta SS. ord. Benedicti*, by Achery and Mabillon. Ogier is distinguished from the Lombards by the epithet "*Francus*." In a chronicle published in Pertz's "*Monumenta Germ.*" (1829, ii. p. 214), St. Martin's Abbey, Cologne, is stated to have been restored "*per Otgerum Daniæ ducem, adjuvante Karolo Magno*." "*Olgerum*" would seem to be the reading in the MS., which is not later than 1050, and thus furnishes the earliest connection of the name with Denmark; but it is not quite impossible that such connection may have originated with some poet of his own century. There seems to have been at one time, at all events, a fashion at the court of Louis le Debonnaire to derive the Franks in general from the Danes. "We must admit, however, continues Mr. Ward, "that it is much more likely that Ogier's traditional surname was a growth of the usual wild kind. Barrois, the editor of the oldest version of the *Chanson of Ogier* (published in 1842), has made out a very plausible case in favour of his theory, that tradition began with giving Ogier lands in Ardennes, and calling the country *Ardenemarche* and the hero *l'Ardenois*; and that these names were afterwards corrupted into *Danemarche* and *Danois*. He has certainly shown that in the two MSS. which he has used, of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the two appellations just mentioned are interchanged; for *Tierris d'Ardane* . . . who is sometimes styled '*l'Ardenois*,' is in one line of the earlier MS. called '*li Danois*;' whilst Ogier himself is in one line of the later MS. called '*l'Ardenois*.'"—Ward, *Cat.* i. pp. 604-6. See also Ward, *Cat.* i. p. 628, on the MS. (Royal, 15, E. vi.) of Simon de Pouille, wherein Thierris of Ardenne is in one place (at fol. 42, col. 2, l. 4) called "*le dannois*" instead of "*l'Ardennois*." We may add that it is difficult to localize "*Ardenne*;" the

actually existed in the age of Charlemagne. Bartholinus, in his "*Dissertatio Historica de Hulgero Dano qui Caroli magni tempore floruit*," cites a great mass of old French and German chronicles as authorities for his existence and martial exploits, his being sent as a hostage to Paris, his flight to Lombardy, and marriage to an English princess. The traditions concerning this hero were probably first communicated to the French nation by the Norman invaders, and were embodied in a number of metrical romances, written in the reign of Philip the Hardy (1270-85). Of these the longest is *Les Enfances d'Ogier le Danois*, which was written by Adenez, or Adans, as he is sometimes called, herald to Henry III., duke of Brabant,<sup>1</sup> and sur-named *Roy*, from having been crowned in a poetical contest. He informs us that the materials of his romance were communicated to him by a monk, called Savary, from certain northern legends preserved in the abbey of St. Denis. This metrical work of Adenez, and others of a similar description, were the foundation of the prose romance which was formed not long after the appearance

word occurs frequently in French topography, and was no doubt generic (= ? *forestier*). Cf. our *Arden* and *Dean*. See *infra*, p. 342.

"The prose romance," writes Mr. Ward (i. p. 609), "which was formed with a few alterations from the present version (of the *Chanson de geste*, Royal, 15, E. vi.), and not, as Brunet asserts, from the work of Adenet le Roi, was published in 1498, and several times in the sixteenth century. . . . Remarks of great interest, by Paulin Paris upon the history of Ogier . . . are to be found in *Histoire littéraire*, xx. (1842), pp. 689-694, and xxii. (1852), pp. 643-659, and also in *Les MSS. Français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, vi. (1845), pp. 122-123. A critical notice of Ogier is given by Gaston Paris, *Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne* (1865), pp. 306-313. L. Gautier, in his *Epopées Françaises*, iii. (ed. 1880), pp. 52-55, has published some remarks upon the historical elements of the Ogier legend, and upon its further development; but he has reserved his biographical notice of the subject for his sixth volume, which is to deal with the cycle of *Doon de Mayence*."

An abstract of the romance is contained in *Mélanges tirés d'une Grande Bibl.*, t. viii.

In *Philomena* (see p. 290) there are two paladins named Ogier, Augerius Danesus and Augerius de Normandia.

<sup>1</sup> "Icy endroit est cil livre finez,  
Qui des *Enfances d'Ogier* est apelez;  
Or vueille Diex qu'il soit parachevez,  
En tel maniere qu'estre n'en puisse blamez  
Li *Roy Adans*, par ki il est rimez."

of its metrical prototypes. The infamous and traitorous character assigned in the prose romance to the knights templar, makes it probable that it was written in the time of Philip the Fair, in whose reign that order was suppressed, on account of real or alleged enormities.

Doolin of Mayence had by his wife, Flandrina, a son called Geoffrey, who succeeded to him in the kingdom of Denmark, and Ogier the Dane was son to this monarch.

The fairies, who only act a part in the more recent romances of the Round Table, appear in the earliest tales relating to Charlemagne. Not fewer than six of these intermeddling beings presided at the birth of Ogier. Five of the number bestowed on him the most precious gifts and accomplishments, while Morgane, the sister of Arthur, who was the sixth, decreed, that when Ogier had passed a long life of glory, he should come to her palace of Avallon in his old age, and, laying his laurels at her feet, partake with her the enjoyments of love in the finest residence in the universe.

Some disputes having arisen between the king of Denmark and Charlemagne, Ogier, who was now ten years of age, was, at the adjustment of differences, sent as a hostage to Paris, where he was instructed in all the accomplishments of the time. At the end of four years, Charlemagne, irritated by some new transgression of the king of Denmark, banished Ogier to the castle of St. Omer. There his confinement and exile were soothed by the kindness of the governor, and still more sweetly solaced by the attentions of his daughter, the beautiful Bellissande. Ogier seems to have been on no occasion disposed to abide the amorous old age reserved him by decree of the fairies; but he was unfortunately withdrawn from a residence which love had begun to render delightful, and summoned to attend Charlemagne to Italy, on an expedition against the Saracens. In the romance there is a long, but not very interesting account, of the services he performed for Charlemagne, and his narrow escapes from the plots of Charlot, Charlemagne's unworthy son, who was envious of his renown. The emperor having at length triumphed over all his enemies, and re-established Leo in the pontifical throne, returned to France, accompanied by Ogier.



The first intelligence the Danish hero learned on his arrival, was, that Bellissande had made him father of a son, and the next, that he had succeeded to the crown of Denmark by the demise of his parents. He took immediate possession of this sovereignty, but after a reign of some years he resigned it, and returned to France.

Meanwhile the son of Ogier and Bellissande had grown up, and was a deserved favourite at the court of Charlemagne. One day, having unfortunately vanquished Charlot at a game of chess, that prince, who was not remarkable for his forbearance, struck him dead with the chess board. The exasperated father of the victim insulted his sovereign so grossly in consequence of this outrage, that he was forced to fly into Lombardy. Didier, king of that country, was then at war with Charlemagne; but, spite of the assistance of Ogier, he was worsted by the French monarch. The Danish hero escaped from a castle in which he was besieged, but while asleep by the side of a fountain, he was taken captive by Archbishop Turpin. Ogier refused to be reconciled to his sovereign, unless the guilty Charlot was delivered up to his vengeance. These conditions were complied with, but when Ogier was about to strike off the head of the prince, his arm was arrested by the voice of an angel, commanding him to spare the son of Charlemagne.

After this interposition, Ogier returned to his obedience, and was soon after employed to combat a Saracen giant, who had landed with a great army in France, but was defeated and slain according to the final lot of all pagans and giants. Ogier received as a reward the hand of the princess Clarice of England. This lady had followed her father to France, who came there to do homage for his crown. She had been intercepted, however, and detained by the pagans, from whom she was rescued by the exertions of Ogier, who, soon after his union, passed over to England, and in right of his wife, was there acknowledged as king: but, tired of the enjoyment of an empire which had been so easily gained, he soon after set out in quest of new adventures, the account of which forms the second part of the romance.

Of this division of the work, a considerable portion is occupied with the wars in Palestine. Our adventurer suc-

cessively seized on Acre, Jerusalem, and Babylon, of which cities he was declared king, but resigned them in turn to his kinsmen, who had accompanied him on his expedition, and anew set sail for France. For some time he enjoyed a favourable breeze, but at length his vessel was driven by a tempest on a rock, to which it became immovably fixed. In proportion as provisions failed, the sailors were in turn thrown overboard. When all his crew had been thus disposed of, Ogier landed and directed his steps to a castle of adamant, which, though invisible during day, shone by night with miraculous splendour. His first entrance into this mansion has a striking resemblance to a description in the romance of Partenopex: everything is magnificently arranged, but no person appears. At length, having entered a saloon, he perceived a repast prepared, and a horse<sup>1</sup> seated at table, who, on the approach of Ogier, instantly rose, presented him with water, and then returned to his chair. The hospitable quadruped next made signs to his guest to partake of the viands, but Ogier, little accustomed to fellowship with such hosts, and scarce comprehending his imperfect gesticulation, left the whole repast for behoof of the landlord, who, after a plentiful supper, conducted the stranger to a magnificent chamber prepared for his repose. Next morning Ogier went abroad, and followed a path which conducted him to a delightful meadow. "Welcome," said the fairy Morgana, who now appeared richly attired, amidst an assemblage of beautiful nymphs—"welcome to the palace of Avallon,<sup>2</sup> where you have been so long expected." She then re-conducted him to the palace of adamant; but the reader hears no more of the horse, nor any satisfactory reason why he was preferred to the office of *croupier*, and selected to do the honours of the castle, for which he must have been but indifferently qualified, either by his dexterity in carving, or his talents for conversation.

On his arrival at the palace, Morgana placed a ring on the hand of Ogier, who, though at that time upwards of a

<sup>1</sup> Named Papillon in the Metrical Ogier, MS. Brit. Museum, Royal, 15 E. vi.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, pp. 229, 198 notes, and *Romania* xii., 510.

hundred years of age, immediately assumed the appearance of a man of thirty. She afterwards fixed on his brow a golden crown, adorned with precious stones, which formed leaves of myrtle and of laurel. From this moment the court of Charlemagne and its glories were effaced from his recollection—the thrones of Denmark and Palestine vanished from his view—Morgana was now the sole object of his devotion. The delights of her garden and palace were ever varied by magic; and, as described in the romance, remind us of the illusions of Alcina. The fairy also introduced her lover to the acquaintance of her brother Arthur, who had resided with her for the last four hundred years. Oberon, too, another brother of Morgana, frequently visited his sister, and placed at her disposal a troop of spirits, who assumed a variety of forms, appearing in the shape of Lancelot, Tristan, or some other knight of the Round Table, who came as if to consult their sovereign on the interpretation of the laws of that celebrated institution, and to discourse with him on their former exploits. Sometimes they were pleased to take the figures of giants and monsters, and in these characters attacked the pavilion of the monarch. Ogier and the British king were delighted with each other's society, and were frequently engaged in joust and tournament with these imaginary foes.<sup>1</sup>

Two hundred years having elapsed in these amusements, the moment arrived at which Ogier was destined to be separated for a short while from his mistress. The crown of oblivion having been removed from his brow, the glories of his former life burst on his memory, and he suddenly departed<sup>2</sup> for the court of France, where he was destined to revive, under the first of the Capets, that spirit of chivalry which had sunk under the feeble successors of Charlemagne. The romance describes, in a way amusing enough, the astonishment of the courtiers at the appearance of this celebrated but old-fashioned hero, and his reciprocal surprise at the change that had taken place in manners and customs. France, and even Paris, were at this time

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, No. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Riding upon Papillon, according to the British Museum, Ogier. f. 152.

threatened by the northern nations who had settled in Normandy. Ogier was appointed to command an expedition against them, and by restoring the genuine spirit of chivalry in his army, entirely defeated the enemy. After his return he assisted at the meetings of the councils; and, in the course of a twelvemonth, revived throughout the kingdom the vigour of the age of Charlemagne.

As Ogier still bore the ring he had received from Morgana, which gave him the appearance of unfaded youth, he was highly favoured by the ladies of the court. The secret, however, had nearly transpired by means of the old countess of Senlis, who, while making love to Ogier, drew this talisman from his hand and placed it on her own. She instantly blossomed into youth, while Ogier shrunk into decrepitude. The countess was forced to give back the ring, and former appearances were restored; but, as she had discovered its value, she employed thirty champions to regain it, all of whom were successively defeated by the knight.

About this time the king of France having died, the queen wisely resolved to espouse a hero, who, with the bloom and vigour of thirty, possessed the experience of three centuries: but while the marriage ceremony was performing, the bridegroom was suddenly carried away by Morgana, and, to the misfortune of chivalry, has never since been heard of. The fairies of romance are much in the habit of conveying away mortals who possess the qualities that engage their affections. In the *Arabian Nights*, Ahmed, son of the sultan of the Indies, is transported to the castle of the fairy Pari Banou, who was enamoured of him; and in the fabliau of Lanval,<sup>1</sup> the knight of that name was borne away, like Ogier, to Avallon, whence he has never yet returned.

Ogier le Danois is certainly one of the most interesting stories of the class to which it belongs, and has accordingly gone through a great number of editions, of which the earliest was printed at Paris, in folio, by Verard, without date, and the next at Lyons, in 1525.

The hero of this popular work has been the subject of

<sup>1</sup> In Legrand d'Aussy's collection, i. p. 165.



two romantic poems in Italy, *Il Danese Uggieri*, and *La Morte del Danese*. He is also frequently mentioned by Ariosto and Boiardo. Pulci, in his *Morgante Maggiore*, alludes in a jocular manner to the fiction of his long-protracted existence:—

E del Danese che ancor vivo sia  
Dicono alcun (ma non la Istoria mia),  
E che si truova in certa grotta oscura,  
E spesso armato a caval par che stia,  
Si che chi il vede gli mette paura.

Morg. Mag. c. 28.

There exists a romance which gives an account of the exploits of the son of Ogier and Morgane, called

### MEURVIN,<sup>1</sup>

from whom the celebrated Godfrey of Bouillon is feigned to have been descended. This work has gone through many editions, but seems totally uninteresting. Meurvin was the father of Oriant, a progenitor of Helias the Knight of the Swan, whose daughter Ida espoused Count Eustace of Boulogne, great grandfather of Godfrey de Bouillon. The novel, which was a late composition, will be found analyzed in the *Bibliothèque des Romans*, 1778, Feb. pp. 168-179.

It has already been mentioned, that Ogier le Danois was grandson of Doolin of Mayence. Doolin appears to have been the patriarch of chivalry; for, besides his eldest son Geoffrey, the father of Ogier, he had a child of his own name, who inherited the country of Mayence, and was the ancestor of Gan, who acts so villainous a part in the Italian poems. The exploits of a third son form the subject of the romance *Gerard d'Euphrate*, which the author says he was employed for thirty years in translating from the Walloon rhyme, and which was published in folio, 1549. The scene of most of the adventures is laid in the east, and the whole work is very freely interspersed with enchantments, and the machinations of magicians and fairies, some of whom were friendly and others hostile to

<sup>1</sup> *L'histoire du preux Meurvin filz d'Oger le dannois, lequel par sa prouesse conquist Hierusalem, Babilone, etc.* See Graesse, ii. 3, p. 344; Tressan, Extr., t. ii. p. 146-160; Wiener Jahrb., xxxi. p. 129, 130.

Gerard, the hero of the romance. A fourth son of Doolin was Beuves, count of Aigremont, who was father of Vivian and the Christian enchanter Maugis, the Malagigi of Ariosto. Aymon, count of Dordogne, the youngest son of Doolin, left a posterity still more illustrious, having been the parent of Renaud de Montauban and his three brothers, whose names suggest everything that is splendid and romantic in poetry or fiction.

There are different French romances, both in prose and verse, concerning the adventures and exploits of the four sons of Aymon. In these the same circumstances are frequently repeated, which renders a separate analysis of each superfluous.

The History of

### MAUGIS<sup>1</sup>

and his brother Vivian derives considerable interest from the novelty of the character of its hero, and the singular enchantments he employs. In his infancy Maugis was stolen by a Moorish slave, with the intention of carrying him into paganism. He was rescued, however, by the united efforts of a lion and leopard, and was picked up by a benevolent fairy, who was fortunately traversing the desert at the moment. A dwarf, whom the fairy kept in pay, soon after acquainted her with the lineage of the child. Having received this information, she conferred on him the benefits of baptism, and sent him to her brother to be initiated in magic, the rudiments of which he acquired with wonderful facility. His first magical experiment was of the boldest description,—he personated the devil, and in that character passed into the island of Boucault, where he subdued and tamed the horse Bayardo, an exploit attributed by Tasso to Rinaldo. This unruly steed in-

<sup>1</sup> *La tres playsante hystoyre de Maugist Daygremont et de Uiuian son frere, en laquelle est contenu cōment Maugist a layde de Oriande la Faee samye alla en lysle de Boucault ou il sehabilla en diable. Et puis commēt il enchanta le deable Raouart, et occist le serpent qui gardoit la roche par laquelle chose il conquist le cheual Bayard et aussi conquesta le grant Geant Sorgalant.*—A. Lotrian, Paris, 4to. This is the title given by Brunet, who assigns no date, but considers that it is later than an impression of the work by J. Trepperel, Paris, noticed by several bibliographers; numerous subsequent editions.

habited a cavern which was guarded by a horrible dragon, and was in the vicinity of a volcano which formed one of the principal mouths of hell. There is a striking resemblance between this adventure and the eastern story of the Rakshe, a winged horse, which rendered the Dry island uninhabitable until he was subdued by Housheng, king of Persia, who tamed and mounted him in all his wars with the Dives.<sup>1</sup> Maugis having signalized himself by the conquest of Bayardo, was admitted to the necromantic university of Toledo, where he completed his studies, and, according to some accounts, held the professor of magic's chair in that city, which was distinguished as a school for the mysteries of the black art:—

The city of Toledo erst  
Fostered the lore of necromancy,  
Professors there, in magic versed,  
From public chair taught pyromancy,  
Or geomancy; or rehearsed  
Experiments in hydromancy.<sup>2</sup>

Having perfected himself in the mysteries of magic, the enchanter assisted Marsirius, king of Spain, in his wars

<sup>1</sup> Liebrecht enumerates the following notices of winged horses, etc.: Ersch and Gruber's "Encyclopædia," sub. voc. Huschenck; Loiseleur Deslongchamps, *Fabl. Indiennes*, p. 35, n. 2; Schmidt's notes to *Strapapola*, p. 269, etc.; Grimm's "Teutonic Mythology," English ed., p. 392; Graesse's "Sagenkreise," p. 191, etc.; Dissertation upon *Fortunatus*. This tale is, perhaps, of Indian origin, cf. *Germania*, vol. ii. p. 265, etc. Klettke's "Märchensaal," *od. iii.* p. 4. As for the horse Bayard, in its supernatural pedigree, its fidelity, its prospect of perishing by water, and the yearly neighing and turmoil in the forest (in the *Quatre fils Aymon*, see Grimm, *ubi supra*), bears a remarkable resemblance to Graellent's horse in the poems of Marie de France (i. 549, etc.), which idea is again borrowed from a Breton legend. See Villemarqué, *Barzaz-breiz*, vol. i. No. 6, and p. 31, English version by Tom Taylor, *Ballads and Songs of Brittany*, p. 31, etc.—LIEB.

<sup>2</sup> "Questa citta di Tolletto solea,  
Tenere studio di Negromanzia,  
Quivi di magica arte si leggea  
Publicamente, et di Piromanzia;  
E molti Geomanti sempre avea  
E sperimenti assai de Hidromanzia,"

Pulci's "Morg. Mag." c. 25.

Not only Toledo, but also Salamanca, and in Italy the schools on the banks of the Lacus Nursinus and in the Spelæum Visignianum were

with the Amiral of Persia, and availed himself of his incantations to forward and conceal his own intrigue with the queen. He also aided Arnaud of Montcler in his contest with Charlemagne, deceiving the enemy by fascinating their eyes, or entering the hostile camp in various disguises, after the manner of Merlin.

The story of the enchantments and amours of Maugis is prosecuted in

### THE CONQUEST OF TREBIZOND, BY RINALDO.<sup>1</sup>

This romance opens with an account of a magnificent tournament proclaimed by Charlemagne, to which Rinaldo comes incognito, and bears away all the honour and prizes. At length the ceremony is interrupted by an embassy from the king of Cappadocia, announcing his intentions of embarking for France in order to joust with all the knights of Charlemagne. Rinaldo, however, anticipates his design, and having landed in Cappadocia, overthrows and deposes its monarch. Maugis, who had accompanied Rinaldo, meanwhile engaged in an intrigue with the daughter of the king of Cyprus. His amour was detected by a dwarf, who revealed it to the king. It is true the princess burnt the dwarf, but this could not prevent her father from besieging Maugis in a citadel into which he had thrown himself. The emperor of Trebizond aided the king of Cyprus, and Rinaldo came to the assistance of Maugis. The allied monarchs were defeated and slain in a great battle, after which Rinaldo was elected by the army emperor of Trebizond. This romance is the foundation of the Italian poem entitled "*Trabison da, nel quale si tratta nobillissime battaglie con la vita e morte de Rinaldo.*"

celebrated for (natural?) magic. See Delrio, *Disquis. Magicæ*, l. ii. qu. i. p. 110, ed. Colon. 1657, also Cracow; see Scheible's "*Kloster*," v. 114.—LIEB.

<sup>1</sup> *S'Ensuyt la cōqueste du trespuissant empire de Tresbisonde, et de la spacieuse Asie. En laquelle sont cōprinse plusieurs batailles tant par mer que par terre. Ensemble maintes triumphantes entrees de villes & prises d'icelles decorees par stille poetique et descriptions de pays avec plusieurs comptes damours qui iusques cy nont este veuz.*—Paris, without date, 4to.



FOUR SONS OF AYMON<sup>1</sup>

is a romance of which there are several variants, and which has grown out of the Cantilènes or popular ballads which commemorated for many succeeding generations the struggles of Charles the Bald with his feudatories.

Charlemagne, irritated by the refusal of Beuves d'Aigremont to attend his Cour plenière, is further exasperated by the execution of the ambassador he had sent to the knight, and proceeds to war against the four sons of Aymon of Dordogne, Renaud, Allard, Guichard, and Richard, and their cousin the magician Maugis, in consequence of their abstention from hostilities against their relative Beuves, who, after a brief struggle, surrenders and is pardoned. Ganelon, a favourite of Charlemagne, is, however, resolved on the ruin of Beuves, whom he accuses of conspiring to kidnap the emperor. The latter commissions him merely to keep a watch upon d'Aigremont with 400 men. He musters, instead, 4,000 men, wounds the duke, Beuves, and then treacherously assassinates him, and thus in his name bequeaths to future romance a synonym for treason.

Upon the refusal of Charlemagne to accord reparation for this perfidy, and his condonation of Ganelon's action, the victim's brother Aymon and his son Renaud declare themselves absolved from their fealty to the emperor, and Renaud, with an ominous partiality, displayed more than once, for the game of chess, engages in that intellectual recreation with the emperor's nephew Berthelot. Rallied by this player upon his distraction, Renaud strikes him dead with a blow of the golden chessboard. The emperor

<sup>1</sup> Quatre fils Aymon, Paris, 1525, folio. For the above brief abstract I am gratefully indebted to M. Charles Grellet Balguerie, author of various learned researches into the earlier history of Aquitaine, who is at present engaged upon a historical investigation dealing with the Romance of the Sons of Aimon, the scene of which, really the south of France, had been supposed to be in the northern Ardennes. He identifies Aimon with Aimon II., Count of Perigord, who maintained a struggle with Charles le Chauve, who here, as in other romances, is represented by the Charlemagne of song and story. The aperçu of his forthcoming book, with which M. Grellet Balguerie has so kindly favoured me, is too long and elaborate to admit of its insertion in extenso in the present work. See Appendix, No. 16.

orders his arrest, but his escape is secured by his brothers and Maugis, who afterwards rejoin him, and the fugitives are pursued by 2,000 horsemen. The foremost three of these are killed by Renaud, who thus provides mounts for his brothers, while the magical steed Bayard,<sup>1</sup> who traverses ten leagues at a stretch, proves equal to the transport of both Renaud and Maugis.

Charlemagne exacts an oath from Aymon that he will afford no aid to his sons, and the latter having pushed on to the vicinity of the paternal demesne of Dordogne, the duchess Aye,<sup>2</sup> their mother, desirous to avoid all suspicion of complicity, induces them to withdraw by promising them as much gold as they desire. They retire to a forest—Ardenne<sup>3</sup>—where in the valley of fairies, upon an escarped rock commanding the Meuse,<sup>4</sup> they constructed the redoubtable fortress of Montfort.<sup>5</sup>

Here they are beleaguered by Charlemagne, but Renaud performing prodigies of valour, breaks a passage through the expanded ranks of the besiegers, cutting the enemy down like corn, and after a sanguinary defeat Charlemagne is compelled to retire. Renaud re-enters the

<sup>1</sup> This most intelligent and illustrious steed of chivalry plays a conspicuous part throughout the romance. He and the sword Floberge were presented to Renaud by the magician Maugis. Bayard performs good service by his swiftness, by giving the alarm by neighing or beating Renaud's shield with his hoofs on emergencies. He plays a prominent rôle in a curious racing episode. Charlemagne, desirous of securing a good charger for Roland, institutes a race. Near the goal are displayed the various prizes, including the imperial crown itself. The winner, however, is to be given to Roland. Maugis, versed besides other arts, in turkish tricks, dyes the black Bayard white. Thus disguised he wins the race, jockeyed by Renaud, also disguised, who rides off with all the prizes, vainly pursued by the emperor's horsemen. Bayard's white coat dissolves and he is recognized, and Renaud avows his identity, but makes good his escape on the fleet and faithful steed.

<sup>2</sup> An Aga or Aya was the wife of Aymon I., Comte de Perigueux, at some time subsequent to 780.

<sup>3</sup> A generic appellation applied to many forests.

<sup>4</sup> Or rather the Dordogne, Meuse having been doubtless substituted by a confusion arising from the word Ardenne. M. Rajna, however, (*Origini dell' epopea francese*, Firenze, 1884,) connects Renaud with Dortmund, and in general maintains the Germanic origin of the French traditions, in which he is in the main supported by Gaston Paris, see *Romania*, No. 52.

<sup>5</sup> The imposing ruins of which may still be seen overhanging the Dordogne.

stronghold, although pursued by his father Aymon, whom he will only oppose so far as to kill his horse.

The castle of Montfort succumbs, nevertheless, after a year's siege, but only through treachery, in which Charlemagne participates, and Renaud and his brothers are reduced to the condition of outcast fugitives. Aided, however, by the supplies of their mother and the resources of Maugis, and after abundant vicissitudes and adventures, in which Bayard plays no insignificant part, they erect the city and fortress of Montauban near the confluence of the Dordogne and Gironde. Here they are again besieged by Charlemagne, but in the absence of the latter's commander-in-chief Roland, Renaud sallies out, and after carrying havoc into the investing host, captures the dragon which floats over the tent of Roland and hoists it on the highest tower of Montauban. The brave garrison is subsequently betrayed into an ambuscade by Yon (or Sancion), King of Gascony.<sup>1</sup>

Maugis, however, borne by the fleet and faithful Bayard, comes to the rescue, and a sanguinary struggle ensues in which Richard was so grievously wounded in the abdomen that, in order to ply his antagonist, he was obliged to maintain his extruding intestines with his left hand.<sup>2</sup> He is afterwards healed by Maugis, his cousin, and they return in triumph to Montauban.

At length his generalissimo Roland, Oger, and others, implore Charlemagne to pardon Aymon's sons and Maugis, and, as they threaten defection, he accedes to their prayer on condition that Renaud's children be hostages, that Renaud betake himself to Palestine to fight the Saracens, and that he surrender Bayard. Renaud agrees, and after embracing his well-tryed friend Bayard, transfers him to the emperor. But the faithful charger will allow none to mount him. The emperor causes him to be weighted with stones and thrown into the river; he succeeds, however, in disengaging himself and gaining the opposite bank. Re-

<sup>1</sup> Identified, by M. Longnon, with Eudon, Duke of Aquitaine in the eighth century, and, consequently, Charles with Charles Martel. *Romania*, lii., p. 610.

<sup>2</sup> A song still popular in the south of France, and particularly in the départements of Gers and Lot, celebrates this memorable feat, attributing it, however, to Renaud. See Appendix, No. 16.

naud continues his feats of prodigious valour in Palestine, but refuses the kingship in favour of Godfrey of Bouillon, and returns to his native country. He finds his wife Clarissa, like Penelope, importuned by suitors, had died of grief at his supposed death, and Renaud, like so many of the figures of chivalrous romance, elects to finish his days as a hermit; but, for the sake of occasional exercise, hired himself out as a mason. His piety drew on him the hatred of his fellow labourers, and one day, while he was praying at the bottom of the wall of a church which they were building, they threw on his head an enormous stone, by which he was slain before he had completed his devotions.

The concluding scenes of the life of Maugis are exhibited in the Chronicle of

#### MABRIAN.<sup>1</sup>

Like his cousin Rinaldo, this enchanter had retired to a hermitage; he emerges, however, from this seclusion, and repairs to Rome, where he attracts so much notice by his eloquence and the sanctity of his manners, that on the death of Leo he is raised to the pontifical chair. He soon, however, abdicates his new-acquired dignity, and again betakes himself to the hermitage. About this time Richardette, the youngest brother of Rinaldo, was assassinated by the treachery of Gano, or Ganelon. Alard and Guichard, his two surviving brothers, suspecting that the crime had been committed by the command, or with the connivance, of Charlemagne, publicly insult their sovereign, and after this imprudence fly for refuge to the hermitage of Maugis. The emperor having discovered the place of their retreat, kindled faggots at the entrance of the cavern, and smoked the heroes to death.

There also exists a French romance concerning Charlemagne and the family of Aymon, entitled

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire singuliere & fort recreative Cōtenāt la (sic) reste des faitz & Gestes des quatre filz Aymon, Regnault, Allard, Guichard, et le petit Richard. Et de leur cousin le subtil Maugis . . . Semblablement la cronicque et hystoire . . . du cheualeureux . . . prīce Mabrian roy de Hierusalem . . . le tout traduit de vieil lāgaige en vulgaire francoys.*—J. Nyverd, Paris, without date, fol., numerous editions. See Schmidt, *Wiener Jahrb.*, xxxi. p. 113; *Abstract. in Bibl. des Roms.*, 1778, July, pp. 102-159; Graesse, iii. 3, p. 337-342.



MORGANT LE GEANT,<sup>1</sup>

the incidents of which correspond precisely with those of the Morgante Maggiore of Pulci. It is probable, however, that the romance was translated from the poem, as it was not customary with the Italians to versify so closely the lying productions of preceding fablers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Histoire de Morgant le geant lequel avec ses frères persecutoient toujours les chrestiens et serviteurs de Dieu. Mais finablement furent ces deux freres occis par le conte Roland, etc.—A. Lotrian, Paris, no date. There was an edition before this, in 1519. Pulci's work is a *rifacimento* of a poem of the fourteenth century. See Romania, lii. p. 599.

<sup>2</sup> With the class of romances relating to Charlemagne we may range the well-known story of Valentine and Orson, which was written during the reign of Charles VIII., and was first printed in 1495, at Lyons, in folio.

There are a few romances of chivalry concerning French knights which cannot properly be classed among those connected with Charlemagne and his paladins. Of these the only one worth mentioning is Le Petit Jehan de Saintré, which was composed in the middle of the fifteenth century by Anthony de la Sale, a Burgundian author, and printed in 1517 and 1723. Tressan says, that this work gives a great deal of insight into the manners of the age and customs of the French court; in short, that it may be considered as the most national of all the French romances. "I have not seen," says Warton, "any French romance which has preserved the practices of chivalry more copiously than this of Saintré. It must have been an absolute masterpiece for the rules of tilting, martial customs, and public ceremonies prevailing in its author's age."—Warton's "Hist. of Eng. Poet.," 1871, vol. ii. p. 292.

Baudouin, or Baldwin, count of Flanders, is the hero of another romance printed at Lyons in 1478 and 1509, at Chambéry in 1484, and several times at Paris, which may be here mentioned. This count is represented as inflamed with such excessive pride, that he refused the daughter of the king of France in marriage. One day, while hunting in a forest, he met a lady of majestic stature, arrayed in magnificent attire, who accosted him, and declared that she was the heiress of a splendid throne in Asia; but that she had fled from the court of her father to avoid a marriage which was disagreeable to her. The count, incited by love and ambition, espoused her and carried her to the French court. When a year had elapsed, the Asiatic princess brought him two beautiful daughters; yet Baldwin, though in the enjoyment of great domestic felicity, awaited with much impatience the return of a courier he had despatched to the dominions of his royal father-in-law. Meanwhile a hermit having obtained admittance to the presence of the count, expressed his doubts as to the existence of this Asiatic empire, and concluded with begging leave to dine in company with the princess. The request being complied with, when the other guests are seated at table the hermit enters the apartment, and, without farther exordium, com-

The romance of

### BERINUS<sup>1</sup>

enjoyed considerable popularity. Fannus, who, "as Martiaulx says," resided outside the walls of Rome, had a son named Berinus (iii.). His wife, Agea, shortly after died, and

mands the landlady to return to the hell whence she had originally issued. This mode of address, which unfortunately none of the count's visitors had hitherto thought of employing at his board, has the desired effect on the hostess, who vanishes with hideous yells, but not without doing irreparable damage both to the dwelling and the dinner.

The fact is, that Baldwin, as a punishment for his pride, had been unwittingly married to the devil. The remainder of the romance is occupied with a crusade performed by the husband, as an expiation for this unfortunate connection, and with the adventures of his two daughters, who turn out better than could have been anticipated from their diabolical descent. Van Hasselt has given a notice of the romance of *Baudouin* in the *Indépendant* du 28 Nov., 1836, and in the *Revue de Bruxelles*, Août, 1837.

Unions of the description formed in this romance were not only common fictions, but were credited by the vulgar. It was at one time generally believed that an ancestor of Geoffrey of Plantagenet had espoused a demon, and from this alliance Fordun accounts for the profligacy of King John. Andrew of Wyntoun, in his *Orygynale Cronykil* of Scotland, attributes a similar origin to Macbeth; and a story founded on this species of connection is related as a fact in the thirty-fifth chapter of Luther's "*Colloquia Mensalia*." In the same connection may be cited Cæsarius Heisterbach, *Mirac. et His.*, iii. c. 10, 11, cf. 12, the History of St. Macarius, as also the legend of the demoniacal descent of Eleanor of Aquitaine (consort of Louis VII. of France, and afterwards of Henry II. of England). See also Reiffenberg on Philip Mouskes, vol. ii. p. lxxviii.; Wolf, *Niederländische Sagen*, No. 183, and *Tannhäuser* in Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology* (English ed., p. 935), and Graesse, *Sage vom Ritter Tannhäuser*, Dresden, 1846; further, the saga of *Astrolabius*, in the *Kaiserchronik*, verse 13,117, etc., which again manifests a connection with the legend of Charlemagne's magic ring (Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, No. 453, Eng. ed.), and Von der Hagen's "*Gesammtabenteuer*," Band. iii. p. clxii., etc., Nos. 98 and 99; but see Massmann on the lines above specified of the *Kaiser Kronik*. See also notes to p. 146 *supra*, and the account of Merlin's birth, etc.

Hemricourt, *Miroir des Nobles de la Hesbaye*, ed. Salbray, p. 139, relates how the young knight, Ameil-à-l'Oeil de Lerhy, afforded a night's protection to a beautiful young damsel, who professed to be a pilgrim to the Holy Land, but acquainted her amorous host next morning with her real nature, and vanished, leaving him blind of one eye for life.—LIEB.

This superstition, indeed, appears to have existed in all ages and coun-

<sup>1</sup> Le Cheualier Berinus, etc. See App. No. 17.

Fannus re-married Raine (vii.), who prejudiced her husband against her stepson. The latter obtained from his father five ships of merchandise (vi.), and settled in Blandie (vii.), where one of his first feats was to cheat his host at chess (viii.). He was befriended by a certain Geoffroy, who pleaded his cause before the Seneschal (xxiii.), and he was brought to the palace to King Isopes. Meanwhile Gianor, with a bevy of ladies, arrives at Blandie (xxvi.), and Mirames married Agriano's sister, Giganio (xxvii.). Thus fortified himself, he proceeds to repair the fortresses of

tries, and seems one of the most prevalent to which mankind have been addicted. The Jewish Rabbis believed in an intercourse between the fallen angels and daughters of the children of men; in particular, they believed that Cain was the progeny of the devil, having been the offspring of the woman and the serpent. The marriage, however, of Baldwin, count of Flanders, above related, and other unions of a similar description, seem to have been suggested by the story of Menippus, in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. A young man, called Menippus, while travelling in the neighbourhood of Corinth, was accosted by a beautiful woman, who said she was a Phœnician, and avowed she was captivated with his love. She assured him that she was possessed of ample revenues, and was proprietor of a magnificent palace in the vicinity of Corinth, where they might reside in the indulgence of every imaginable luxury and pleasure. Menippus went with her to this abode in the evening, continued for some time to frequent her society, and at length fixed on a day for the celebration of the nuptial ceremony. Meanwhile the philosopher Apollonius, remarking some peculiarities in the aspect of Menippus, thus addressed him: "I perceive plainly, O Menippus, that you harbour or are harboured by a serpent." Menippus replied, that serpent or not, he was to espouse her on the morrow. Apollonius invited himself to the nuptial banquet: during the entertainment he positively declared the golden vessels, precious furniture, and delicious viands to be accursed delusion and phantom, and he denounced the lady as a Lamia, who devoured those whom she attracted by her charms. The bride entreated him to change the subject of conversation, but Apollonius persisting in his invective, she in turn began to revile the philosophers and sophists. Meanwhile the furniture was disappearing, and the viands were perceptibly melting away, on which the bride burst into tears, and begged to be excused from revealing her name and lineage. The philosopher, however, whom she had irritated by her rash attack on the sophists, was inexorable, and would not be satisfied till she explicitly confessed that she was, in truth, a confirmed Lamia, who had inveigled Menippus merely for the pleasure of devouring him, a privilege she would have enjoyed as soon as the nuptial ceremony was completed. She farther admitted, that she was much in the use of this practice, which gave her special delight. Menippus was a good deal surprised, thanked Apollonius for this deliverance, and became in future more circumspect in his amours.

Blandie, which he had conquered, and neglected to pay tribute (truage) to Agrian (xxx.).

The king Isopes offers Berinus his niece Clepatras in marriage (xli.). The barons of Blandie sent word to Logres, a rival suitor, of this news (xlii.), who in consequence arrived at Blandie, but is conquered by Berinus (lv.), who is in consequence led in triumph through the city in a robe of cloth of gold, after which the nuptials took place (lxi.). The union resulted in a son and a daughter, Aigres and Rommaine. Isopes died, and the barons sent to search out Logres to make him king (lxiv.). Berinus and his family were brought "vitupereusement" to Logres (lxvi.) by traitors whom Logres to their great surprise hung (lxvii.). Berinus, however, who seems to have been incurably addicted to yachting, was drawn to the rock of Adamant (lxx.), upon which they at once proceed to begin deep mourning (lxxi.). It was decided by lot that Aigres should remain here (lxxii.) while the rest departed to Rome, where Berinus found his old master Geoffroy. The experiences of Berinus on the rock were of the most variegated—visions, phantoms, robbers. The latter he killed and routed (lxxix.), but retained their servant for his own use, which servant showed him their treasures. Aigres conquered the king Danemont, and converted him, by this unusual means securing his friendship (lxxxix.). Aigres found diplomatic service in a mission to demand of king Absalon his daughter for the hand of King Holofernes (lxxxiii. and lxxxiiii.); he was however imprisoned with lions, which he slew unaided, an exploit which was reported by the seneschal Maugis to the king.

Absalon announces he will only bestow his daughter upon him who can overcome two marvellous lions (lxxxvii.). Aigres kills the animals (lxxxviii.), and marries Melia, the princess, but his disloyal companion Accars thrusts him into a well, and abducts Melia; she was shortly seized, however, by a king Abilaus. Aigres conquered Abilaus and took off Melia (xciii.). Aigres, with his horse Moreau, returns at length to his father Berinus.

The latter portion of the romance recounts the robbery of the treasury of the emperor (cxiii. etc.), which is a version of the Rhampsinitus story in Herodotus (ii. 121). Aigres



cuts off his father's head to prevent his recognition (cxix., cxx.), and meeting a knight on his return kills him to avoid detection (cxx.).

The Seven Sages (among whom Cicero) advise that the trunk of Berinus should be drawn through Rome (cxv.). Aigres, however, takes down the body to a hermit for sepulture, whom he pays for prayers (cxxxiii.) The emperor sends for the Seven Sages, who had failed in the recovery of the treasure, and tells them they are not wise (cxxxvii.). Aigres however departs and eventually reaches Rome, where he espouses Melia in great solemnity.

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The romances of the second class, or those which relate to Charlemagne, so closely resemble the fictions concerning Arthur and his knights of the Round Table, that the same, or nearly the same, observations apply to both. The foundations of each are laid from supposed histories: Arthur wars against the Saxons, and Charlemagne against the Saracens; both princes are unhappy in their families, and sometimes unsuccessful in their undertakings. In each class of compositions the characters of these sovereigns are degraded below their historical level, for the purpose of giving greater dignity and relief to their paladins and chivalry; since otherwise the monarchs would have been the only heroes, and the different warriors would not have appeared in their proper light. But, by lowering as it were the sovereign princes, the writers of romance delineated the manners of their times, and pleased perhaps those haughty barons, who took delight in representations of vassals superior in prowess and in power to their lords. The authors of the romances concerning Charlemagne wrote under considerable disadvantages: the ground had been already occupied by their predecessors, and they could do little more than copy their pictures of tented fields, and their method of dissecting knights and giants. On the other hand, circumstances were in some degree more favourable to them than to the authors of the fictions concerning Arthur and the companions of the Round Table. The Saracens were a more romantic people than the Saxons; and tales of eastern fairies and eastern mag-

nificence offered new pictures to delight and astonish the mind. "The knights of Charlemagne," says Sismondi, "no longer wandered, like those of the Round Table, through gloomy forests, in a country half civilized, and which seemed always covered with storms and snow. All the softness and perfumes of regions most favoured by nature were now at the disposal of romancers; and an acquisition still more precious was the imagination of the east,—that imagination so brilliant and various, which was employed to give animation to the sombre mythology of the north. Magnificent palaces now arose in the desert: enchanted gardens or groves, perfumed with orange trees and myrtles, bloomed amidst burning sands, or barren rocks surrounded by the sea." All these are much less agreeable than genuine pictures of life and nature; but they are better, at least, than descriptions of continual havoc, and the unprovoked slaughter of giants. Of all kinds of warfare the *gigantomachia* is, in truth, the least interesting, as we invariably anticipate what will be the final lot of the giant, who, from the unlucky precedent of the Titans and Goliah, has constantly fallen under the arm of his adversary. Indeed, in proportion to his bulk and stature, his destruction appears always the more easy and his fate more certain. Butler pronounces it to be a heavy case, that a man should have his brains knocked out for no other reason than because he is tall and has large bones; but the case seems still harder, that strength and stature, while they provoked aggression, should have been of no service in repelling it, and that a giant's power and prowess should have proved of no avail except to his antagonist. In this respect, however, it must be confessed, that the book of nature differs little from the volumes of chivalry, since, while the race of mites and moths remain, the mammoth and *megatherion* are swept away.

<sup>1</sup> The following works may be noted in connexion with the subject:—*Le Origini dell' epopea francese*, indagate da Pio Raina, Firenze, 1884, of which a critical account is given by M. G. Paris in *Romania*, Oct. 1884. (See note, p. 342, *supra*). G. Paris, *Histoire poétique Charlemagne*, 1865, etc. A. Fakscher, *Zur Kritik und Geschichte des alt-französischen Rolandsliedes*, Berlin, 1885. L. Gautier, *Epopees Françaises*. 1880, etc.

## CHAPTER V.

ROMANCES OF THE PENINSULA CONCERNING AMADIS DE GAUL AND HIS DESCENDANTS.—ROMANCES RELATING TO THE IMAGINARY FAMILY OF THE PALMERINS.—CATALONIAN ROMANCES.—TIRANTE THE WHITE.—PARTENOPEX DE BLOIS.

THE reader, who has now toiled through the romances of the Round Table, and those relating to Charlemagne, has not yet completed the whole of his labour :

Alter erit nunc Tiphys, et altera quae vehat Argo  
Delectos heroas : erunt etiam altera bella.

VIRG. *Ecl.* 4.

Had it been my intention, indeed, merely to compose a pleasing miscellany, I should not only refrain from analyzing any other romances of chivalry, but should even have omitted many of which an abstract has been given. But the value of a work of the description which I have undertaken, consists, in a considerable degree, in its fulness. The multiplicity of the productions of any species is evidence of the kind of literature which was in fashion at the time of their composition, and therefore indicates the taste of the age. Even the dulness of the fictions of chivalry is, in some degree, instructive, as acquainting us with the monotonous mode of life which prevailed during the periods which gave them birth ; while, at the same time, by a comparison of the intellectual powers exhibited in romance with the exertions of the same ages in law, theology, and other pursuits, we are enabled to form an estimate of the employment of genius in those distant periods, and to behold in what arts and sciences it was most successfully displayed.

While the other European nations were so much occupied with romance writing, it was not to be expected that the Portuguese and Spaniards should altogether have neglected

a species of composition so fascinating in itself, and at this time so much in vogue. The subject of Arthur, and the topics connected with Charlemagne, had been exhausted, and it was now requisite to find a new chief and a new race of heroes. Arthur had been selected as a leader in romance, less perhaps from national vanity than from being in possession of some traditional glory, and thus forming a kind of head and support, by which unity was given to the adventures of subordinate knights. Charlemagne was naturally adopted by the romance writers of the neighbouring country as having many analogies with Arthur. In Portugal, however, where we shall find the first great romance of the series on which we are now entering was formed,<sup>1</sup> there seems to have been no prince nor leader who was thus clothed with traditional fame. Accordingly an imaginary hero was chosen, and, as the first romance which was written in the peninsula was possessed of great literary merit, it had an overpowering and subduing effect on succeeding fablers. In imitation of the former author, they continued the family history, supposing, perhaps, that the interest which had been already excited on the subject, which formed the source of their works, would be favourable to their success. This also furnished a certain facility of magnifying their heroes, as it was not difficult to represent each new descendant as surpassing his predecessor. Unfortunately the successive writers of romance supposed that what had pleased once must please always; in the same manner that it was long thought necessary that an epic writer should have in his poem the same number of books as Homer, and should employ the same forms of address, comparison, and description. Accordingly the heroes of most romances of the peninsula are illegitimate; there are usually two brothers, a Platonist and Materialist; and, in short, a general sameness of character and incident. The opponents of the knights are, however, different from those in the romances of Arthur or Charlemagne; they are no longer the Saxons or Saracens, but the Turks; and as the Greek empire was now trembling to its base, many of the scenes of warfare are laid at

<sup>1</sup> See, however, note on p. 354, respecting the authorship of the *Amadis*.



Constantinople. In some of the concluding romances of the series, indeed, happier fictions are introduced, and an attempt is made to vary with new incidents, and the splendour of eastern enchantments, the perpetual havoc which occurs in the preceding fables. But I am, perhaps, anticipating too much the reflections of the reader, and shall therefore, without farther delay, proceed to

### AMADIS DE GAUL,<sup>1</sup>

which has generally been considered as one of the finest and most interesting romances of chivalry. Hence, perhaps, different nations have anxiously vindicated to themselves the credit of its origin. Lopez de Vega, in his *Fortunas de Diano*, attributes it to a Portuguese lady. On the authority of Nicholas Antonio, Warton has assigned the composition of *Amadis de Gaul* to Vasco Lobeira, a Portuguese officer, who died at Elvas in 1403, or, according to Sismondi,<sup>2</sup> in 1325. This opinion has been also adopted by Mr. Southey, who has entered at considerable length into the reasons on which it is grounded. The original work he believes to be lost, but he conceives that *Amadis* was first written in the Portuguese language; and he argues that Lobeira was the author, from the concurrent testimony of almost all Portuguese writers, particularly of Gomes Eannes de Zurrara,<sup>3</sup> in his chronicle of Don Pedro de Menezes, which appeared only half a century after the death of Lobeira. He also thinks the Portuguese origin of the romance is established from a sonnet by an uncertain poet, but a contemporary of Lobeira, praising him as the author, and from the circumstance that in the Spanish version by Montalvo, it is mentioned that the Infant Don Alphonso of Portugal had ordered some part of the story to be altered.

The French writers, on the other hand, and particularly the Comte de Tressan, in his preface to the *Traduction libre d'Amadis de Gaule*, have insisted that the work (or at least the three first of the four books it contains) was originally written in French, in the reign of Philip

<sup>1</sup> Los quatro libros del Cavallero Amadis de Gaula.

<sup>2</sup> De la Literature du midi de l'Europe.

<sup>3</sup> Keeper of the Archives of Portugal in 1454.

Augustus, or one of his predecessors. His arguments rest on some vague assertions in old French manuscripts, that Amadis had been at one time extant, and on the similarity of the manners, and even incidents, described in Amadis, with those of Tristan and Lancelot, which are avowedly French: he thinks it also improbable that while such hatred subsisted between the French and Spaniards, an author of the latter nation should have chosen a Gallic knight for his favourite hero; but this argument strikes only against a Spanish and not a Portuguese original. To the reasons of Tressan, however, may be added the testimony of one Portuguese poet, Cardoso, who says that Lobeira translated Amadis from the French by order of the Infant Don Pedro, son of Joan First;<sup>1</sup> and also the

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of notice that towards the end of the third chapter, Lobeira writes:—"The author ceaseth to speak of this, and returneth to the child whom Gandales brought up." Ticknor, however, attaches little weight to the arguments against Lobeira's authorship. "The Portuguese original," he says, "can no longer be found. At the end of the sixteenth century, we are assured it was extant in manuscript in the archives of the Dukes of Aveiro at Lisbon; and the same assertion is renewed on good authority about the year 1750. From this time, however, we lose all trace of it; and the most careful inquiries render it probable that this curious manuscript, about which there has been so much discussion, perished in the terrible earthquake and conflagration of 1755, when the palace occupied by the ducal family of Aveiro was destroyed with all its precious contents." The fact that the original manuscript of Amadis de Gaula "was in the Aveiro collection is stated by Ferreira, *Poemas Lusitanos*, where is the sonnet, No. 33 . . . in honour of Lobeira, which Southey, in his preface to his *Amadis of Gaul*, erroneously attributes to the Infante Antonio of Portugal, and thus would make it of consequence in the present discussion. Nic Antonio," a writer of by no means unimpeachable accuracy, "who leaves no doubt as to the authorship of the sonnet in question, refers to the same note in Ferreira to prove the deposit of the manuscript of the Amadis; so that the two constitute only *one* authority, and not *two* authorities as Southey supposes. (Bib. Vetus, lib. viii. cap. vii. sect. 291.) Barbosa is more distinct. (Bib. Lusitana, tom. iii., p. 775.) He says, 'O original se conservava em casa dos Excellentissimos Duques de Aveiro.' But there is a careful summing up of the matter in Clemencin's notes to *Don Quixote* (tom. i., pp. 105, 106)." That the work, at least in the form in which it has been known since the middle of the fourteenth century, belongs to Spain seems to be shown almost to certainty by Dr. Braunfels in his *Kritischer Versuch über den Roman Amadis von Gallien*, Leip., 1876. See also E. Baret, *De l'Amadis de Gaule et de son influence sur les mœurs et la littérature*, etc. Paris, 1853.

assertion of D'Herberay, a translator of Amadis from the Spanish into French, about the middle of the 16th century, who declares that he had seen fragments of a MS. in the Picard language, which seemed to be the original of Amadis de Gaul:—"J'en ay trouvé encore quelque reste d'un viel livre, escrit a la main, en langage Picard, sur lequel J'estime que les Espagnols ont fait leur traduction, non pas du tout suyvnt le vrai original comme l'on pourra veoir par cestuy, car ils en ont obmis en aucuns endroits et augmenté aux autres." The testimony of Bernardo Tasso, author of the *Amadigi*, a poem taken from the romance, is also against a peninsular origin. To his evidence considerable weight is due, as he lived at a period of no great distance from the death of Lobeira, and from being engaged in a poem on the subject of Amadis, he would naturally be accurate and industrious in his researches. Now the Italian bard is decidedly of opinion, that the romance of Amadis has been taken from some ancient English or Breton history. "*Non e dubbio*," (says he in one of his letters to Girolamo Ruscelli,) "*che lo scrittore di questa leggiadra e vaga invenzione l'ha in parte cavata da qualche istoria di Bertagna, e poi abbelitola e rendutala a quella vaghezza che il mondo cosi diletta;*" (vol. ii., let. 166,) and again, "*Gaula in lingua Inglese dalla quale e cavata quest' Istoria vuol dir Francia*," (vol. ii. let. 93).

It also appears from various passages of the letters of B. Tasso, that as much doubt and misapprehension existed with regard to the country of the hero as concerning the original author of the romance. He says that the *refabricator* of the work from the British history thought that Gaul meant Wales, and that he had erroneously styled his hero Amadis of Gaul, "*per non avere inteso quel vocabulo Gaules, il qual nella lingua Inglese vuol dir Gallia*." But Gaules signifying Gallia, or France, Tasso concludes that France was the country of Amadis; he therefore resolves to call his poem *Amadigi di Francia*, and expresses his confidence that the reasons he has assigned will be sufficient, "*a divellere questo invecchiato abuso dall opinion degli uomini*." This general opinion, that Wales was the country of Amadis, was not an unnatural one, since Gaules and Gaula, in old English, was the name for Wales as well as

France:—"I say Gallia and Gaul—French and Welsh—soul-curer and body-curer," exclaims the host in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, (act. iii. scene i.) while addressing the French doctor and the Welsh parson. There are also several circumstances in the romance itself, which might have led to the mistake. Thus Amadis proceeding from Gaul to the court of the king of England, which was then held at Vindilisora (Windsor) sails to a goodly city in Great Britain, called Brestoya (Bristol,) a strange port to land at in crossing from France to England, but a very convenient harbour for one proceeding from South Wales to Windsor. On the whole, however, Tasso seems right in supposing that by Gaula the author of Amadis meant France; for we are told in the course of the work, that Perion, king of Gaul, and father of Amadis, summons to a council the bishops and lords of his kingdom, commanding them to bring the most celebrated clerks in their respective districts, and two members of the council were in consequence attended by Clerk Ungan of Picardy, and Alberto of Champagne.<sup>1</sup>

Though the Spaniards do not lay any claim to the original composition of this romance, nor to its hero as their countryman, the most ancient impression of it now extant is in their language, and was printed in 1526, at Seville. This work was compiled from detached Spanish fragments, which had appeared in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. It was subsequently revised and compared with the old manuscript fragments by Garcias Ordognez Montalvo, who at length published an amended edition in 1547, at Salamanca.<sup>2</sup> From the prior edition of 1526, D'Her-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Braunsfels, however (op. cit. p. 164, etc.), adduces various points of internal evidence in favour of Wales.

<sup>2</sup> Note from Clemencin's edition of "*Don Quixote*" (tom. i. p. 107), quoted by Ticknor. There is a difficulty about the original composition and construction of the Amadis of which I was not aware when the first edition of this History was published (1849), and which I will now (1858) explain as well as I can, chiefly from the notes of Gayangos to his translation (tom. i. pp. 520-522), and from his *Discurso Preliminar* to the fortieth volume of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, which contains the Amadis and Esplandian.

The difficulty in question arises, I think, in a great degree from the circumstance that the preface of Montalvo is given differently in the different early editions of the Amadis, and would lead to different in-



berry formed his translation of the four books of Amadis, dedicated to Francis I., and printed 1540. To these he added other four books, containing the exploits of the descendants of Amadis, which were drawn from Spanish originals: the family history was subsequently carried to the twenty-fourth book by translators who also wrought from Spanish originals, but sometimes added interpolations of their own; and the whole received the name of Amadis de Gaul, which was the title of all the peninsular prototypes. The first books, which relate peculiarly to the exploits of Amadis, were compressed by the Count de Tressan, in his free translation, into two volumes 12mo. His labour was entirely useless, as he has, in a great measure, changed the incidents of the romance, and hid the genuine manners and feelings of chivalry under the varnish of French sentiment. A late version by Mr. Southey is greatly preferable, as the events are there accurately related, and the manners faithfully observed.

ferences. In the one by Cromberger, 1520, which I have never seen, but which is cited by Gayangos, we are told of Montalvo, "que en su tiempo solo se conocian *tres* libros del Amadis, y quel el añadió, trasladò y enmendò el quarto." The same fact of its being originally known in *three* books is set forth in some of the poems in Baena's "Cancionero," published 1851, and especially in a poem by Pedro Ferrus, who, perhaps, wrote as early as 1379, but lived a good deal later. From these and other circumstances of less consequence, Gayangos infers that there was current in Spain an Amadis in *three* books before Lobeira prepared his version of the story, which can, he thinks, hardly have been much before 1390, as the Infante Alfonso, who induced him to modify the story of Briolania, was not born till 1370. But who can have written these three books, if they existed so early, or in what language they were written, is not even to be conjectured. Lobeira may have been their author as early as 1350 or 1370, and have altered the story of Briolania afterwards as late as 1390 to please the prince, as he says he did, and so the distinct and clear averment of Eannes de Zurara stand untouched. At any rate I do not see how we can get behind his testimony that Lobeira was the author, or behind Montalvo's testimony that the Amadis we now possess was a translation made by him, with alterations and improvements.

An English translation by Thomas Paynel from the French was published in 1567 with the title, "The most excellent and pleasaunt Booke, entituled: The treasure of Amadis of Fraunce: Conteyning eloquente orations, pythie Epistles, learned Letters, and fervent Complayntes, etc." An Italian translation appeared in 1546, and suggested the Amadigi di Francia of Bernardo Tasso. Du Verdier wrote a satire upon the Amadis, entitled the Chevalier Hypochondriaque.

The era of the exploits of Amadis is prior to the age of Arthur or Charlemagne, and he is the most ancient as well as the most fabulous of all heroes of chivalry. He is said in the romance to have been the illegitimate offspring of Perion, king of Gaul, and Elisena, princess of Britany. The mother, to conceal her shame, exposed the infant, soon after his birth, in a cradle, which was committed to the sea. He was picked up by a knight of Scotland, who was returning from Britany to his own country, and who reared him under the name of Child of the Sea. When twelve years of age he was sent to be educated at the court of the king of Scotland. There a mutual attachment was formed between him and Oriana, who was daughter of Lisuarte, king of England, but had been sent to Scotland on account of the commotions in her own country. After Amadis had received the honour of knighthood, he proceeded to the succour of Perion, king of Gaul, who by this time had espoused Elisena, and had become the father of another son, named Galaor. This second child had been stolen by a giant, who wished to educate him according to his own system; but Perion was consoled for the loss by the recognition of Amadis, who was discovered to be his son by means of a ring, which had been placed on his finger when he was exposed. His parents derived the greater satisfaction from this acknowledgment, as Amadis had already proved his valour by the overthrow of the king of Ireland, who had invaded Gaul,—an exploit similar to that with which it may be recollected Tristan began his career.

It is impossible to give any account of the adventures of Amadis after his return to England, though they only divide the romance with those of his brother Galaor—the wars of extermination he carried on against giants—the assistance he afforded to Lisuarte against the usurper Barsinian and the enchanter Arcalaus—his long retirement under the name of Beltenebros to a hermitage, after receiving a cruel letter from his mistress Oriana, one of the chief points of Don Quixote's fantastic imitation—the battles he fought, after quitting this abode, against Cildadan, king of Ireland—the defeat of a hundred knights, by whom Lisuarte had been attacked; and, finally, his innumerable

exploits in Germany and in Turkey, when the jealousy and suspicion of Lisuarte, excited by evil counsellors, had forced him to leave Oriana and the court of England.

Amadis returned, however, in sufficient time to rescue his beloved princess from the power of the Romans, to whose ambassadors Lisuarte had given her up, to be espoused by the emperor's brother. Their fleet having been intercepted by Amadis, and totally defeated, Oriana was conveyed to the Firm Island by her lover. A long war was then carried on between Lisuarte and Amadis, in which the former was worsted; and when weakened by two dreadful battles, he was unexpectedly attacked by an old enemy, Aravigo, who was urged on by the enchanter Arcalaus. When in this dilemma, he was saved by the generosity of Amadis, who having turned to his assistance the arms he had lately employed against him, defeated his enemies, slew Aravigo, and took Arcalaus prisoner. On account of this conduct, and a discovery that the delights of matrimony had been anticipated, Lisuarte consented to the formal union of his daughter with Amadis. Their nuptials were celebrated on the Firm Island, and Oriana terminated the wonderful enchantments of that spot, by entering the magic apartment, which could only be approached by the fairest and most faithful woman in the world.

The notion of a chamber, a tower, or island, accessible only to a certain hero or beauty, and which occurs in many of the subsequent books of Amadis, is evidently derived from oriental fiction, which, as naturally to be expected, abounds more in the romances of the peninsula, than in those of France or England. We are told in an eastern story, that Abdalmalek, fifth caliph of the Ommites, and one of the first who invaded Spain, arrived at a castle erected by the fairies, on one of the most remote mountains in Spain. The gate was secured, not by a lock, but by a dragon's tooth, and over it was an inscription, which imported that it was accessible to none but Abdalmalek.

But while eastern fictions have supplied some magical adventures, especially towards the conclusion of the work, the earlier and greater part of Amadis de Gaul is occupied with combats, which are generally described with much

spirit, yet are tiresome by frequent repetition; and at length scarcely interest us, as we become almost certain of the success of the hero from the frequent recurrence of victory.

Though the story does not lead us, like many other romances, through the adventures of a multitude of knights, changing without method from one to another, it suspends our attention between the exploits of Amadis and those of his brother Galaor.

Amadis excels the French romances of chivalry in the delineation of character. There is much sweetness in the account of the infancy and boyhood of the Child of the Sea, and the early attachment betwixt him and Oriana. This princess, however, proves to be of weak intellect and peevish disposition, and is frequently disquieted with ill-founded jealousy. Amadis is an interesting character, and is well distinguished from his brother Galaor; they are equally valiant, but the elder wants the gaiety of the younger; he also remains faithfully attached to one mistress, while Galaor is constantly changing the object of his affections, a fraternal contrast which has been exhibited in most of the Spanish romances relating to the descendants of Amadis.

In the morals displayed, and in the general conduct of the incidents, these continuations are much inferior to the work which they follow, but they become, as they advance, more splendid in their decorations, and more imposing in their machinery. The Urganda of the original Amadis, as Mr. Southey remarks, is a true fairy, like Morgaine le Fay, and the Lady of the Lake; but the Urganda, who, in the subsequent books of Amadis, sails about in the Green Serpent, is an enchantress of a more formidable description, and her rivals, Zerfea and Melia, are as tremendous as the Medea of classical mythology.

Of the series of fictions, this first romance is the

#### EXPLOITS OF ESPLANDIAN,<sup>1</sup>

the son of Amadis, the greater part of which is the

<sup>1</sup> Quinto libro d'Amadis de Gaula, o las Sergas dell cavallero Esplandian hijo d'Amadis de Gaula.—Seville, 1542. Saragossa, 1587. Sergas is probably a corruption of the plural of the Greek word *Ergon* (opus), corresponding to *hechos* in Spanish.—Dunlop.

“The oldest edition of the Esplandian now known to exist was



work of Montalvo, the Spanish translator of Amadis. In order to shelter himself under a popular name, the author called it the fifth book of Amadis; on which it thus became the burden and excrescence. This example was imitated by the followers of Montalvo—the history of Lisuarte formed the seventh and eighth books, and that of Amadis of Greece the ninth and tenth of Amadis de Gaul. The Spanish romancers thus proceeded from generation to generation; and, in order to give some plausibility to the title they bestowed, they kept Amadis himself alive, who thus became the perennial prop of his otherwise insupportable descendants.

None of the progeny degenerated more from the merits of the parent than his immediate successor Esplandian; and Cervantes, who tolerated Amadis de Gaul as the first and best of the kind, hath most justly decreed, “that the excellence of the father should not avail the son, but that he should be thrown into the court to give a beginning to the bonfire.”

The part of Amadis de Gaul, however, which contains an account of the infancy of Esplandian, is one of the most beautiful portions of that romance. Oriana having given birth to a son, the fruit of her stolen interviews with Amadis, delivered the child to her confidants, that he might be conveyed to a remote part of the country for the sake of concealment. Those to whom the infant was entrusted, in order to travel more privately, struck into a forest. A lioness, which resided in this quarter, made free to carry off the child as provender for her whelps. Unfortunately for them she had a respectable hermit for a neighbour, who met and rebuked her before she reached the den with her prey. She was quite disconcerted at being thus unexpectedly caught, and at length, by her good neighbour's seasonable remonstrances, was brought to a better way of thinking, and was induced to undertake the office of nurse to the child, who was now conveyed to the hermitage. There Esplandian was accordingly suckled with much blandishment by the reformed lioness, and when she went to prowl, her place was supplied by an ewe and a she-goat.

printed in 1521, and five others appeared before the end of the century, so that it seems to have enjoyed its full share of popular favour.”—  
Ticknor.

Other heroes of chivalry, it may be recollected, were fostered in a similar manner; fictions, no doubt, suggested by the classical fable of Romulus and Remus.

As Esplandian grew up, the lioness acted as a dry nurse; she guarded him when he walked out from the hermitage, and afterwards accompanied him in the chase.

One day King Lisuarte, in the course of his field sports, entered the forest where Esplandian was bred up by the hermit and the motherly lioness, and perceived the boy leading in a leash this animal, which he loosed, when a stag was started, and hallooed her to the prey. When the game was overtaken, the lioness and two spaniels had their shares of the spoil. The king was surprised at beholding this singular group, and Esplandian being carried to the verge of the forest, where the queen had pitched her pavilion, was recognised by Oriana as her son, by means of certain characters on his breast. In the subsequent romances, the descendants of Esplandian are usually discovered by some inscription of this nature, or other personal mark, as a cross or flaming sword, an awkward alteration on the Greek romances, where children are identified by certain articles of apparel or decoration which they wore at the time of their loss or exposure.

Esplandian was brought up at the court of King Lisuarte, and was in due time admitted into the order of knighthood. The romance, which is appropriated to his exploits, commences immediately after this inauguration. During a sleep, into which he fell soon after the ceremony, he was carried, with his squire, by means of Urganda the Unknown, to that incomprehensible machine the Ship of the great Serpent, wherein he was conveyed to the foot of a castle, the enchantments of which he was destined to terminate.

Thence, under the name of the Black Knight (an appellation bestowed from the colour of his armour,) he sailed to the Forbidden Mountain, a stronghold on the confines of Turkey and Greece, and which, in this romance, is the chief theatre of exploits. Esplandian took possession of it in behalf of the Greek emperor, having slain its former gigantic and heathenish proprietors. He did not, however, long occupy this fortress in quiet, as it was soon besieged

by Armato, the soldan of the Turks, with a great army. But Esplandian had now additional motives to exert himself in behalf of the Greek emperor. Leonorina, the emperor's daughter, and our knight, though they had never met, had become mutually enamoured, and maintain, during the romance, an interchange of amatory embassies. Armato, instead of recovering possession of the Forbidden Mountain, was defeated and made prisoner. Encouraged by this success, Esplandian carried the war into the heart of Turkey, and took the principal city. Hearing, however, that his mistress was offended at his neglect in not having come to visit her, he departed for Constantinople; and on the night of his arrival was privately conveyed into her apartment in a cedar coffer, of which he had requested her acceptance.

On his return the war was prosecuted against the Turks with new vigour. The Christians were assisted by Urganda, who, in all his adventures, had highly favoured Amadis, and extends her protection to his latest posterity. On the other hand, the infidels were supported by the enchantress Melia, the sister of Armato. That soldan having effected his escape from confinement on the back of a dragon, which had been provided by his sister, speedily raised an immense army, and besieged Constantinople. He was aided by all the eastern caliphs and soldans, and especially by an Amazonian queen, who brought, as her contingent, a flight of fifty prime griffins, well equipped, which flew over the bulwarks of the city, and committed internal devastations. The Greeks, on their part, were assisted by Amadis de Gaul and the western potentates. After a protracted warfare, it was agreed that the contest should be settled by a double combat. Amadis and his son Esplandian were selected on the one side; the Amazonian queen and a choice soldan on the other. The latter were worsted, yet, notwithstanding the agreement, the Paynim army attacked the Christians, but was totally defeated and expelled the Greek dominions. The emperor then resigned his kingdom in favour of Esplandian, who espoused Leonorina, daughter of the abdicated monarch.

Now, after a time, Urganda by her great knowledge discovered that Amadis, Galaor, Esplandian, and all her

favourite knights, were in a short time to pay the debt of nature. She therefore sent for them to the Firm Island, and informed them that the only way to escape mortality, was to remain in the dormant state into which she could throw them, till disenchanted by Lisuarte, son of Esplandian, acquiring possession of a certain magic sword, when they would all spring to life with renovated vigour.

Thus, although new heroes are always rising on the stage, the reader never gets free of the old ones. They subsist through the whole romance of

### LISUARTE OF GREECE,<sup>1</sup>

son of Esplandian and Leonorina, who was destined to recall them to their former inquietude. His exploits occupy the 7th and 8th books of *Amadis*, which are said to have been written by Juan Diaz, bachelor of canon law. Perion, who was son of *Amadis de Gaul* and *Oriana*, and born after their legal union, is the second character in this romance, which commences with the account of a voyage undertaken by Perion, from England to Ireland, in order to be dubbed a knight by the king of the latter country. On his way he is separated from his followers by a lady cruising in a boat managed by four apes, who insist that he should accompany their mistress, for the fulfilment of a great emprise. His attendants proceed to Constantinople, where they report his adventure, and Lisuarte, in consequence, sets out in quest of his kinsman Perion. This prince had meanwhile arrived in Trebizond, and fallen in love with one of the emperor's daughters; he had not, however, leisure to prosecute his suit, as She of the Apes hurries him away to accomplish the enterprise he had undertaken.

Soon after his departure, Lisuarte also arrived in Trebizond, and fell in love with Onoloria, the emperor's other daughter: but while enjoying himself in the society of his mistress, a lady of gigantic stature came to court, and asked from Lisuarte a gift. This, as usual, was promised

<sup>1</sup> *Chronica de los famosos esforcados cavalleros Lisuarte de Grecia, hijo d'Esplandian; y de Perion de Gaul, hijo d'Amadis de Gaula.*—Seville, 1525, *folio*.



without any inquiries as to its nature, and it proved to be the attendance of Lisuarte for a twelvemonth, wherever she chose to demand. Now this lady was in the interest of the pagans, and had fallen on this device to remove Lisuarte, who was the chief support of the Grecian throne. The emperor of Trebizond was informed of her stratagem soon after the departure of Lisuarte, by a letter which was closed with sixty-seven seals, and which also announced that Constantinople was about to be besieged by Armato, the Turkish sultan, who had placed himself at the head of a league of sixty-seven princes—a coalition ingeniously denoted by the number of seals.

Lisuarte, meanwhile, was delivered in charge to the king of the Giants' Isle, whose daughter Gradaffile fell in love with the prisoner, procured his escape, and followed him to Constantinople. There Lisuarte performed many feats of valour in combating the pagan enemies by whom the city was now besieged, and was soon assisted in the defence by Perion, who arrived in Greece after having accomplished the enterprise in which he had been so long engaged. At length Lisuarte having obtained possession of the fatal sword, Amadis de Gaul, Esplandian, and the Grecian princes burst the enchantment into which they had been lulled by Urganda, in the Firm Island. The city being relieved by the return of these potent and refreshed auxiliaries, Lisuarte set out for Trebizond, but, on his way thither, met with various adventures which detained him. Perion arrived before him, but left Trebizond for a time, at the request of the duchess of Austria, whom he restored to her dominions, and received from her the highest reward she could bestow. In this romance Lisuarte is the Amadis, or constant lover, Perion, the Galaor, or general lover. Perion, however, differs from his prototype in this, that Galaor was altogether undistinguishing in his amours, and had no preference for any mistress; whereas Perion, though guilty of occasional infidelities, still retains the first place in his affections for the princess of Trebizond.

At length Perion and Lisuarte meet at the palace of their mistresses, who, as usual, admit their lovers to the privileges, before they have possessed the characters,

of husbands. It afterwards occurred to them to send ambassadors to Esplandian and Amadis de Gaul, to talk of their nuptials: but, meanwhile, the emperor of Trebizond and Perion were carried off by pagan wiles, during a hunting match; and Lisuarte having gone in quest of them, came to the spot where they were detained, and was imprisoned in the same confinement.

While her lover Lisuarte thus remained in durance, the princess of Trebizond gave birth to a son, afterwards known by the name of

### AMADIS OF GREECE,<sup>1</sup>

whose adventures, blended with those of his sempiternal ancestry, form the ninth book of the family history, which is feigned, in the commencement of the second part, to have been imitated in Latin from the Greek, and thence translated into the Romance language: "*Sacada de Griego in Latin, y de Latin en romance, segun lo escrivio el gran sabio Alquife en las magicas.*"

The imprudent anticipation of Onoloria rendered concealment necessary, and, during the baptism of her infant, which was performed at a retired fountain, he was carried off by corsairs, and sold by them to the Moorish king of Saba (Sheva). It has been remarked, that the lineage of Amadis generally had from infancy some striking personal peculiarity, which, in the untoward circumstances of their birth and childhood, was essential to a future acknowledgment by their parents. Amadis of Greece was distinguishable by the representation of a sword on his breast. Hence, when, at the age of fourteen, he obtained some order of chivalry from the king of Saba, he assumed the name of the Knight of the Flaming Sword. A black courtier being jealous of the favour which He of the Flaming Sword enjoyed with the king, accused him to his master of a criminal intrigue with the queen. Amadis was obliged privately to escape from the wrath of the incensed monarch, and thus at an early age enters on the career of adventure.

<sup>1</sup> Amadis de Grecia hijo de Don Lisuarte. Burgos, 1535.

The exploits in this romance commence, as they did in that of Esplandian, at the Forbidden Mountain. Amadis, who was yet an obdurate heathen, defeated and expelled the Christian possessors who held it for the Greeks, and afterwards defended it in single combat against the Emperor Esplandian himself, who came in person to recover that important citadel. After this he fell in with the king of Sicily; their acquaintance commenced with a combat, but Amadis subsequently aided him in various enterprises, to which he was stimulated by the passion he had conceived for this monarch's daughter.

In the course of his navigation to Sicily, Amadis arrived at an island where he disenchanted the emperor of Trebizond, Lisuarte, Perion, and Gradaffile. These princes, and their female companion Gradaffile, as was mentioned in the end of the last romance, had been carried off by pagan stratagems, and were lying in the dormant state into which they had been lulled by the sorcery of a pagan princess, in the same manner, though with different views, that their ancestors had been put to rest by Urganda. When these heroes were completely roused, Amadis de Gaul having set out in quest of adventures, met with the queen of Saba, who was scouring the seas in search of a champion to defend her against the false charge of conjugal infidelity. Amadis espoused her quarrel, and having arrived in Saba, overthrew her accuser, and established to the satisfaction of the king the innocence of his wife, and his *Eleve* of the Flaming Sword.

After the account of this exploit, a considerable portion of the romance is occupied with the unremitting pursuit, by Amadis of Greece, of a knight whom he erroneously imagined to be in love with the princess of Sicily, because he overheard him reciting amorous verses. He long pursued him with unabating animosity, and met with many adventures during his chase; but was at length undeceived at a personal interview, at which he seems to have learned, for the first time, that there could be other subjects of amatory verses besides the princess of Sicily.

While Amadis was thus occupied, his father Lisuarte had returned to Trebizond, and had formally requested the hand of Onoloria. Unfortunately for his pretensions,

Zario, sultan of Babylon, had become enamoured of this princess in a dream, and had arrived at Trebizond, accompanied by his sister Abra, to demand her in marriage. His propositions were much relished by the emperor, but, being of course opposed by Lisuarte, the sultan resorted to warlike measures to obtain possession of Onoloria; he accordingly besieged Trebizond, but the champions he selected to decide his pretensions were defeated by Gradaf-file, who appeared in the disguise of a knight. The sultan afterwards forcibly carried off the object of his passion, but his fleet was encountered by Amadis de Gaul, who was sailing to the relief of Trebizond. Onoloria was rescued, and the sultan himself was slain.

Abra, his sister, succeeded to the throne of Babylon. This princess, when she accompanied her brother to Trebizond, had become enamoured of Lisuarte: her suit had been rejected, and the pangs of ill-requited affection, added to the desire of avenging the death of her brother, induced her to raise up knights in all parts of the world to attempt the destruction of Lisuarte. One of her damsels, while on this quest, met with Amadis of Greece, and made him promise to grant her mistress the head of Lisuarte as a gift. Hence, on the arrival of Amadis at Trebizond, there was a dreadful combat between the father and son, which must have terminated fatally to one or other, had it not been broken off by the appearance of Urganda, who now revealed that Amadis was the offspring of Lisuarte.

This, however, was but an incidental exploit on the part of Amadis; his attention had lately been engrossed by objects different from those by which it had been formerly absorbed. Niquea, the daughter of an eastern soldan, had fallen in love with Amadis by report, and had already despatched conciliatory messages, and sent a gift of her portrait by a favourite dwarf. Like the princess in the Persian Tales, Niquea was of such resplendent beauty, that all who beheld her died, or at least were deprived of reason. She was in consequence shut up by her father in an almost inaccessible tower, to which her family alone had admittance; and afterwards, to preserve her from the passion of her brother Anastarax, this prince was enclosed by the magician Zirfea in a magic palace, surrounded by



impassable flames. The view of the portrait of this beauty overcame the fidelity which Amadis had hitherto preserved to the princess of Sicily. In order to obtain access to his new mistress, Amadis, soon after the period of his late combat with Lisuarte, so arranged matters that he was sold, in the disguise of a female slave, to her father the soldan; he thus obtained admittance to his daughter, and, after a promise of marriage, was received by her in the character of a husband.

Meanwhile, Abra being disappointed in the issue of the combat between Amadis and Lisuarte, assembled a great army, and led it against Trebizond. Her forces were totally defeated, but Onoloria dying about this time, Lisuarte, at the persuasion of Gradaffile, finally agreed to espouse the Babylonian queen.

The situation of Niquea now requiring retirement from a father's observation, she eloped with Amadis, and soon after arrived with him at Trebizond, where she was solemnly espoused, and gave birth to a son, named Florisel de Niquea.

That part of the family history which relates particularly to the exploits of Amadis of Greece, concludes, like the romance of Esplandian, with the enchantment of all the Greek heroes and princesses by Zirfea, in the Tower of the Universe, in order that they might evade the period appointed for their decease. There everything that passed in the universe was magically exhibited; a display which this assembly, while seated in easy chairs, was destined to contemplate at leisure for the ensuing century.

This romance of Amadis of Greece, and all its successors, have suffered the severest censure from Cervantes. "The next, said the barber, is Amadis of Greece, yea, and all these on this side are of the lineage of Amadis. Then into the yard with them all, quoth the priest, for rather than not burn the queen Pintiquinestra, and the shepherd Darinel, with his eclogues, and the devilish intricate discourses of its author, I would burn the father who begot me, did I meet him in the garb of a knight errant." It is in the 10th book of Amadis de Gaul, which is feigned to have been written by Cirfea, queen of the Argives, and which chiefly contains the adventures of

FLORISEL DE NIQUEA,<sup>1</sup>

son of Amadis of Greece and Niquea, that the character of Darinel, which seems so strongly to have excited the rage of Cervantes, is exhibited. This shepherd is a new character in romance, being an amorous pastoral buffoon, who is in love with Sylvia, the heroine of the work. Sylvia was the fruit of one of the stolen interviews of Lisuarte and Onoloria; she of course was removed from her parents in her infancy, and had been educated in the vicinity of Alexandria. As she grew up she was beloved by Darinel, a neighbouring swain; but as the fair one exercised unusual rigour towards her lover, he resolved to expose himself to perish on the top of the highest mountain in the empire of Babylon. In this region he met with Florisel, who was at that time residing at the Babylonish court. To this prince, Darinel gave such an animated description of the beauty of Sylvia, that he disguised himself as a shepherd, and prevailed on Darinel to conduct him to her abode. Sylvia was as unrelenting to the pretended as she had been to the real shepherd; but, on hearing from Florisel an account of the enchantment of Anastarax, who was still enclosed in his fiery palace, she became enamoured of that prince, and persuaded Florisel, and also Darinel, (who had for a time relinquished his scheme of exposure on the top of the highest mountain of Babylon,) to set out with her to attempt his deliverance. They departed together, but having arrived at the spot, they understood that this adventure was reserved for Alastraxare, an Amazon, who was the fruit of an amour between the queen of Caucasus and Amadis of Greece. The achievements of Alastraxare occupy a considerable part of the romance; and in their search for this heroine, the pastoral party met with many adventures, of which the chief is that of Florisel with Arlanda, princess of Thrace, who had fallen in love with him by report, followed him in his travels, and, finally, contrived to gratify her passion, by coming to him in the dusk, disguised in the clothes of Sylvia.

<sup>1</sup> El deceno libro de Amadis, que es el cronica de Don Florisel de Niquea, hijo de Amadis de Grecia.—Valladolid, 1532.

At length Sylvia was separated from Florisel and Darinel during a tempest, and returned to the flaming prison, or hell, as it is called, of Anastarax. There she met Alastraxare, and their united efforts accomplished the disenchantment. Nearly at the same time there arrived at this spot a number of the Greek princes, who were travelling to the Tower of the Universe, to attempt the deliverance of their kindred. Sylvia was then discovered to be the daughter of Lisuarte, and was soon after united to her beloved Anastarax.

Meanwhile Florisel and Darinel had been driven to the coast of Apolonia, where Florisel, forgetting Sylvia, became enamoured of Helena, princess of that country, but was soon forced to leave his new mistress, and, during his absence, accomplished the deliverance of his kindred; an adventure, the completion of which had all along been reserved for him.

On his way back to Apolonia he landed at Colchos, where he met with Alastraxare. Falanges, a Greek knight, and the constant companion of Florisel in his expeditions, fell in love with and finally espoused this Amazon. Florisel, on his arrival in Apolonia, found his mistress, Helena, on the eve of a marriage with the prince of Gaul, an infidelity to which she had been constrained by her father; but Florisel interrupted the marriage ceremony, by carrying off the bride. This rape of the second Helen, as she is termed, produced a great war. The forces of all the potentates of the west of Europe laid siege to Constantinople, and defeated the Greek army, chiefly by aid of the Russians. The savage monarch of that people, however, offended that his assistance had not been solicited by either party, was anxious for the destruction of both. Accordingly the Greeks having made an attempt to retrieve matters, the Russians unexpectedly fell on their former allies, and thus delivered Constantinople from the western invasion, and secured Florisel in the possession of Helena.

Here the romance might have received termination, and the reader repose, but there yet remain two-thirds of the family history, and the adventures of a long series of heroes, who of course must be ushered in by an account of the previous amours of their ancestors. Amadis of Greece,

in pursuing the treacherous Russians, to whom his country had been so much indebted, and who set sail immediately after their late notable exploit, was driven on a desert island, where he resolved to stay and do penance, on account of his infidelity to the princess of Sicily.<sup>1</sup> Here he remained till that princess accidentally landed on the island, and, after the proper expostulations, persuaded him to return to his wife Niquea. Meanwhile the Greek knights, particularly Florisel and Falanges, had set out in quest of Amadis, and had arrived at the isle of Guinday. Sidonia, the queen of this country, proposed to marry Falanges; but, as he was scrupulous in maintaining his fidelity to Alastraxare, Florisel agreed to substitute himself in the place of his friend, and accordingly espoused her majesty under the feigned name of Moraizel. He soon after abandoned his bride, but the effect of this short intercourse was the birth of Diana, the most beautiful of all the princesses of romance, and heroine of the eleventh and twelfth books of this enormous history, which chiefly contain the adventures of

#### AGESILAN OF COLCHOS,

son of Falanges and Alastraxare. A representation of the figure of the incomparable Diana having been rashly exhibited at Athens, where Agesilan was prosecuting his studies, he was inspired with such an irresistible passion, that he repaired, in the disguise of a female minstrel, to the court of Queen Sidonia, the mother of his mistress, and was presented to her daughter as an amusing companion. Here he occasionally entertained the court ladies by the exercise of his musical and poetical talents, but at other times distinguished himself as an amazon, in combating the knights, who on various pretexts came to molest Sidonia. The circumstance of a lover residing with his mistress, and unknown to her, in disguise of a female, is frequent in subsequent romances, as in the *Astræa*, the *Arcadia* and *Argenis*, and its origin must be looked for in the story of the concealment of Achilles.

<sup>1</sup> V. Schmidt remarks that the relations between Armadis and Armida have supplied Tasso with the situation of his Rinaldo and Armida.



Agesilan at length having sufficiently signalized himself by his exploits, appeared in his real character, and undertook to bring Sidonia the head of Florisel, against whom, since he had married and abandoned her, under the name of Moraizel, she had conceived the most bitter resentment. In prosecution of this scheme, Agesilan repaired to Constantinople, and defied Florisel to mortal fight. It was arranged that this combat should take place in the dominions of Sidonia, but it was there discovered, on the arrival of the champions, that Florisel might be turned to better account by employing him in defence of the island, which had been recently invaded by the Russians. Having got rid of these enemies, Agesilan and Diana were affianced, and the general joy was increased by the arrival of the elder and younger Amadis. The Greek princes then set sail for Constantinople, where it was intended that the nuptials of Agesilan and Diana should be solemnized. A tempest having arisen during the voyage, Agesilan and Diana were separated from the rest of their kindred, and thrown together on a desert rock, where they would have perished, had not a knight mounted on a griffin picked them up, and conveyed them to his residence in the Green Isle, one of the Canaries. Next morning their preserver having become enchanted with the beauty of Diana, privately carried her off to a remote part of the island, and was proceeding to give her the most lively demonstrations of attachment, when she was rescued by corsairs who had accidentally landed, and was conveyed on board their vessel. Agesilan having missed their host, and being also unable to find Diana, set out in quest of her on the griffin. Having in vain surveyed the island from the back of this winged monster, he traversed many other atmospheres, and at length descended in the country of the Giramantes. The king of this region, on account of his pride, had been struck blind, and had been sentenced to have the food prepared for him devoured by a nauseous dragon, which was now driven off by Agesilan. This story corresponds with that in the *Orlando Furioso* [c. 33. st. 102, &c.], of Senapus, king of Ethiopia, who, on account of his overweening pride, had been deprived of sight, and had his food daily polluted by harpies, till relieved by Astolpho, who descended as

from heaven on a winged steed. Besides these circumstances of resemblance, the nations, both in the poem and romance, are of the Christian faith, both monarchs reside in the most sumptuous palaces, and both deliverers are mistaken for deities on their descent. The origin of these, as of most other stories of the same sort, is classical, and is derived from the story of Phineus and the Harpies in the Argonautics of Apollonius Rhodius :—

There on the margin of the beating flood,  
The mournful mansions of sad Phineus stood :  
Taught by the wise Apollo to descry  
Unborn events of dark futurity,  
Vain of his science, the presumptuous seer  
Deigned not Jove's awful secrets to revere ;  
Hence Jove, indignant, gave him length of days,  
But quenched in endless night his visual rays ;  
Nor would the vengeful god indulge his taste  
With the sweet blessings of a pure repast,  
Though (for they learned his fate), the country round  
Their prophet's board with every dainty crowned.  
For, lo ! descending sudden from the sky,  
Round the piled banquet shrieking harpies fly,  
Whose beaks rapacious, and whose talons, tear  
Quick from his famished lips the untasted fare.  
Fawkes Ap. Rhodius, b. 2.

The Argonauts touch at the mansion of Phineus on their voyage to Colchos, and two of their number, the winged children of Boreas, deliver the prophet from this disturbance.

After having re-installed the king of the Garamantes in the pleasures of a comfortable meal, Agesilan set out on the farther quest of Diana, and arrived at the Desolate Isle. The god Tervagant had fallen in love with the queen of this country ; but, being baulked in his amour, had let loose a band of destructive hobgoblins, who ravaged the land. An oracle of the god declared, that Tervagant would only be appeased, if the inhabitants daily exposed on the sea-shore a fresh beauty, till such time as he found one he liked as well as the queen. As the fair offering to the fastidious god was every day devoured by a sea-monster, the island was now nearly depopulated, and corsairs were employed to ravage other countries, in quest of victims. Diana had fallen into the hands of this crew, and, on her

arrival, was bound to the rock. That very day Agesilan descended on his griffin, and offered his services against the sea-monster. On proceeding to the place of combat, the discovery of the situation of his mistress invigorated his exertions. Having slain the monster after a dreadful combat, he placed his beloved Diana on his hippogriff, and skimmed with her towards Constantinople.

It may be remembered, that in the *Orlando Furioso* [c. 8], Proteus, being offended at the bad treatment the princess of Eubuda had received, in consequence of an affair of gallantry in which she had engaged with him, commissioned herds of marine monsters to depopulate the country, and would only be appeased by a daily offering of a damsel, to glut an ork which was stationed on the shore, in readiness to receive her. Angelica was brought to this country by seamen, who scoured the main for victims, and was bound to the fatal rock when delivered by Ruggiero, who arrived on his winged courser. This, like the story of the blind king and the dragon, is of classical origin, and has been doubtless suggested by the fiction of Perseus and Andromeda.

On his flight to Constantinople, Agesilan spied beneath him the ship of Amadis, from which he had been originally separated, and which was still on its voyage. He dexterously alighted on this vessel, and proceeded with the rest of his kindred to the Grecian capital, where his nuptials were solemnized with Diana.

Agesilan of Colchos is the faithful lover of this part of the family chronicle. Rogel of Greece, whose adventures occupy a considerable part of the romance, is the Galaor, or general lover. He was the son of Florisel and Helena, and is, I think, by far the most rakish of his kindred. It is true he is specially attached to Leonida, a Greek princess, whom he finally marries; but, at the solicitation of any damsel, he sets out to the relief of her mistress: he usually begins the adventure by an intrigue with the ambassadress, and concludes by an amour with the lady he had served.

The reader, I presume, does not wish any farther to pursue the involved genealogy of the romantic issue of Amadis, and a few words will bring us to the latest posterity.

Many of the chief heroes of the family of Amadis possess a sentimental and platonic female friend, like the Gradaffile of Lisuarte. Finistea acted in this capacity to Amadis of Greece, and attended him in his long quest of his empress Niquea, who had been carried off while on her way to visit her father. In the course of their peregrinations, Amadis and Finistea came to a desert island, where, having partaken of a certain fruit, they totally divested themselves of their platonic habits, and a son was in consequence produced, who, from the place of his birth, was called

SILVIO DE LA SELVA.<sup>1</sup>

This prince first distinguished himself at the siege of Constantinople by the Russians, whose king had lately transmitted, by twelve dwarfs, a defiance to the Grecian princes, in which he mentioned that he had entered into a confederacy with a hundred and sixty eastern monarchs, to burn all the habitations of the Greeks, that they might be rebuilt on an improved plan by his subjects the Russians. A long account is given of the war, which terminated successfully for the besieged; but they are hardly freed from their Russian foes, when the whole bevy of Greek empresses and princesses are carried off by one fell stroke of necromancy. All the knights and heroes set out in search of them, and meet with the accustomed adventures, in which Silvio de la Selva particularly distinguishes himself. After the princesses are brought back to their own habitations, it is found that, during their absence, many have given birth to children. Spheramond, son of Rogel of Greece, and Amadis of Astre, son of Agesilan, are of the number. When Spheramond and Amadis grow up, they are both sent to Parthia, for it was destined they should be there admitted into the order of chivalry. Here they fall in love with two Parthian princesses, Rosaliana and Richarda, whom they espouse after they have gone through the requisite number of adventures. Among others, they had been present at a great battle between the Christians and Pagans, who, as usual, had besieged Constantinople. In

<sup>1</sup> Hechos de Silvio de la Selva, hijo de Amadis de Grecia.



this combat the king of the Island of Terror was slain on the side of the paynims. His widow resolves to be avenged, and accomplishes her purpose by carrying away the young prince Saphiraman, son of Spheramond and the princess Richarda, as also Hercules d'Astre, son of Amadis d'Astre and Rosaliana. These two princes are shut up in an impregnable tower; and the adventures of different knights who attempt their deliverance are related at great length. This is finally effected by Fulgarine, son of Rogel of Greece; and the family history concludes with the exploits of these princes after they have received their freedom; but what relates to them is chiefly of French invention.

A Spanish romance concerning Flores of Greece, sur-named Knight of the Swan, second son of the Emperor Esplandian, a work also translated by D'Herberay, may be associated to the history of Amadis. The adventures of the Knight of the Sun<sup>1</sup> and his brother Rosiclair, may also be considered as belonging to the same series of romance, since Perion, the parent of Amadis de Gaul, was descended from Trebatius, father to the Knight of the Sun. Nicolas Antonio, in one part of his *Bibliotheca Hispaniæ*, says, that the first two books of this romance were written by Diego Ortunes, and elsewhere that they were from the pen of Pedro de la Sierra. A third part was composed by Marcos Martinez, and a fourth by Feliciano de Selva: Nevertheless the work is not finished, and the knights are left under enchantment. Cervantes says it contains something of the inventions of the Italian poet Boiardo; but I imagine the Orlando Innamorato was prior to the Spanish work. The whole romance has been translated into English, under the title of the *Mirroure of Knighthood*,<sup>2</sup> and into French literally from the Spanish, in eight volumes. It has also been compressed into two by the Marquis de Paulmy, who has used it as a frame, in which he has enclosed what he considered the finest delineations of the

<sup>1</sup> *Espejo de principes e cavalleros, o Cavallero del Febo*.—Saragossa, 1580. 2 vol. folio.

<sup>2</sup> *The Mirroure of Princely deedes and Knighthood . . . Now newly translated out of Spanish into our vulgar English tongue, by M[argaret] T[illey]*. 1578. 4to. This is the first English edition of the first part of this romance. Other portions appeared subsequently.

whole family picture. The romantic story of the issue of Amadis has been wound up in the *Roman des Romans*, a work originally French, and written by Duverdier.

The fables relating to Amadis de Gaul, and his lineage, often supplied with materials the poets and dramatists of the neighbouring countries. Both the Amadigi and Floridante of Bernardo Tasso are formed on the first work of the series, and innumerable French and Italian dramas have been founded on incidents which occur in Amadis of Greece and Agesilan of Colchos. The romances of the peninsula, however, in general, had less influence on the early literature of this country than either the French romances, or Italian novels. This Mr. Southey attributes to the wretched manner in which the early translations of them were executed. He has mentioned, however, that in Amadis of Greece may be found the original of the Zelmane of Sidney's "Arcadia," the Florizel of Shakespeare's "Winter's Tale," and Masque of Cupid in the Faery Queene.

Having now discussed the history of Amadis and his descendants, we come to the second family chronicle, carried on in the romances of the peninsula. Of this new series, the first romance, at least considered in relation to the order of events, is

#### PALMERIN DE OLIVA.<sup>1</sup>

There is no dispute concerning the language in which this work was originally written, as there is with regard to so many of the other tales of chivalry belonging to this third class of romances. It first appeared in Spanish, and was printed at Salamanca in 1511, at Seville in 1525, and, also in Spanish, at Venice in 1526, and is dedicated, in a prologue, to Cæsar Triulsci, who was then learning that language. The work afterwards appeared in 1533, 12mo., also at Venice, corrected by the Spaniard Juan Matheo da Villa, and addressed to the Senor Juan de Nores Conde de Tripoli, *Embarador dell Universidad de Chipro*, who is told that it is dedicated to

<sup>1</sup> El libro del famoso Cavallero Palmerin de Olivia (*sic*). Cum privilegio. First edition, Salamanca, 1511, fol.

him that, as he had a taste for languages, he might learn the Spanish, and that this tongue might be ennobled by his acquiring it. In 1546, there was published at Paris, in folio, a French version, of which Jean Maugin, called *Le petit Angevin*, is announced as the author. This production professes to be revised and amended from a former French translation, which is by an uncertain hand, and which, as is acknowledged in the preface, has only drawn the *matière principale* from the Spanish. Accordingly, Maugin, who wrought on it, has enlarged in some places on the original, and abridged in others; the mode of warfare too has been altered, and the love intrigues have been Frenchified and modernized. This edition is adorned with cuts, which might suit any Spanish romance of chivalry, and are in fact adopted in the French edition of *Amadis of Greece*; they represent a lady in child-bed—a young man receiving the order of knighthood—an equestrian combat—a city scaled—ships in a storm—an interview between a lady and knight. The romance of *Palmerin de Oliva* was also translated into English by Anthony Munday, and published in the year 1588, 4to., in black letter.<sup>1</sup>

Like many other heroes of Spanish romances, the knight who gives name to this work was of illegitimate birth. Reymicio, the eighth emperor of Constantinople from Constantine, had a daughter named Griana, whom he destined as the wife of Tarisius, son to the king of Hungary, and nephew to the empress. The princess Griana, however, preferred Florendos of Macedon, with whom she had an interview one night in an orchard, of which the consequence was the production of the hero of this romance. Griana, by pretending sickness, concealed her pregnancy; and on the birth of the child she entrusted him to one of her confidants to be exposed. The infant was discovered by a peasant in the neighbourhood, who carried him to his cottage, brought him up as his son, and bestowed on him the name of *Palmerin d'Oliva*, from his being found on a hill which was covered with olives and palms. *Palmerin* was for a time contented with his humble destiny, but when

<sup>1</sup> And, according to Lowndes, by Thomas Creed in 1586. 4to.

he grew up and discovered that he was not the son of his reputed father, he longed to signalize himself by feats of arms.

One day, while in a forest, Palmerin had an opportunity of delivering from the jaws of a lioness a merchant who was returning to his own country from Constantinople. Our hero was taken to the city of Hermide by the person he had preserved, and there furnished with arms and a horse. Thus equipped, he proceeded to the court of Macedon to receive the order of knighthood from Florendos, who was son to the king of that country, and (though this was unknown to both parties) the father of Palmerin.

After obtaining the honour he required, the first exploit of our young hero was destroying a serpent that guarded a fountain, of which the waters were essential to the recovery of the health of Primaleon, king of Macedon. While engaged in this adventure, he received the privilege of being proof against enchantment from certain fairies who resorted to this fountain, and had a pique at the serpent.

The fame of this exploit of Palmerin being spread abroad, many neighbouring princes applied to him for assistance. In all the enterprises undertaken at their request, Palmerin was eminently successful. At length, extending his succour to more distant quarters, he delivered the emperor of Germany from the knights by whom he was besieged in the town of Gand (Ghent). Here Palmerin fell in love with the emperor's daughter, Polinarda, the heroine of the romance, and who, before this time, like the mistress of Artus de la Bretagne, had appeared to her lover in a dream. Having distinguished himself at a tournament in Germany, Palmerin proceeded to one which had been proclaimed in France by the prince of that country, for the purpose of driving into his opponents a due sense of the peerless beauty of his mistress, the duchess of Burgundy: but Palmerin, of course, established the superior excellence of the charms of Polinarda. After his return to Germany, this princess still continued in the retirement in which she lived at the time of his departure, but at length, by the intervention of his dwarf Urgando, he was admitted to her embraces.

Now about this time messengers arrived at court from



the king of Norway, to implore assistance for their master in a war in which he was unfortunately engaged with the king of England. The emperor agreed to send an army to his relief; but Trineus, the emperor's son, being enamoured of Agriola, daughter of the English monarch, privately departed with Palmerin, and arrived in Britain with the view of aiding the father of his mistress. England now becomes the chief theatre of adventures, which at length terminate with the departure of Palmerin and Trineus, who eloped with Agriola, the king's daughter. They all set sail in the same vessel, and during their voyage experienced a storm of some days' continuance. When it ceased, they found they were somewhat out of their reckoning, for instead of having reached the north of Germany, as intended, they had made the coast of the Morea. During the calm, by which the tempest was followed, Palmerin landed at the adjacent island of Calpa, for the purpose of hawking, a diversion which, next to the pleasures of the chase, seems to have been the chief amusement of persons of rank, and which continued to be so till the improvement in firearms. In the absence of Palmerin, the ship in which he had left his friends was taken by two Turkish galleys. The princess Agriola was presented by her captors to the Grand Turk; but Trineus having been set ashore on an island, which is the counterpart of that of Circe, was converted into a lapdog.

Palmerin, meanwhile, was discovered in the island of Calpa by Archidiana, daughter of the sultan of Babylon. This lady carried him with her, and took him into her service, as did also her cousin Ardemira, who then resided at the Babylonish court. Palmerin, however, maintained his fidelity to Polinarda, and resisted the importunate solicitations of these princesses. The disappointment had so powerful an effect on Ardemira, that she burst a blood-vessel and expired. Amaran, son of the king of Phrygia, to whom she had been affianced, came, on hearing of her demise, to the court of Babylon, charged the princess Archidiana with her death, and offered to maintain his accusation by an appeal to arms. Palmerin espoused her quarrel, killed Amaran in single combat, and, in consequence, became a great favourite of the soldan, whom he

assisted in carrying on a prosperous war against the lineage of Amaran. The soldan, elated with this success, fitted out an expedition against Constantinople, which Palmerin was ordered to accompany. That knight, however, seized the opportunity of a tempest, which arose during the voyage, to separate from the Asiatic fleet, and forced the seamen of his own vessel to steer for a port in Germany. Having landed, he immediately proceeded to the capital of the emperor, where he passed some time with Polinarda. After remaining fifteen days, he set out in quest of Trineus; and having arrived at Buda, he learned that Florendos, prince of Macedon, had lately slain Tarisius, who, it will be recollected, was his rival in the affections of Griana, princess of Constantinople, and had been united to her in marriage by compulsion of her father. Florendos, having been taken captive by the family of Tarisius, had been sent to Constantinople, where he was condemned to the flames along with Griana, who was suspected as his accomplice. Palmerin instantly repaired to Constantinople; maintained their innocence; defeated their accusers, the nephews of Tarisius; and thus, though unknown to himself, preserved the lives of his parents. While confined to bed, in consequence of the wounds he had received in their vindication, he was visited by Griana, who discovered, from a mark on his face, and from his mentioning the place where he had been exposed, that he was indeed her child. He was then joyfully received by the emperor, and acknowledged as his successor; his own son and grandson having been slain in the battle with the Assyrians, who, after their separation from Palmerin, had landed in Greece, but had been totally defeated.

After these events Palmerin continued his quest of Trineus, but in sailing over the Mediterranean he was taken captive by the Turkish galleys, and conducted to the palace of the Grand Turk. There he was instrumental in liberating the princess Agriola from the power of that monarch. He afterwards arrived at the court of a princess, with whom Trineus at that time resided in quality of her dog, having been lately presented to her by the enchantress, by whom he was originally transformed. Palmerin agreed to accompany this princess on a visit which she paid to

Mussabelin, a Persian magician, in expectation of being cured of a distemper in her nose. The necromancer informed her, at the first consultation, that this cure could only be effected by the flowers of a tree which grew in the castle of the Ten Steps, an edifice which was guarded by enchantment. This adventure was undertaken and achieved by Palmerin, who gained the flowers of the tree, and an enchanted bird, which was destined, in due season, to announce to him, by an unearthly shriek, the approaching termination of his existence. He also put an end to the spells of the castle, by which means Trineus, who, in his canine capacity, had accompanied his friend and owner, was restored to his original form.

The exploit is followed by a long series of adventures, bearing, however, a strong resemblance to those already related; new combats, new enchantments, and new soldans with inflammable daughters. Palmerin and Trineus at length returned to Europe, and the latter was soon after married to Agriola. At the same time Palmerin espoused Polinarda, and on the death of his grandsire Reymucio ascended the throne of Constantinople.

It has been suspected, from what has been said in some Latin verses at the end of *Palmerin d'Oliva*, that this romance was written by a woman: and if so, it gives us no very favourable impression of her morals.<sup>1</sup> Nor does she atone for this defect by genius or felicity of invention. M. de Paulmy, indeed, prefers *Palmerin d'Oliva* to all the romances of the family history of the Palmerins, and thinks it as superior to them as *Amadis de Gaul* to its

<sup>1</sup> "The Palmerin," says Ticknor, "has generally been regarded as Portuguese in its origin; but this is not true. It was the work—strange to say—of a carpenter's daughter in Burgos, and was first printed at Salamanca in 1511. . . . A continuation, too, by the same fair author appeared, called, in form, *The Second Book of Palmerin*, which treats of the achievements of his sons, *Primaleon* and *Polendos*, and of which we have an edition dated in 1516." Ticknor, however, neither quotes the title, nor gives the authority for his statement of the authorship. Brunet mentions an edition with the title, *La Historia de Palmerin de Oliva, traducida de Griego en español por Francisco Vasquez. Salamanca, à xxii. de Marco de 1516,*" adding, however, "Cette édition semble avoir disparu; les éditeurs de *l'Ensayo de una Bibl. Española* ne la citent que d'après le *Catologo de la Colombina* conservé à Seville."

continuations. But more weight is to be given to the opinion of the author of *Don Quixote*, and even from the abstract that has been presented, the reader will, I think, be satisfied of the justness of the sentence by which Cervantes condemned it to the flames.—“Then opening another volume he found it to be *Palmerin d’Oliva*. Ha! have I found you, cried the curate; here, take this *Oliva*, let it be hewn in pieces and burnt, and the ashes scattered in the air.”

The next romance in the series of the *Palmerin* histories is that of

### PRIMALEON,<sup>1</sup>

son of *Palmerin d’Oliva* and *Polinarda*, which was written originally in Castilian, and professes to be translated from the Greek by *Francisco Delicado*. It was first printed in 1516; afterwards at Seville in 1524; at Venice in 1534; Bilboa, 1585; and Lisbon, 1598. An Italian translation was published at Venice in 1559, and a French one at Lyons in 1572. *Anthony Munday* translated into English, first, that part of the romance which relates to the exploits of *Polendos*, which was dedicated, in some Latin verses, to *Sir Francis Drake*, and published in 1589. He afterwards continued his labours, and produced the complete version of the romance, printed in 1595 and 1619.

Near the commencement of this work there are related the adventures of *Polendos*, which form the most interesting part of the romance of *Primaleon*. The first exploit of this hero was not brilliant. While he yet resided in the court of his mother, the queen of *Tharsus*, returning one day from the chase, he perceived a little old woman sitting on the steps of the palace, and, on account of some imaginary offence, kicked her to the foot of the staircase. The old lady, when she had reached the bottom, muttered that it was not so his father *Palmerin d’Oliva* succoured the unfortunate. *Polendos* thus learned the secret of his birth, for, in fact, he was the son of *Palmerin*, whose

<sup>1</sup> Libro que trata de los valerosos Hechos en armas de *Primaleon* hijo del Emperador *Palmerin*, y de su hermano *Polendos*, y de *Don Duardos* Principe de Inglaterra, y de otros preciados Cavalleros de la Corte del Emperador *Palmerin*.



fidelity to Polinarda had been, on one occasion, overcome by an intoxicating beverage he had received from the queen of Tharsus. The prince now burned to signalize himself by more splendid actions than the one he had just committed. Accordingly, he departed for Constantinople to make himself known to his father, and performed the usual exploits on the way. He did not, however, remain long at that city, but set out to rescue the princess Franceлина, of whom he had become enamoured, from the hands of a giant and dwarf, by whose power she was confined in an enchanted castle.

Polendos returned to Constantinople during a great tournament, which was held to celebrate the nuptials of one of the emperor's daughters. On this occasion, Primaleon, being stimulated to the desire of glory by the exploits of his half-brother Polendos, was admitted into the order of chivalry, and greatly distinguished himself. The remainder of the romance is occupied with his adventures, and those of Duardos (Edward) of England. A duchess of Ormedes, incensed at Palmerin d'Oliva because he had slain her son, had declared she would only grant her daughter, the beautiful Gridoina, in marriage to the knight who should bring her the head of Primaleon. This raised up many enemies to that young hero, and, as he invariably slew the lovers of Gridoina, he became the object of her deepest detestation. The lady lived shut up in a remote castle, where Primaleon accidentally arrived one evening, and being unknown, he completely possessed himself of her affections before his departure.

The author of Primaleon designed

#### PLATIR,<sup>1</sup>

the son of Primaleon and Gridoina, to succeed his father in chivalry, and a romance, of which he is the hero, was accordingly written to continue the series, which was printed at Valladolid in 1533. This work is one of those tales of chivalry condemned to the flames by Cervantes. "Here is the noble Don Platir, cried the barber. It is

<sup>1</sup> *Chronica del muy valente y esforzado Cavallero Platir hijo del Emperador Primaleon.*

an old book, replied the curate, and I can think of nothing in him that deserves a grain of pity : away with him without more words ; and down he went accordingly."

This indifferent romance was superseded, as the legitimate continuation of the family history of the Palmerins, by the superior merit of the romance of

### PALMERIN OF ENGLAND,<sup>1</sup>

son to Don Duardos, prince of England, and Flerida, daughter of the Emperor Palmerin d'Olive.

The most ancient edition of *Palmerin of England* is in the French language ; it was printed at Lyons, 1553, is dedicated to Diana of Poitiers, duchess of Valentinois, and is said in the title-page to be translated by Jacques Vincent from the Castilian. In 1555, an edition in the Italian language was published at Venice, which also purports that it was translated from the Spanish. This romance next appeared in Portuguese in 1567, dedicated to the Infanta Dona Maria, by Francesco de Moraes. Of Moraes little farther is known than that he was born at Bragança ; that he was treasurer to King Joam III., and perished by a violent death at Evora in 1572. He informs the reader, in the dedication, that being in France, he had discovered a French MS. chronicle of *Palmerin*, which he had translated into Portuguese.

In spite of this declaration of Moraes, and of the circumstance that the French and Italian editions appeared twelve or fourteen years previous to the Portuguese, both professing to be translated from Spanish, Mr. Southey has maintained that *Palmerin of England* was neither written in Spanish, as alleged in the French and Italian editions, nor translated from ancient chronicles, as pretended by Moraes ; but that the Portuguese is the language in which it was originally composed, and that Moraes himself is the author.

With regard to the assertion of Moraes, it is argued justly that original romances were very frequently represented by the authors as translated from old manuscripts ;

<sup>1</sup> Libro del famosissimo y muy valeroso Cavallero Palmerin de Inglaterra hijo del Rey Don Duarte.

that the account which he gives of discovering the chronicles implies that the story is his own, was meant to be so understood, and was understood so; and that if the work had not been original, the pretence concerning the manuscripts could not have escaped detection, as the French and Italian versions could not have been unknown in Lisbon at the period of its publication.

The difficulty arising from the priority of the French and Italian translations, Mr. Southey resolves by adducing similar instances in which translations have been made from written copies, and published before the original, and by conjecturing that Moraes wrote the book in France, but delayed printing it till his return to Portugal, and that meanwhile it was translated into French and Italian. As to the assertion in the title-pages of the French editions, that it was taken from the Castilian, he believes that term to be used as synonymous with Spanish, which was, at that time, employed to denote generally the language of all the writers of the peninsula. He remarks, besides, that the Spaniards lay no claim to the romance, and that he knows no proof that it exists in their language.

Thus the way is cleared for the evidence of its Portuguese original, which consists in an assertion of Cervantes, that there was a report that it was composed by a wise king of Portugal,<sup>1</sup> which, though a mistake as to the author, evinces the general belief that it was written in Portuguese. There is also, according to Mr. Southey, internal evidence that *Palmerin of England* was the work of an inhabitant of Portugal, since to much of the scenery the author has given not only natural but local truth.<sup>2</sup>

In *Palmerin*, as in many other romances of chivalry, the author gives an account not only of the infancy of the hero,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of the romance in the Spanish language, printed at Toledo in two parts in 1547 and 1548, was discovered by Salvá. It contains, at the end of the dedication, "a few verses addressed by the author to the reader, announcing it, in an acrostic, to be the work of Luis Hurtado, known to have been at that time a poet in Toledo." See Ticknor, who cites bibliographical authorities for the "attribution" in a note; and Braunsfels, *op. cit.* p. 145. See also *Zeitschrift für Romanischen Philologie*, vi. 2, 3, p. 216, etc.; and *Romania*, xi. pp. 618, 619, in favour of Moraes' authorship.

but the adventures of his parents. Don Duardos, son of Fadrique, king of England, was united, as mentioned in the romance of Primaleon, to Flerida, daughter of Palmerin d'Oliva. One day, while pursuing a wild boar in a forest of England, this prince loses his way and arrives at a castle, into which he is admitted, and is afterwards treacherously detained by a giantess called Eutropa, with the view of revenging the death of her brother, who had been slain by Palmerin d'Oliva. This giantess had a nephew called Dramuziando, who resided in the castle, and was the son of the person who had been killed by Palmerin. Dramuziando presents the character (a very singular one in romance) of an amiable and accomplished giant. He was, we are told, pleasant in discourse, and (which was probably no difficult matter) surpassed all his kindred in courtesy; he conceived a friendship for Duardos, and, contrary to the intentions of the aunt, treated him with much kindness while he was detained a prisoner in the castle.

Flerida having set out in search of her husband Duardos with a large escort, is seized in a forest with the pains of labour, and gives birth to two sons, who are baptized by a chaplain who was in attendance. This ceremony was scarcely concluded when a savage man, who inhabited the forest, approached, leading two lions, and possessed himself of the infants, one of whom had just been named Palmerin, the future hero of the romance, and the other Florian. Both these unfortunate children he straightway conveys to his den, and destines them as food for his lions.

After this mishap, Flerida returns disconsolate to the palace, and a messenger is despatched to Constantinople to inform the emperor and his court of the recent loss, and also of the captivity of Duardos. On receiving this intelligence, Primaleon and a number of knights depart for England. A great proportion of the early part of the romance is occupied with the adventures of those engaged in attempting the deliverance of Duardos. Most of the knights fall under the power of the giant Dramuziando, but the only revenge he takes is employing them, as he of late had employed Duardos, to combat each new enemy that approached.

Meanwhile the wife of the savage man had prevailed on



her husband to relinquish his intentions of dismembering Palmerin and Florian for behoof of his lions, and the two young princes are brought up as his own children, along with his son Selvian. One day, when Florian had roamed to a considerable distance in pursuit of a stag, he meets Sir Pridos, son to the duke of Wales, who takes him to the English court, where he is introduced to the king and Florida, and trained up by them with much care, under the name of Child of the Desert.

Some time after this, Palmerin having strayed to the sea coast, accompanied by Selvian, the savage man's son, sees a galley strike on the shore. From this vessel Polendos, mentioned in the romance of Primaleon, disembarks, having come to England, with other Greek knights, in quest of Duardos. At their own request he takes Palmerin and Selvian on board his ship, and sails with them to Constantinople. Here they are introduced to the emperor, who remains ignorant of the extraction of Palmerin, but is certified of his high rank by special letters from the Lady of the Lake. Our hero was in consequence knighted, and had his sword girt on by Polinarda, the daughter of Primaleon. During his residence at court a tournament is held, in which he and an unknown knight, who bore for his device a savage leading two lions, chiefly distinguished themselves. The stranger departs without discovering himself, but he is afterwards found out to be Florian of the Desert, and is thenceforth denominated the Knight of the Savage.

Palmerin having become enamoured of Polinarda, the daughter of Primaleon, and having expressed his sentiments rather freely to the princess, she forbids him her presence. In the depth of despair he forsakes the Grecian court, and journeying towards England, under the name of the Knight of Fortune, succours on his way many injured ladies, and bears away the prize from many knights. He is always accompanied in these exploits by Selvian, who acted as his squire. Having arrived in England, while passing through a wood, they are met and recognized by the savage man. In the neighbourhood of London, Palmerin is received in a castle, of which the lady asks him to combat the Knight of the Savage, who had slain her son. On his arrival in London, the first business of Palmerin is to defy Florian of

the Savage. It is customary in most Spanish romances to stake against each other the two brothers, who are the chief characters in the work. On the present occasion, however, the combat is interrupted at the entreaty of the princess Florida. Nor is it ever resumed, for Palmerin having overcome Dramuziando, and set Duardos at liberty, the birth of the champions is revealed by Daliarte the magician, whose declaration is confirmed by the deposition of the savage man.

Florian and Palmerin now leave the court of England in company, but it is impossible to follow them through the long series of adventures in which they engage. A great proportion of the exploits in the romance are performed by the brothers, separately or united. Some of the adventures of Palmerin, particularly those in the Perilous Isle, possess considerable beauty and interest. A number of exploits are, however, attributed to subordinate characters, and a proper share is assigned to the giant Dramuziando, who, though he had been vanquished by Palmerin, is allowed to retain his castle, on account of his courtesy and good treatment of Duardos. Eutropa, nevertheless, still retains her illwill to the family of the Palmerins; and many of the incidents in the romance arise from her machinations, and those of other aggrieved giants, to avenge themselves on the brothers; but all their efforts are ultimately counteracted by the magician Daliarte.

The chief scene of adventure is the castle of Almourol. There, under care of a giant, dwelt the beautiful but haughty Miraguarda, whose portraiture was delineated on a shield, which hung over the gate of the castle. This picture was, in rotation, protected by knights, who had become enamoured of the original, against all other knights who had the audacity to maintain that the charms of their ladies were comparable to those of Miraguarda. At length, during a period when the picture was guarded by the giant Dramuziando, one of the adorers of the original, it is stolen by Albayzar, soldan of Babylon, who had been positively commanded to gain this trophy by his mistress the Lady Targiana, daughter of the Grand Turk.

Finally, all the knights being assembled at Constantinople, espouse their respective ladies. Palmerin is united

to Polinarda, and his brother Florian to Leonarda, queen of Thrace, whose disenchantment had been one of the principal adventures of Palmerin.

The romance, however, does not conclude with these marriages. Florian, whose character resembles that of the younger brothers in the history of Amadis, while residing at the court of the Grand Turk, had run off with his daughter. That princess was now married to Albayzar, soldan of Babylon, who had stolen for her sake the portrait of Miraguarda; but as she still retained a strong resentment at the conduct of her former lover, she employed a magician to avenge her on the queen of Thrace, who had been lately united to Florian. This queen, while disporting in a garden, is unexpectedly carried off by two enormous griffins, and conveyed to a magic castle, where she is confined in the image of a huge serpent. Florian's attention is now occupied by the discovery and disenchantment of his queen, in which he at length succeeds by the assistance of the magician Daliarte. The scheme of revenge having thus failed, Albayzar, on account of the affront which had been offered to his queen by Florian, and exasperated at the refusal of the emperor to deliver that prince into his power, invades the Greek territories with two hundred thousand men, and accompanied by all the kings and soldans of the east. Three desperate engagements are fought between the Christians and Turks, in which Albayzar is slain, and the pagan army totally annihilated; not, however, without great loss on the other side, for though Palmerin, Prima-leon, Dramuziando, and Florian survive, a large proportion of the Christian knights perish in these fatal encounters.

The fame and reputation of this romance, which divides the palm of popularity with Amadis de Gaul, has probably been, in some measure, owing to the commendations of Cervantes. For, if we may judge from the number of editions, Palmerin was less read in the age during which tales of chivalry were in fashion than many of its contemporaries; and hence its celebrity was probably the consequence of the extravagant eulogy of Cervantes. "And this Palm of England, let it be kept and preserved as a thing unique; and let another casket be made for it, such as that which Alexander found among the spoils of Darius, and

set apart, that the works of the poet Homer might be kept in it. This book, Sir Comrade, is of authority, for two reasons; the one, because it is a right good one in itself, and the other, because the report is that a wise king of Portugal composed it. All the adventures at the castle of Miraguarda are excellent, and managed with great skill; the discourses are courtly and clear, observing, with much propriety and judgment, the decorum of the speaker.—I say then, saving your good pleasure, Master Nicholas, this and Amadis de Gaul should be saved from the fire, and all the rest be, without farther search, destroyed.”—Cervantes, who had so keen a perception of the absurdities of the productions of knight errantry, would not so strongly have praised this romance unless it had deserved some commendation; but though Palmerin be certainly the most entertaining of the romances of the peninsula, I cannot help thinking the author of Don Quixote has somewhat overrated its merit. The arrangement of the incidents is as wild and perplexed as in other tales of chivalry. Besides, the individual adventures of Palmerin are invariably prosperous, and we never feel any fear or interest on his account, as we are assured of a happy issue by the frequent recurrence of success. The sentiments, too, are trivial, and the characters of the heroines insipid, even beyond what is common in romances of chivalry. Indeed, the author seems to have entertained a very unfavourable opinion of the fair sex, and indulges in many ill-bred reflections on their envy, unreasonableness, and inconstancy; but he has not decked out his females even with these attributes. The portraits of the knights, however, are better brought out and discriminated. As in many other Spanish romances, Palmerin represents a faithful lover, and Florian a man of gallantry, though more than usually licentious. But the most interesting characters are Daliarte, a learned and solitary magician, who resides in the Valley of Perdition, immersed in profound study; and the giant Dramuziando, for whose safety we feel principally anxious during the last terrible conflicts. The Emperor Palmerin d’Oliva, too, is here represented as a fine old man, with a high sense of honour and great courtliness of speech. The damsels, the strange knights, and the castles which abound in this ro-



mance, are generally introduced and described in such a manner as to excite considerable curiosity concerning them; and I know no work of the kind where interest and suspense, with regard to the conclusion, are kept up with greater success. If in the rival work of *Amadis de Gaul* there be more fire and animation, in *Palmerin* there is infinitely more variety, delicacy, and sweetness.

Mr. Southey, however, has drawn a parallel between this romance and *Amadis de Gaul*, which, on the whole, is much to the advantage of the latter. "In the description of battles," he says, "the author of *Amadis* exceeds all poets and all romancers, as he fairly fixes attention on the champions. But *Moraes* sets everything else before the eyes; he is principally occupied with the lists and spectators, and enters into the feelings both of those who are engaged and of those who look on. The magic of *Moraes*," he continues, "is not good; the cup of tears is a puerile fiction compared with the garland which blossoms out on the head of *Oriana*. The hero of *Moraes* is courageous, virtuous, and generous, to the height of chivalry; but it is abstract courage, virtue, and generosity, with nothing to stamp and individualize the possessor. The *Florian* of *Moraes*, however, is admirably supported, and he is a more prominent character than *Galaor*. But libertinism is only a subordinate feature of *Galaor*; that which stands foremost is his high sense of chivalrous honour. *Florian* has his wit, his good-humour, and his courage, to palliate his faults; but these are not sufficient, and he is never respected by the reader as *Galaor* is. What is excused in one as a weakness, is condemned in the other as a vice. This is unfortunately managed; for, as he is the cause of the final war, his character should have been clearer. Had *Targiana* been sister instead of wife to *Albayzar*, it would have been felt the Turks were in the right; and as it is, they are not so manifestly in the wrong, as the author should have made them."

The romance of *Palmerin* was translated from French into English by Anthony Munday, the Grub-street patriarch, as he has been called, towards the close of the sixteenth century. This work, however, according to Mr. Southey, was extremely ill executed, as it was, in a great measure,

performed by journeymen who understood neither French nor English. It has lately been translated from the original, with much elegance, by the author so often quoted in the above inquiries concerning the romances of the peninsula.<sup>1</sup>

The work with which we have been last occupied may be regarded as closing the family history of the Palmerins. It was, I believe, subsequently carried on in Portuguese, but this continuation obtained no celebrity nor success.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, a very pretty French romance of the sixteenth century, by Gabriel Chapuis, who translated so many of the Spanish tales of chivalry, entitled *Darinel*, son of *Primaleon*. The most interesting adventures relate to the Palace of Illusions, raised by a magician, in which everyone who entered fancied he enjoyed all things that he wished. This work is announced as translated from the Spanish, but was in fact the composition of Chapuis.

Besides the romances concerning the imaginary families of *Amadis* and *Palmerin*, there are mentioned in the scrutiny of *Don Quixote's* library, *Don Olivante de Laura*, by Antonio de Torquemada, which is condemned for its arrogance and absurdity, and *Felixmarte of Hyrcania*, which is sent to the bonfire in the court, for the harshness and dryness of the style, spite of the strange birth and chimerical adventures of its hero. Dr. Johnson, I suppose, is the only person in this land who has been guilty of reading the whole of *Felixmarte of Hyrcania*. Bishop Percy informed Boswell, "That the doctor, when a boy, was immoderately fond of romances of chivalry, and he retained his fondness for them through life; so that, spending part of a summer at my parsonage-house in the country, he chose for his regular reading the old Spanish romance of *Felixmarte of Hyrcania*, in folio, which he

<sup>1</sup> *Palmerin of England*, translated from the Portuguese of Frances de Moraes, by Robert Southey, 1807, 12mo.

<sup>2</sup> "A third and fourth part, indeed," remarks Ticknor, "containing *The Adventures of Duardos* the Second, appeared in Portuguese, written by Diogo Fernandez, in 1587; and a fifth and sixth are said to have been written by Alvares do Oriente, a contemporary poet of no mean reputation. But the last two do not seem to have been printed, and none of them were much known beyond the limits of their native country," i. 250.

read quite through."—Boswell's "Life of Johnson," 1884, 8vo. vol. i. p. 22.

The more celebrated romance of

### DON BELIANIS OF GREECE,<sup>1</sup>

is frequently alluded to in Avellaneda's continuation of Don Quixote, and is also mentioned by Cervantes more favourably than most others of the same description, in the scrutiny of the library. "This which I have in my hands, said the barber, is the famous Belianis. Truly, cried the curate, he with his second, third, and fourth parts, had need of a dose to purge his excessive choler: Besides, his castle of Fame should be demolished, and a heap of other rubbish removed, in order to which I give my vote to grant them the benefit of a reprieve, and as they show signs of amendment, so shall mercy or justice be used towards them: In the mean time take them into custody, and keep them safe at home; but let none be permitted to converse with them."

It would be needless to detain and tire the reader with any account of the history of the *Invencible Cavallero* Don Polindo, son of the king of Numidia, and his love with the Princess Belisia; of the *Valeroso Cavallero* Don Cirongilio of Thrace, son of the king of Macedonia, written by Bernardo de Vargas, or of the *Esforzado Cavallero* Don Clarian de Landanis, by Geronimo Lopez.

There still remain, however, two romances of considerable beauty and interest, which first appeared in the dialect of Catalonia.

When the Romans were expelled from Spain by the northern invaders, the language they bequeathed was adopted, but soon disfigured by the conquerors. During the ninth century it was still farther corrupted by the inroads of the Moors, and had at length so far degenerated, that the Arabic became the chief vehicle of literary composition.

In the eleventh century the French *Romans* language

<sup>1</sup> Libro primero del valoroso e invencible prencipe Don Belianis de Grecia, hijo del Emperador Don Belanio de Grecia, sacada de lengua Griega en la qual le escrivio el sabio Fristan por un hijo del virtuoso varon Toribio Fernandez. Printed 1564 and 1579.

was introduced into the peninsula by Prince Henry of Lorraine, who married a daughter of Alphonso VI. of Castile, and was diffused by the intercourse which subsisted between the French and Spanish nations, in their mutual resistance of the Saracens. A great change in consequence took place in the language of Spain, and five or six different dialects were spoken in the peninsula. Of these, the earliest, the most widely extended, and the one which bore the strongest resemblance to the southern French *Romans*, was that adopted in Catalonia. It was spoken in that province, in Roussillon and Valentia; and, till the period of the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, (when the Castilian tongue became prevalent,) it was the language which afforded the best specimens, both of prose and poetical composition. Petrarch is said to have been largely indebted to the amatory verses of the Troubadours of this region, and two of the earliest and most interesting romances that have been produced in Spain, appeared in the dialect of Catalonia, previous to their translation into the Castilian.

Of these the earliest, and perhaps the most curious, is

#### TIRANTE THE WHITE,<sup>1</sup>

the first part of which was written in the Catalonian dialect by Pedro Juan Martorell,<sup>2</sup> a knight of Valencia, but being left unfinished by him, it was completed by Juan

<sup>1</sup> Los cinco libros del efforçado y invencible Cavallero Tirante el Blanco di Roca Salada Cavallero de la Garrotera, el qual por su alta Cavalleria alcanço a ser principe y Cesar del imperio de Grecia.

<sup>2</sup> There can be little doubt that Martorell is himself the author of the romance, though that he originally wrote it in Portuguese, into which he professes to have first translated it, rather than in his native Valentian dialect, is improbable (see this question elucidated in Dr. Ludwig Braunsfels' "Kritischer Versuch über den Roman Amadís von Gallien." Leipzig, O. Wigand, 1876, pp. 145-155). Doubtless he embodied in it much matter gathered in England, whither he is supposed to have come in the suite of Peter, Duke of Coimbra, son of John I. of Portugal, in 1425. This princely visitor to our shores "was magnificently entertained at the court of our Henry VI. (then a child), by the king's uncles, and actually installed a Knight of the Garter; so that the author might have been an eye-witness of the ceremony. One reason of the fiction adopted by Martorell might be, that as his patron Ferdinand was great-grandson to John of Gaunt (who, under the title of Duke of Lancaster, . . . is actually introduced as a distinguished character in the work), he was likely



de Galba. The first of these authors informs us he translated it from the English, by which Mr. Warton conjectures he meant the Breton language, in which it may have been originally written. It is difficult to say whether this assertion of the author be true, or whether he has framed the story, to give some appearance of authenticity to his romance, which relates the exploits of a Breton knight. That part of it which contains the history of the earl of Warwick, is, I think, most probably translated, as it closely corresponds with the old English romance, *Guy of Warwick*, which was versified from the original French in the beginning of the fourteenth century;—a period long preceding the composition of *Tirante the White* in Spain.

At what time this romance was written or translated by Martorell, is not precisely ascertained. It was first printed, however, at Valencia, in 1490; and there is mentioned in it a work on chivalry, entitled: *L'Arbre des Batailles*, which was written in 1390; so that it must have been composed between these two periods. But the date may, I think, be

to be more gratified with the idea of its being an English story than with the naked truth. Be all this, however, as it may, the work is perhaps superior to every other composition of the same nature. Every writer who has read it, and particularly in the original, is lavish in its praise. Antonio Bastero, in his *Crusca Provenzale*, . . . calls the author one of the clearest lights of the Provençal tongue, of which the Catalan is considered as a branch. He takes particular notice of the variation of his style and manner, not only in *Tirant's* reply to his rivals and his letters to his beautiful and constant lady, the Princess Carmesina, but in his own Dedication to the King (Prince) of Portugal, whom he addresses in a language very different from that which he uses to the reader in his Preface. This particularity is likewise insisted on by Vicente Ximeno, in his *Escritores del Reyno de Valencia*, . . . where he says . . . the author has accommodated with adroitness and propriety the language and style to the person speaking; and indeed the artful discrimination of character must strike everyone who peruses the work even in the translation from a translation."

In Ritson's "*General Catalogue of Romances*," a MS. now in the British Museum, there is a long and interesting notice of this work. Ritson's remarks, which would occupy too much space here, will be found printed at length in the British Museum Grenville Catalogue, part i. pp. 734-736, to which I must refer the curious reader.

This romance was printed at Valencia in 1490. Three copies of this edition only are known. It was printed again at Barcelona in 1497. The romance has been reprinted from these editions in Aquilo y Fuster's "*Biblioteca Catalana*," Barcelona, 1872, etc.

still farther limited. The Canary Islands were discovered in 1326, and began to be well known in Europe about 1405.<sup>1</sup> Now, from the false notions expressed concerning them in *Tirante*, and the extravagant idea which seems to be entertained of their power and magnitude, it is probable this romance was written before their precise situation and extent were ascertained in the peninsula. On the whole, therefore, the era of its composition may be pretty safely fixed about the year 1400.

*Tirante*, as has been mentioned, was first published in the Catalonian dialect at Valencia, in 1490. It was thence transferred into the Castilian language, and published at Valladolid in 1511, one volume folio. There has been no subsequent Spanish edition, but the Italian translation by Lelio Manfredi has passed through three impressions, of which the first appeared in 1538. The Count de Caylus more lately brought it forward in a French garb, after the fashion of the Count de Tressan; he has altered the incidents of the story in some places; in others he has considerably abridged the work, by omitting precepts of chivalry, and has almost everywhere rendered it more licentious.

The hero of this romance, while on his journey to attend the tournaments, which were about to be celebrated in England (on account of the marriage of the king of that country with a princess of France), is accidentally separated from his companions, and having fallen asleep on his horse, arrives in rather an unwarlike attitude at the hermitage of William, earl of Warwick.

This nobleman, disgusted with the European world, had

<sup>1</sup> These isles, owing to their remoteness, were long invested with the haze of mystery; they were, however, known to the ancients, and were noticed by Pliny and other writers of antiquity; after which, according to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "There is no farther mention of them until we read of their rediscovery about 1334, by a French vessel driven amongst them by a storm."

During the whole of the fifteenth century the Canaries attracted many adventurers, and were the object of several expeditions which started mostly from Spain, and met with very effectual resistance from the natives, who were not all brought into subjection to the Spanish throne until near the close of the century. Don Luis, great-grandson of Alphonso the Wise, obtained a bull from Clement VI. in 1334, bestowing upon him the lordship of the Fortunate (or Canary) Islands, to remain in fief to the Holy See, upon an annual payment of 400 florins.

gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Thence he spread a report of his death, which seems to have been eagerly received in England, returned to his own country in disguise, and established himself in a retirement near the castle in which his countess resided. After he had passed some time in solitude, fortune gave him an opportunity of rendering signal service to his country. The great king of the Canary Islands had landed in Britain with a formidable army, and had subdued nearly the whole of England, while the monarch of the conquered country, driven successively from London and Canterbury, had sought refuge in the town of Warwick, which was soon invested by the Canary forces. At this crisis, the earl, who lived in the neighbourhood, came to the assistance of his prince; killed the intrusive monarch in single combat, and defeated his successor in a pitched battle. After these important services the earl discovered himself to his countess, and again retired to his hermitage. In the English metrical romance of Guy of Warwick, translated from the French, that earl, after a long absence, returns to England in disguise of a palmer, visits his countess unknown to her, and delivers King Athelstane from an invasion of the Danes, who had besieged him in Winchester, by overthrowing their champion in single combat.

William of Warwick was engaged in the perusal of *L'Arbre des Batailles*, when the unknown and drowsy knight arrived at his habitation. When roused from the sleep in which he was plunged, he informed the earl that his name was *Tirante el Blanco*, that he was so called because his father was lord of the marches of *Tirranie*, situated in that part of France which was opposite to the coast of England, and that his mother was daughter to the duke of Britany. After this genealogical sketch, he mentioned his design of attending the tournaments, and receiving the honour of knighthood. His host accordingly read to him a chapter from *L'Arbre des Batailles*, which was a work on the institutions of chivalry. This prelection he accompanied with a learned commentary, explaining the different sorts of arms which were used in combats, and dwelling on the exploits of ancient knights: "But, as it is late," continues he, "your company must be at a distance; you are ignorant

of the roads, and you will be in danger of losing yourself in the woods, with which this district is covered. I therefore recommend an immediate departure." The above arguments might certainly have supported a more hospitable conclusion, but Tiran is dismissed with a present of the Tree of Battles, as a manual of chivalry, and a request to revisit the hermitage on his return from the tournaments.

Tiran accordingly, when the festival, which lasted a twelvemonth, was concluded, repaired to the hermitage, and, encouraged by the proofs he had formerly received of the hospitable disposition of the earl, brought his companions, to the number of thirty-eight, along with him. The earl, after he had recovered from his consternation, demanded an account of the tournaments, and inquired who had most distinguished himself. He is answered by Diofebo, one of his guests, that it was Tiran himself; that a French lord, called Villermes, having objected to his wearing a knot which had adorned the bosom of the beautiful Agnes, daughter to the duke of Berri, had defied him to mortal combat, and had required that they should fight armed with a paper buckler and a helmet of flowers. The combatants having accordingly met in this fantastic array, Villermes was killed in the encounter. Tiran having recovered from eleven wounds he had received, six of which, according to surgical etiquette, ought to have been mortal, killed in one day four knights, who were brothers in arms, and who proved to be the dukes of Burgundy and Bavaria, and the kings of Poland and Friezeland. This last monarch found an avenger in one of his subjects, Kyrie Eleison, or, Lord have mercy upon us, who was suspected of a descent from the ancient giants. On arriving in England, this champion visited the tomb of his master, and expired of grief on beholding his monument, and the arms of Tiran suspended over the banners of his sovereign. His place was supplied by his brother Thomas of Montauban, whose stature afforded still more unequivocal symptoms of gigantic ancestry. In spite of his pedigree, or perhaps in consequence of it, as giants were always unlucky in the romantic ages, he was overthrown by Tiran, and consented to beg his life.

Here ends the relation of the exploits of Tiran, during



the marriage festivals of England. From the hermitage of the earl of Warwick he returns to Britany, where a messenger soon after arrives with intelligence that Rhodes and its knights are closely besieged by the Genoese and the sultan of Cairo. Tiran sets out for the relief of this island, and takes Philip, the youngest son of the king of France, along with him. In the course of their voyage they anchor in the roads of Palermo. The king of Sicily throws over a platform from the port to the vessel of Tiran, and covers it with tapestry, hanging down to the sea. Tiran and his companions, having been treated on shore with corresponding magnificence, proceed on their destination. The siege of Rhodes is raised immediately on their landing, and after this success they return to Sicily, where Philip is united to the princess of that country.

Soon after the marriage of Philip and the princess, a messenger from the emperor of Constantinople announces the invasion of his master's territories by a Moorish soldan and the Grand Turk. Our hero proceeds to the succour of the Greek empire, and immediately on his arrival is entrusted by its sovereign with the chief command of the forces. After Tiran receives this appointment, a great part of the romance is occupied with long details of the war carried on against the Turks, who are defeated in several pitched battles. In one of these the kings of Cappadocia and Egypt, and a hundred thousand men, are killed on the part of the enemy; the sultan, the king of Africa, the Grand Turk, and Grand Turk's son, are severely wounded; with a loss of only twelve hundred and thirty-four men on the side of the Greeks. Being unable to withstand such inequality of slaughter, the Turks are forced to solicit a truce. This being granted, the interval of repose is occupied with splendid festivals and tournaments, held at Constantinople. During this period, Urganda, sister of the renowned Arthur, arrives at Constantinople in quest of her brother. The emperor exhibits to her an old gentleman he kept in a cage, whom she speedily recognizes as the object of her search. As long as he retains his sword, the famed Escalibor, in his hand, he returns most pertinent answers to the questions addressed to him; but when deprived of this support, his observations become extremely

infantile. Urganda is permitted to take him along with her. On the same evening she gives a splendid supper, in the vessel in which she had arrived, to the emperor and his court, and sets sail with her brother next morning. But it is not said how Arthur found his way to Constantinople, nor where he went after his departure. In this stage, too, of the romance, the intrigues of the Greek ladies with the French knights who had accompanied Tiran to Constantinople, are related, and the particulars of some of them detailed with unnecessary minuteness. Hyppolito seduces, or rather is seduced by, the empress; and Diofebo, afterwards created duke of Macedonia, carries on an amour with Stephania, one of the attendants of Carmesina, daughter of the emperor. Tiran becomes enamoured of this princess, who, during day, was always surrounded by a hundred and seventy damsels; but at other seasons he has frequent interviews with her, by favour of one of her attendants, called Plazirdemavida. The good understanding, however, which subsisted between Tiran and the princess, is at length interrupted by the plots of the Vedova Reposada, another attendant, who, having fallen in love with Tiran, contrives to make him jealous of her mistress, by a stratagem resembling that which deceives Claudio in *Much Ado about Nothing*, and also the lover of Geneura in the fifth canto of the *Orlando Furioso*.

The truce between the Turks and Christians being expired, Tiran sets out for the army without taking leave of the princess. While the vessel in which he was to be conveyed is still at anchor in the roads, she despatches Plazirdemavida to inquire into the reasons of his conduct; but a storm having meanwhile arisen, and the ship having been driven from its moorings, her emissary is unable to return to Constantinople, and the vessel is carried towards the coast of Africa. Two mariners convey Plazirdemavida on shore. Tiran remains with a single sailor in the vessel, until it is at length wrecked on the coast of Tunis. While wandering on the shore, our hero meets accidentally with the ambassador of the king of Tremecen, is conducted by him to court, and proves of great service to that monarch in the wars in which he was engaged. On one occasion Tiran besieges the town of Montagata, when,

to his great surprise, Plazirdemavida, whom he believed lost, comes to his camp to intercede for the inhabitants, and is now appointed queen of an extensive territory. Tiran, by means of similar alliances and conquests, is enabled to embark a hundred and fifty thousand infantry, and eighty-eight thousand cavalry, for the succour of the Greek emperor. Soon after his return to Constantinople with this formidable armament, he burns the Turkish fleet, and, by taking a strong position in rear of their army (which rendered a retreat impracticable), he ultimately secures an advantageous peace.

Splendid preparations are now made for the nuptials of Tiran and Carmesina; an event which Tiran had rendered insipid before his last expedition against the Turks. While on his return to Constantinople, after the conclusion of the treaty, he receives orders, at the distance of a day's journey from the city, to wait till the preparations be completed. In this interval, while lounging one day on the banks of a river, and conversing on his happiness with the kings of Ethiopia, Fez, and Sicily, he is seized with a pleurisy, and expires soon after. When this intelligence is brought to Constantinople, the emperor dies of grief; and the demise of the princess on the same day completes the triple mortality. The empress having given orders for the funerals, passes the ensuing night with her lover Hyppolito, who redoubles her impatience to share with him the throne to which she had now succeeded. After a joint reign of three years, she bequeaths to him the empire, and her place is supplied by a daughter of the king of England.<sup>1</sup>

I have been thus minute in the account of Tirante the White, as it is one of the three romances preserved in the scrutiny of Don Quixote's library. "By her taking so many romances together," says Cervantes, "there fell one at the barber's feet, who had a mind to see what it was, and found it to be Tirante the White. God save me,

<sup>1</sup> The celebrated Baron Grimm, "who did not, it seems, add to his other qualifications the charms of an agreeable person, took incredible pains to supply his natural deficiency by the artificial resources of the toilet. The quantity of ceruse, or white paint, with which he daily filled up the lines and wrinkles of his face, joined to his want of moderation in the enjoyment of his *bonnes fortunes*, procured for him the appellation of Tyran le Blanc."

quothe the priest, with a loud voice, is Tirante the White there? Give me him here, neighbour, for I shall find in him a treasure of delight and a mine of entertainment. Here we have Don Kyrie Eleison of Montalvan, a valorous knight, and his brother Thomas of Montalvan, and the knight Fonseca, and the combat which the valiant Des Grieux fought with Alano; and the smart conceits of the damsel Plazerdemavida, with the amours and artifices of the widow Reposada, and madam the empress in love with her squire Hyppolito." He then advises the housewife to take it home, and read it; "for though," continues the priest, "the author deserved to be sent to the galleys for writing so many foolish things seriously, yet, in its way,<sup>1</sup> it is the best book in the world. Here the knights eat and sleep, and die in their beds, and make their wills before their death, with several things which are wanting in all other books of this kind."

It cannot, indeed, be denied, that Tirante the White is of a nature altogether different from the other romances of chivalry. It possesses much more quaintness and pleasantry. Nor is it occupied with the detached adventures of a dozen different knights; the attention is constantly fixed on the adventures of Tiran, of whom the reader never loses sight, and, except in the account of the fetes in England, which occupies a small part of the work, there are hardly any tournaments or single combats. Tiran is more a skilful commander than a valiant knight, and subdues his enemies more by a knowledge in the art of war, than by his personal courage. In other romances the heroes are only endowed with bravery, all besides is the work of magicians. Tiran, on the contrary, performs nothing incredible, everything he does lies within the sphere of human capacity. Giants, so prevalent in other romances, are here dwindled to nothing. Kyrie Eleison and his brother Thomas are but meagre monsters. No helpless females are protected, no enchanted castles restored to the ordinary properties of stone and lime. I remember, indeed, no magical story, except that of Espertius, who, while on his way from Africa to assist Tiran at Constan-

<sup>1</sup> Per su estilo. This has been rendered "in point of style," by some of the translators of Cervantes.



tinople, is driven on the island of Cos, where he restores the daughter of Hippocrates to her original form. She appeared to him in the shape of a dragon, into which she had been changed by Diana; but, by consenting to kiss her on the mouth, the knight effected her transformation. A belief in a tradition precisely the same is attributed to the inhabitants of Cos, in a book of modern French travels, of which I have forgotten the title. Sir John Mandeville, in his *Travels*, also relates a story somewhat similar. Speaking of an enchanted dragon in the isle of Cos, "a yonge man," says he, "that wiste not of the dragoun, went out of a shippe, and went throghe the isle, till that he cam into the cave; here he saw a damsel who bad him come agen on the morwe, and then come and kysse hire on the mouth, and have no drede, for I schall do the no manner harm, alle be it that thou see me in likeness of a dragoun, for thoughe thou see me hideous and horrible to loken onne, I do the to wyten that it is made be enchantment, for withouten doubt I am none other than thou seest now, an woman, and zyff thou kysse me thou shalt have all this tresure, and be my lord, and lord also of that isle." This ambiguous lady, however, was not the daughter of Hippocrates, the dragon of the Spanish romance, who, according to Sir John Mandeville, frequented a different island, "and some men seyne that in the isle of Lango is yit the daughter of Ypocras, in forme and likenesse of a great dragoun, that is a hundred fadme in length as men seyne, for I have not seen hire, and thei of the isles callen hire Ladie of the Land,"—a fiction which may partly have originated in one of that physician's children being called Draco, a circumstance mentioned by Suidas on the authority of Galen. The story of Espertius and the daughter of Hippocrates was probably conveyed to the author of *Tirante* by some obscure, but prevalent tradition; and, through the medium of this work, a similar incident has been adopted in innumerable tales of wonder and many romantic poems. In the 25th and 26th cantos of the second book of Berni's "*Orlando Inamorato*," the paladin Brandimarte, after surmounting many obstacles, penetrates into the recesses of an enchanted palace. There he finds a fair damsel seated upon a tomb, who announces

to him, that in order to achieve her deliverance, he must raise the lid of the sepulchre, and kiss whatever being should issue forth. The knight, having pledged his faith, proceeds to open the tomb, out of which a monstrous snake raises itself with a tremendous hiss. Brandimarte with much reluctance fulfils the conditions of the adventure, and the monster is instantly changed into a beautiful fairy, who loads her deliverer with benefits (Scott's "*Minstrely*," vol. ii. p. 84). In the ballad of Kempion, the prince of that name effects a similar transformation by a similar effort. There is a like story in the 6th tale of the *Contes Amoureux de Jean Flore*, written toward the end of the fifteenth century.

The second Catalonian romance to which I formerly alluded, is that of

#### PARTENOPEX DE BLOIS,<sup>1</sup>

which was written in the Catalonian dialect in the thirteenth century, and printed at Tarragona in 1488. The Castilian translation appeared at Alcala, 1513, 4to, and afterwards in 1547.<sup>2</sup> M. Le Grand, however, has endeavoured to establish that this work was originally French, and informs us that his own modern version, appended to his *Contes et Fabliaux*, is made from a manuscript poem in the library of St. Germain des Prés, which he conjectures to be of the twelfth century.

The Princess Melior succeeded her father Julian in the Greek empire. Though well qualified to govern, from natural talents, and the advantages derived from a knowledge of magic, her subjects insisted on her selecting a husband, but granted two years for the choice. She accordingly despatched emissaries to all the courts of Europe, with instructions to enable these messengers to make a judicious election.

At this time there lived in France a young man, called

<sup>1</sup> Libro del esforzado Cavallero Conde Partinuples que fue Emperador de Constantinopla.

<sup>2</sup> A Danish version was printed in 1560 and 1572. The story was circulated as a chapbook among the Netherlands in the seventeenth century.

Partenopex de Blois, who was nephew to the king of Paris. One day, while hunting with his uncle in the forest of Ardennes, he is separated from his party while pursuing a wild boar, and night falling, he loses his way in the woods. On the following day, after long wandering, he comes to the sea-shore, and perceives a splendid vessel moored near the land, which he enters to ascertain if any person were on board, but he finds no one. Now this pinnace happened to be enchanted, and, disdaining the vulgar operations of a pilot, as soon as Partenopex had embarked, it spontaneously steered a right course, and after a prosperous voyage, arrived in the bay of a delightful country. Vessels of this sort are common in romance. There is one in the beautiful fabliau of Gugemar. In the 7th canto of the Rinaldo we have an enchanted bark, which was solely directed by the force of magic, and invariably conducted the knights who entered it to some splendid adventure.<sup>1</sup> A self-navigated gondelay is also introduced in Spenser's "Faery Queen" (b. ii. c. 6) :—

Eftsoones her shallow ship away did slide,  
 More swift than swallow sheres the liquid skye,  
 Withouten oare or pilot it to guide,  
 Or winged canvas with the wind to fly;  
 For it was taught the way which she would have,  
 And both from rocks and flats itself could wisely save.

The finest of these barks is that which conducts the Christian knights, in their search of Rinaldo, to the residence of Armida. This fiction, however, was not the invention of the middle ages, but is of classical origin; vessels of this nature being described by Alcinous to Ulysses, in the 8th book of the Odyssey :—

So shalt thou instant reach the realms assign'd,  
 In wondrous ships self-moved, inspired with mind;  
 No helm secures their course, no pilot guides,  
 Like man, intelligent, they plough the tides,  
 Conscious of every coast, and every bay,  
 That lies beneath the sun's all-seeing ray;  
 Though clouds and darkness veil the encumber'd sky,  
 Fearless through darkness and through clouds they fly.

<sup>1</sup> Spiritually directed ships also form a feature in the Greater Graal Romance.

Partenopex having disembarked from his magical conveyance, approached and entered a castle of marvellous extent and beauty, which stood near the harbour. In the saloon, which was lighted by diamonds,<sup>1</sup> he finds prepared an exquisite repast, but no one appears. Attendance could

<sup>1</sup> Truth is stranger than fiction. It would be perfectly possible to realize approximately this idea by the aid of modern science. In a lecture delivered at the Royal Institution on April 4, 1879, Mr. William Crookes, F.R.S., exhibited the phosphorescent phenomena of diamonds and rubies in glass vessels from which the air had been nearly exhausted, and the remaining atmospheric molecules set in movement by electricity. One diamond shone with a brilliant blue light, another "with as much light as a candle, phosphorescing of a bright green." Mr. Crookes considered the diamond the most sensitive substance he had met with "for ready and brilliant phosphorescence. . . . Next to the diamond the ruby is one of the most remarkable stones for phosphorescing." At the same lecture a small heap of these stones was exhibited, "shining with a brilliant rich red colour, as if they were glowing hot." See, *supra*, Huon of Bordeaux, p. 307. See also the story, from the *Gesta Romanorum*, entitled *De Imagine cum digite dicente*, and note upon it. The belief in the inherent luminosity of certain stones seems to have been widely diffused; at all events luminous gems are an important property in legendar and imaginative literature. According to an Eastern story the pit into which Joseph was cast by his brethren was illumined by a jewel (Weil, Bible, Koran, and Talmud—Story of Joseph). The Eastern ruby especially seems to have been credited with the power of giving light. The Persians called it "Torch of the Night" (Chardin, *Voyages*, Paris, 1811). Mahomet's tomb was feigned to be illumined by such a stone.

Une lampe de cristal cler;  
Devant la tombe de Mahon pent.  
Il n'a riens dedens, et si rent  
Tel clarte k'il saule qu' ele art;  
Elle i fut assise par art.  
Chil qui l'uevre sutilia  
Auchune pierre mise i a,  
Prope a escarboucle fine  
Qui la lampe enlumine.

Roman de Mahomet, v. 1934, ed. Du Pont, p. 81.

Prope (pyrope) is a name given to the ruby on account of its supposed luminosity, just as carbunculus refers to an incandescent coal. Cf. also the following verses of the mediæval sequence, *Ave Virgo Nobilis*, etc. :—

"Approbat carbunculus,  
Lucens nocte oculus,  
Longe, late, largiter  
Laudis tuæ jugiter  
Famam dilatari."

See, further, Add. Note on Luminous Stones.



be the better dispensed with, as the dainties placed themselves of their own accord on his lips. After he had taken advantage of their hospitality, a lighted torch showed him the way to his bed-chamber, where he was undressed by invisible hands. The notion of such a palace, like many other incidents in this romance, must have been suggested by the story of Cupid and Psyche in Apuleius. A similar fiction has been adopted by the earliest romantic poet of Italy: in the second canto of the *Morgante Maggiore*, that giant comes with his master Orlando to a splendid and mysterious castle, in which the apartments are richly furnished, and the table spread with every sort of wines and provisions. After the guests have partaken of a sumptuous repast, they retire to rest on rich couches prepared for their repose, no one having appeared in the course of the entertainment.

When Partenopex had gone to bed, and the lights had been extinguished, a lady entered the apartment, who, after some tedious expostulation on the freedom he had used in usurping the usual place of her repose, evinced a strong determination not to be put out of her way. In the course of the night his companion acquaints him that she is Melior of Constantinople, who, it will be remembered, was a great empress and a fairy at the same time. Having fallen in love with Partenopex, on report of her emissaries, she had contrived the enchantments he had lately witnessed. She farther intimated, that he was to remain at her castle, but that he would forfeit her affections if he attempted to obtain a sight of her person before the lapse of two years; a deprivation for which she seemed disposed to compensate by the most ample gratification of his other senses. In the morning the most splendid habiliments were brought him by Uracla, the sister of the empress fairy. Having dogs and horses at his command, he usually spent the day in hunting, and in the evenings was entertained by a concert from invisible musicians.

Anxious, at length, to revisit his native country, which he learned had been attacked by foreign enemies, Partenopex hazarded an exposition of his wishes to his mistress, who, after exacting a promise of return, accommodates him with the magic sloop in which he had arrived, and

which in a short while conveys him to France. On the evening he landed he sets out for Paris, and on his way meets with a knight, whom he discovers to be Gaudin, the lover of Uracla. The strictest intimacy arises between these two persons after a dreadful combat; a mode of introduction, which, though now fallen into disuse, was the usual commencement of friendship in those chivalrous ages :—

Deux Chevaliers qui se sont bien battus,  
Soit à Cheval, soit à la noble escrime,  
Avec le sabre ou de longs fers pointus,  
De pied en cap tout couverts, ou tout nus,  
Ont l'un pour l'autre une secrete estime ;  
Et chacun d'eux exalte les vertus  
Et les grands coups de son digne adversaire,  
Lorsque surtout il n'est plus en colere :  
Mais s'il advient, après ce beau conflit,  
Quelque accident—quelque triste fortune,  
Quelque misere à tous les deux commune,  
Incontinent, le Malheur les unit ;  
L'Amitié nait de leurs destins contraires,  
Et deux heros persécutés sont Frères.

La Pucelle, Préface au chant ix.

Expell'd their native homes by adverse fate,  
They knock'd alternate at each other's gate ;  
Then blazed the castle at the midnight hour  
For him whose arms had shook its firmest tower.

Soon after the arrival of Partenopex in France, Angelica, the pope's niece, who was at this time residing at the court of Paris, falls in love with him, and in order to detach him from his engagement with the fairy, which she had discovered by means of an intercepted letter, she employs a holy man, who repaired to Partenopex, and denounced Melior as a demon. He found that her lover was proof against an insinuation with regard to his mistress possessing a serpent's tail, which he begged to be excused from crediting, but that he was somewhat startled by the assurance that she had a black skin, white eyes, and red teeth.

Partenopex having returned to the residence of the fairy, resolves to satisfy himself the first night he passes in her company, as to the truth of her possessing the perfections attributed to her in France. On raising a lamp to her countenance, he has the satisfaction to find she has been

cruelly traduced; but, as she unfortunately awakes, from a drop of wax falling on her bosom, he incurs her utmost resentment. His life is spared at the intercession of Uracla, but, being forced to leave the castle, he repairs to the forest of Ardennes, having adopted the scheme of presenting his person as food for the wild beasts, with which that district abounded. This consummation, however desirable, was retarded by unaccountable circumstances; for though tantalized during a whole night by the roaring of lions and hissing of serpents, who gave repeated demonstrations of accommodating the knight, the provoking animals avoided all personal intercourse, and one of the monsters selected the horse of Partenopex in preference to his master. The neighings of the steed brought Uracla to the spot, who had set out in quest of Partenopex on perceiving some relenting symptoms on the part of her sister. Partenopex, all hopes of personal deglutition being at an end, consented to accompany Uracla to her castle in Tenedos, there to await the resolves of the empress fairy. Leaving Partenopex in this abode, Uracla set out on a visit to her sister, and, relying on the prowess of Partenopex, persuaded her to declare that she would bestow her hand on the victor, in a tournament she was about to proclaim. The princesses of romance frequently offer their hand to the conqueror in a tournament, perhaps on the same principle on which Bayle says Penelope promised to espouse the suitor who should bend the bow of Ulysses.

While preparations were making for the tournaments, Parseis, an attendant of Uracla, having become enamoured of Partenopex, took him out one day in a boat. After some time, Partenopex remarked to her the distance they were from land. The damsel then made an unequivocal declaration of attachment, and confessed she had recourse to this stratagem to have an opportunity for the avowal. Partenopex, who perhaps saw no insurmountable objection to a communication of this nature on shore, began to express much dissatisfaction at his cruise; but his complaints were interrupted by a tempest, which drove the vessel to the coast of Syria; Partenopex, being forced to land, was seized by the natives, and became the prisoner of King Herman. During his captivity, the sultan of Persia

ordered this tributary monarch to accompany him to the tournaments which were about to be celebrated at Constantinople. After his departure, Partenopex having contrived to interest the queen in his behalf, was allowed to escape, and arrived in the capital of the eastern empire just as the tournaments commenced. His most formidable antagonist was the sultan of Persia, but Partenopex is at length, by his strength and courage, permitted to lay claim to the hand of the rejoiced and forgiving empress.

The romance of Partenopex is obviously derived from the fable of Cupid and Psyche, so beautifully told by Apuleius.<sup>1</sup> Psyche is borne on the wings of Zephyr to the palace of her divine admirer. Partenopex is transported in a self-navigated bark, before a favourable breeze, to the mansion of Melior. Both are entertained at a banquet produced by invisible agency, and similar restrictions on curiosity are imposed: both are seduced into disobedience by the false insinuations of friends, and adopt the same method of clearing up their suspicions. Banishment, and a forfeiture of favour, are the punishments inflicted on both; and, after a long course of penance, both are restored to the affections of their supernatural admirers. These resemblances are too close to permit us to doubt, that the story of Psyche has, directly or indirectly, furnished mate-

<sup>1</sup> As to this, "there are not many points of criticism on which there has been a more general consent, among those who have paid attention to the subject." So writes the Rev. W. E. Buckley, in his introduction to his edition of "the English version of Partonope of Blois," printed for the Roxburghe Club, in 1862, to which we refer the reader for a careful account of this romance. From Mr. Buckley's remarks it will be seen that M. Francisque Michel has found Denis Pyramus to be the author of the romance, or at least to claim the invention and versification of the poem, which M. Amaury Duval would include among the Romances of the Round Table, and M. Robert, on the other hand, would attach to the Carolingian cycle. The name Partonope, or Parthenopex, or Partonopeus, has been derived by Mone and Graesse from Parthenay, in Poitou, and not from Parthenopæus, one of the Seven against Thebes, to which derivation Mr. Ward leans in his Catalogue, i. p. 700. A. Mussafia, in his *Ueber die Spanischen Versionen der Historia Trojana*, shows part of the Spanish versions to have been made directly from the French of Benoît de St. More, while others, including a Catalonian translation made in 1367 by J. Conæsa, is directly from Colonna's text. The Italian Binduccio worked on the French version. See Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, etc.



rials for the fiction with which we have been engaged. Some of the incidents in *Partenopex* have also a close resemblance to the story of the Prince of Futtun and Mherbanou, in the *Bahar-Danush*, or *Garden of Knowledge*. That work was indeed posterior to the composition of *Partenopex*; but the author Inatulla acknowledges that it was compiled from Brahmin traditions. The *Peri*, who is the heroine of that tale, is possessed of a barge covered with jewels, which steered without sails or oars; and the prince, while in search of its incomparable mistress, arrives at a palace, in which he finds the richest effects and preparations for festivity, but no person appears.

*Partenopex de Blois* was translated into German, probably from the French *romans*, as early as the thirteenth century, the hero and his mistress being denominated *Partenopier* and *Meliure*. It has also been recently versified by Mr. Rose. The subject is happily chosen, as the romantic nature of the incidents, and tenderness of the amatory descriptions, are highly susceptible of poetical embellishment. *Melior's* enchanted palace is thus described:—

Fast by the margin of the tumbling flood,  
Crown'd with embattled towers, a castle stood.  
The marble walls a chequer'd field display'd,  
With stones of many-colour'd hues inlaid;  
Tall mills, with crystal streams encircled round,  
And villages, with rustic plenty crown'd—  
There, fading in the distance, woods were seen  
With gaily glittering spires, and battlements between.

Beneath the porch, in rich mosaic, blaze  
The sun, and silver lamp that drinks his rays.  
Here stood the symbol'd elements pourtray'd,  
And nature all her secret springs display'd:  
Here too was seen whate'er of earlier age,  
Or later time, had graced the historic page;  
And storied loves of knights and courtly dames,  
Pageants and triumphs, tournaments and games.

## CHAPTER VI.

ROMANCES OF CHIVALRY RELATING TO CLASSICAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL HEROES.—LIVRE DE JASON.—LA VIE DE HERCULE.—ALEXANDRE, ETC.

IT has been suggested in a former part of this work, that many arbitrary fictions of romance are drawn from the classical and mythological authors; and in the summary given of the tales of chivalry, a few instances have been pointed out, in which the ancient stories of Greece have been introduced, modified merely by the manners of the age.

Since so much of the machinery of romance has been derived from classical fiction, it would have been strange had not the heroes of antiquity been also enlisted under the banners of chivalry. Accordingly we find that Achilles, Jason, and Hercules, were early adopted into romance, and celebrated in common with the knights of the Round Table, the paladins of Charlemagne, and the imaginary lineage of Amadis and Palmerin.

And though the purer streams of classical learning were probably withheld from the romancers of the middle ages, spurious materials were not wanting to make them in some degree "conscious of a former time."

The "Tale of Troy Divine" had been kept alive in two Latin works, which passed under the names of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis. The former was a Trojan priest, mentioned by Homer,<sup>1</sup> and was believed to have written an account of the destruction of Troy. Ælian men-

<sup>1</sup>

"The sons of Dares first the combat sought,  
A wealthy priest, but rich without a fault;  
In Vulcan's fane the father's days were led,  
The sons to toils of glorious battle bred."

Pope's "Iliad," b. 5.

tions that the history of Dares Phrygius was extant in his time, but he probably refers to some spurious author who had assumed that appellation. At length an obscure writer, posterior to the age of Constantine, availing himself of this tradition, wrote a book, which he entitled *De Excidio Trojæ*, and which professed to be translated from the work of Dares Phrygius, by Cornelius Nepos. A pretended epistle is prefixed, as addressed by the translator to Sallust, in which he informs his friend that he had discovered a MS. in the handwriting of Dares, while studying at Athens, where that historian had always been held in higher estimation than Homer, etc. The forgery, sheltered under these specious names, was a current and credited manuscript in the middle ages, and was first published at Milan in 1477.

The work which bears the name of Dictys Cretensis is much longer and better written than the composition of Dares Phrygius. It is a prose Latin history, in six books, containing an account of the Trojan war, and the fate of the Grecian chiefs after their return. The author has principally drawn his materials from the *Iliad*, but has also pillaged other poems and histories, which contained information on the subject. In the preface to this work, it is said, that in the reign of Nero, the sepulchre of Dictys, who had been a follower of Idomeneus in the Trojan war, was thrown open by an earthquake, which shook the city of Gnosus in Crete. In the gap there was a chest found by some peasants, who carried it to their master Eupraxis. By him it was transmitted to Nero, and was then found to contain the history of the wars of Ilium, by Dictys Cretensis. After the preface follows the dedicatory epistle from Septimius to Quintus Arcadius, who lived in the reign of Constantine. Septimius professes himself to be the Latin translator of the work, and says he had rendered it into that language from the copy Eupraxis transmitted to Nero, and in which that Cretan had merely substituted Greek letters for the Phœnician characters, in which it was originally written. Now the commonly received opinion, and that maintained by the commentators Vossius, Mercerus, and Madame Dacier, is, that everything here is a fiction: that it is false that a Trojan history was written

by Dictys; that it is equally untrue that any work of this nature was presented to Nero by Eupraxis; that even the letter of Septimius is a forgery; and that the work was written several ages posterior to the time of Constantine, by an unknown author, who feigned the story of the transmission to Nero, and the translation by Septimius.<sup>1</sup> It is certain, however, that there did at one time exist a Greek work on the Trojan war, under the name of Dictys Cretensis. Of this several fragments are preserved by Cedrenus in his annals, and the book has been used by Malela in his history. These Greek fragments and quotations, and also the title of the work, coincide pretty nearly with portions of the Latin Dictys. It is not therefore altogether improbable (as has been attempted to be shown by Perizonius, in a very ingenious dissertation,) that the work was originally a forgery of Eupraxis, and by him presented as an antique to Nero; that Septimius in reality translated it from the Greek of Eupraxis, and that the Greek fragments in Cedrenus and Malela are parts of the forgery of Eupraxis.

In the histories of Dares and Dictys, everything that related to mythology and the fights of the gods was expunged; and thus in the Tale of Troy, a vacancy was left for the introduction of romantic embellishment. The story was first versified in the metrical composition of Benoît de Sainte More, an Anglo-Norman poet, who lived in the reign of Henry II. of England. He took the groundwork of events from the writings of Dares and Dictys; comprehended in his plan the Theban and Argonautic expeditions, and grafted on these incidents many new romantic inventions, dictated by the taste of his age.<sup>2</sup>

This metrical work, as has been shown by Mr. Douce, is the same in incident and decoration with the Latin prose chronicle of Guido de Colonna, who was formerly believed

<sup>1</sup> A. Dederich is of a like opinion. See his edition of the work, Bonn, 1837.

<sup>2</sup> See Benoît de Sainte More et le Roman de Troie; ou les métamorphoses d'Homère de l'épopée greco-latine au moyen âge. Par A. Joly, Paris, 1870, i. 4to, and Fischer's "Der Roman de Troie" (Leipzig?), and Wilhelm Greif's "Die mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der Trojanersage, ein neuer Beitrag zur Dares-und Dictysfrage," 1885. The work is to be completed in Stengel's "Ausgaben und Abhandlungen."



to have wrought solely from his own fancy, and from the materials of Dares and Dictys, as, according to a usual practice in the middle age, he concealed his originals. Guido de Colonna was a native of Messina; he undertook his work at the request of the bishop of Salerno, and completed it, as he himself informs us, in 1287, more than a hundred years subsequent to the composition of its metrical prototype. This grand repertory of fiction, which is in fifteen books, is entitled *Historia de Bello Trojano*. Dares and Dictys were superseded by this improved and comprehensive story of the Grecian heroes, who were now decked out in the fashion of the age. Achilles and Hector were complete heroes of chivalry, and Thersites a dwarf; the walls of Ilium were of marble, and the palace of Priam was as splendid as any enchanted castle in the tales of chivalry. The chronicle of Colonna commences with Jason's expedition in quest of the Golden Fleece, and the first destruction of the city of Laomedon by that hero and Hercules. A new Troy, rebuilt by Priam, was besieged for ten years by the Greeks, and was at last delivered into their hands by the treachery of Antenor and Æneas, who, on pretence of negotiating a treaty, concerted with the enemy the means of carrying off the Palladium, and of introducing the fatal horse into the city. In the conclusion of the work, the misfortunes of the Grecian chiefs on their return home are related. The story of the death of Ulysses has much the appearance of an oriental fiction. After his arrival in Greece, it was foretold to that hero that he should perish by the hand of his son. Not being aware that he had any other child than Telemachus, he thought he provided sufficiently for security by shutting him up in a strong fortress. It happened, however, that Circe had borne a son to Ulysses after his departure from her enchanted island, who having learned the secret of his birth, when he grew up set out in quest of his father, and arrived in Ithaca; but being refused admittance at the entrance to the palace, he attacked the guards. Ulysses himself issued forth to their assistance, and, not being known by his son, fell a sacrifice to his rage, and thus accomplished the prediction. As the act was involuntary, the youth was hospitably entertained by Telemachus, and after being knighted by him, was dis-

missed with due honour. Casaubon informs us that this catastrophe formed the plot of a tragedy, by Sophocles, on the death of Ulysses, not now extant.<sup>1</sup>

The chronicle of Colonna was very generally read in the middle ages;<sup>2</sup> but the classical stories were still more widely diffused in *Les cent Histoires de Troye, en Rime*, which were written in the fourteenth century, and are not confined to the tale of Troy, but include the whole history of the heroic ages.

This metrical production formed the foundation of the *Recueil des Histoires de Troyes*, written in prose by Raoul le Fevre about the middle of the fifteenth century. Like the work from which it was derived, it comprehends all the fabulous periods of Greece. The first part contains the *beautiful* domestic story of Jupiter and Saturn, the feats of Perseus, and first building of Troy; the second details the exploits of Hercules, and the third recounts the destruction of Troy by the Greeks. This compilation was printed by Caxton, without date, and is generally believed to be the first impression executed by that celebrated printer. Afterwards, at the desire of Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, he translated the *Recuyel des Histoires de Troye* into English, and published his version at Ghent and Cologne, which was the first book printed in the English language.<sup>3</sup>

From the materials above mentioned there were formed a number of prose romances, which presented mythological characters in the guise of chivalry. In these works, the demi-gods and nymphs of paganism are not drawn as divinities or genii, but as kings and knights, and ladies of Greece and Asia. The adventures are no doubt abundantly

<sup>1</sup> It was entitled: *Νίπτρα ἢ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοπλήξ*, v. Athen. ed. Schweighaeuser, *Animadv.* vol. iv. p. 43.—LIEB.

<sup>2</sup> The hystorye, sege, and dysturccyon of Troye, translated by Lydgate, was printed in 1513.

The *Gest Hystoriale*, an alliterative romance translated from G. de Colonna's work, has been published by the Early English Text Society.

<sup>3</sup> Caxton made his translation in 1469-71. Mr. Blades, "*Life and Typography of Caxton*," vol. i. pp. 48, 51, considers that the *Recuyell* was printed in 1472-4? and that the French original was printed subsequently. Though by no means one of the rarest of Caxton's productions, a copy was purchased so long ago as 1812 for the sum of £1,060 10s. by the Duke of Devonshire.

chimerical, but are such as might have happened to mortals endued with superior qualities, or supposed to be under the influence of enchantment.

Of this class of romances, the first editions were printed without date, but were for the most part published in the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. The period of the composition of some of them can be ascertained more accurately than that of most other tales of chivalry.

Εἰθ' ὥφελ' Ἄργεος μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος,

Would the ship Argo ne'er had fetch'd her flight,

but it was natural that the story of Medea, which is drawn from the earliest traditions of Greece, should have been adopted in romance. That terrific magician was the heroine of three epic poems,<sup>1</sup> and had for ages been seated on the pinnacle of tragic renown: the traditions concerning her were, consequently, of all others the most current, and had been amply detailed in the metrical romance of Benoît de Sainte More, and the chronicle of Colonna. Besides, the story of Jason and Medea must, of all classical fables, have been the most captivating to the imagination of a romancer. It bore a striking analogy to the fictions of the middle ages, especially those concerning the paladins of Charlemagne, in which we have so often beheld eastern princesses betraying and deserting their kindred for the sake of a favourite knight.

The author of the romance of

#### JASON AND MEDEA<sup>2</sup>

calls himself Raoul le Febre: his work is addressed to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, probably because this prince was founder of the order called Le Toison d'Or. Philip succeeded to the dukedom in 1419, and died in 1467, so that the composition of the romance must be fixed some time between these two periods. The first French edition is without date. An English translation was printed by Caxton, in 1475.

Jason, prince of the Myrmidons, from his earliest youth

<sup>1</sup> Dunlop probably means the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes, and of Valerius Flaccus and the seventh Book of Ovid's "*Metamorphoses*."—LIEB.

<sup>2</sup> Livre du Preux et vaillant Jason et de la belle Medée.

distinguished himself at tournaments. In one, which was held by the King of Bœotia to solemnize the reception of his son prince Hercules into the order of chivalry, he overthrew all his antagonists. From Bœotia, Jason and Hercules being associated in a fraternity of arms, proceeded to attend the celebration of the marriage of Hippodamia. The nuptial festivals were unpleasantly interrupted by an inroad of the Centaurs; but, notwithstanding the advantages possessed by these creatures in point of shape, they were exterminated by Jason. His next exploit was freeing Queen Mirro from an unwelcome lover (who was making his advances by besieging her capital), which Jason accomplished by slaying a giant, who was the suitor's champion.

On his return home, by the malevolence of his uncle Peleus, he was sent on the Argonautic expedition, which his enemies believed a desperate undertaking. In this enterprise he was accompanied by Hercules, who stopped on the voyage to predict the destruction of the town of Laomedon. Hercules had rescued this prince's daughter from a monster, to whom she had nearly fallen a prey; but when he asked her in marriage, as his reward, from the father, he was refused, and the sarcastic monarch had subjoined, that it was not worth while to recover his daughter from the paws of one monster to deliver her into the arms of another.

The fleet afterwards reached Lemnos, where the Grecian knights were received in the same manner as in mythology, and were long remembered by the fair inhabitants of that island.

After the arrival of the expedition at Colchos, the love of Medea, and the conquest of the Golden Fleece, are related nearly as in the classical fictions. At his departure, Jason carried Medea along with him: by her enchantments she raised a storm, while passing the Isle of Lemnos, and prevented the landing, which seems to have been intended. On arriving at the country of the Myrmidons she was well received by the old king, whom, by the most potent incantations, she restored to youth and vigour, so that he became "fort enclin a chanter, danser, et faire toutes choses joyeuses; et qui plus est, il regardoit moult volentiers les belles damoiselles." The sorceress also exhibited great political talents in the depression of the influence of



Peleus. At last, pretending to prepare for him a similar renovation as for his brother, she accomplished his death. His daughters having complained of this usage to the king, he sentenced the enchantress to banishment, with the concurrence of Jason, who previously left the country, that he might not be a witness to her disgrace. Medea poured forth a torrent of abuse on the ingratitude of the king for the services she had rendered him, among which she considered the renovation of Peleus as the chief. She rejected with marked contempt the vessel he offered, to convey her from his states; and with a stroke of her ring secured the attendance of four winged dragons, whose tails, being properly interwoven, formed a commodious chariot; then taking up the two children she had by Jason, she set off at full speed in this unusual conveyance, in presence of King Eson and his astonished Myrmidons.<sup>1</sup>

Long the fugitive magician soared over Greece without discovering any trace of Jason, for whom she still retained her former affection. At length, while hovering over the town of Corinth, she had a bird's-eye view of preparations for a great festival. On her descent she learned that these were for the approaching marriage of Jason with the princess of Corinth. Though fired with jealousy, she suspended the execution of her vengeance till the eve of the nuptials. When the ceremony was at length about to commence, she burst from a thick cloud, which opened amid thunder and lightning, and, perching on the spot where the rites were celebrating, appeared with a poniard in her hand, which she plunged into the bosoms of her two children, who were along with her; while the dragons, who were also of the party, vomited forth flames, which consumed Corinth and all its inhabitants.

Hitherto Medea has made a formidable appearance, and has been as *ferox invictaque*, as Horace could have desired her. Towards the conclusion of the romance, however, she acts a most despicable part. She inveigles into an unsuitable marriage, Egeus, king of Athens, who was then in his dotage; but she was afterwards banished, on being falsely suspected of an attempt to poison Prince Theseus, son of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ovid Metam. vii. 217, etc.

Egeus. Thus humiliated, she again set out on her wanderings; and as Jason, who alone had escaped from the late conflagration, was employed in a similar manner, he arrived one day at the verge of a forest, where he entered a hut in which Medea had sought refuge. Jason, softened by the remembrance of former affection and services, proposed a reconciliation. Medea, on her part, agreed to abjure magic, and became on the death of King Eson, which happened soon after, *bonne et douce femme et reine*.

In the above romance, the principal amusement arises from the curious application of Gothic manners and fictions to classical characters. Yet the work in itself is not altogether destitute of merit. It has been remarked in Mr. Dibdin's "*Bibliotheca Spenceriana*,"<sup>1</sup> "that, compared with many other tales of chivalry, there are few wearisome episodes and few digressions in the romance of Jason. The hero is generally kept in view, while his uniform and almost systematic treachery towards ladies, who had surrendered to him their honour, is softened down in a manner not studiously or obtrusively disgusting. The general sentiments of this romance are completely chivalrous, and the hardy exploits and perilous escapes of the hero are varied by numerous little touches of domestic life and commonplace adventure. On the whole, there is much natural and beautiful colouring in this performance."

Raoul le Febre, who wrote the romance of Jason and Medea, is also the author of that of

### HERCULES,<sup>2</sup>

which, as he informs us in the body of the work, was written in 1463. It has been published separately, but originally formed part of the more extensive composition, entitled *Recueil d'Histoires Troyennes*. Of all heroes of antiquity, the *Vagus* Hercules bore the nearest resemblance to a knight errant; and hence his adventures must have been wonderfully attractive to the imagination of a romancer. His story commences with the well-known stratagem of King Jove and his squire Mercury, which produced

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. No. 840.

<sup>2</sup> *La Vie du preux et vaillant Hercule*.

the hero of the romance. When he grows up, his labours are not undergone on account of the edict of Jupiter, or the wrath of Juno, but are spontaneously undertaken to render himself deserving of a Bœotian princess, of whom he is enamoured. The detail of the performance of his labours has received a colouring consistent with the origin attributed to them. Pluto is a king who resides in a gloomy castle; the Fates are duennas, who watch the actions of Proserpine, and the entrance to the castle is guarded by the giant Cerberus, who, according to this enlightened author, was believed a dog by the poets and the vulgar. A considerable part of the romance is occupied with the conquest of Spain by Hercules. He took Merida from Geryon, who was feigned to have three heads, because he was originally lord of the three Balearic Islands; and having pursued him from place to place, at length slew him near the foot of a castle, which was thenceforth called Gerona.

The romance of OEDIPUS was written about the same time with that of Hercules. Of his story, the outline is nearly the same as in the ancient Greek authors. The Sphinx, however, is a giant of ferocious courage, and of a subtlety, which, in books of chivalry, is very rarely coupled with exuberant dimensions.

We have already seen that Alexander the Great was a leading character in the early part of *Perce-forest*, but there is a work, entitled the

#### HISTORY OF ALEXANDER,<sup>1</sup>

which is devoted to the celebration of his exploits. The Macedonian hero was chiefly indebted for romantic embellishment to a fabulous life of him, which appeared in Greek

<sup>1</sup> *L'histoire du noble et vaillant roy Alexandre le Grand* Nouvelle-imprime à Paris par Michel le Noir. 26 Septembre, 1506. The paternity of the work is, however, doubtful. The Greek text was published in the *Bibliothèque des Auteurs grecs*, Paris, 1846, by C. Müller, who, with Graesse, considers the work was probably written at Alexandria, under the first Ptolemies. From the Greeks this romance passed also to the Bulgarians, and three different versions of the story are found to exist in early Slavonic literature. The Greek source of the Servian recension of Alexander was evidently not based immediately through a Greco-Byzantine medium upon any text of the pseudo Callisthenes. In its first form at Alexandria, the legend, as we can conceive

about the middle of the eleventh century, and which passed under the name of Callisthenes, who was a contemporary of Alexander. This spurious work, which has often been

it from the oldest extant Greek text and the earliest versions, is evidently designed to connect Alexander with Egypt, to make of him an Egyptian national hero in affiliating him to the royal house. It may be doubted whether the essential idea of the Greek romance is really of popular origin : here, as in numerous instances, the legend is perhaps merely an "invention personnelle," a fiction inspired by personal interests or sympathies, which has by degrees lapsed into the current of popular tradition. The Egyptian story subsequently meets acceptance and favour at Constantinople and soon afterwards in the East and in the West, not owing to its pristine idea (the Egyptian origin of its hero), but by reason of the accounts of prodigies which it offers in such abundance, and which were so adapted to the taste of readers whose judgment and literary perceptions were constantly declining. Introduced into the West by the translation of Julius Valerius, by the Latin letter to Aristotle, and at a later date by the *Historia de præliis*, of Leo, the fabulous narrative of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, obtained an unprecedented success throughout the Latin world. There can scarcely be fewer than one hundred manuscripts extant of the above letter and the *Epitome* of Valerius, and after researches far from complete I am able to enumerate more than sixty copies of the *Historia de præliis*. This extraordinary popularity is not explained alone by the liking for the wonderful : there is no doubt that in the West the narrative was regarded as genuine history, and one can account for its embodiment in bonâ fide historical compilations of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries upon this supposition. . . . The fabulous history of Alexander was then widely diffused among the clerks when the vernacular poets undertook the task of bringing it to the ken of the numerous class who were ignorant of Latin. It was about 1150, or earlier in the century, that a romance poet, who appears to have been a native of the south-east of France, introduced the legend in a brilliant manner into the vulgar literature. . . . Of this poem only the first hundred and five verses are known (preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence). The fragment, however, is of great importance, for it is seemingly the first Romance poem on a theme borrowed from antiquity, and the earliest of a numerous series of fictions based on classical history or mythology. This first poem of Alberich, or Elberich, of Bizenum (? Alberic de Briançon ou Pisançon), was soon imitated by Lamprecht in Germany, and renewed in France in decasyllabic verse. It is interesting to consider how Alberic and his imitators dealt with a subject so new and containing so much that was unintelligible or even obnoxious to a public of the twelfth century. His process has been to modify the hero profoundly, so as to render him acceptable to his auditors. The figment of the hero being the son of an Egyptian king versed in magic arts, would be repugnant to a mediæval public, nor would it be comprehensible that a personage proposed to admiration should be a bastard, accordingly Alberic denies that Alexander is the son of an enchanter, makes him legitimate, and presents him as a type



attributed to Simeon Seth, keeper of a palace of Constantinople, and was in a great measure translated from Persic traditions, an origin which accounts for the fables that have crept into it. Eastern romances, particularly the Persian, are full of incredible fictions concerning Alexander, or Iskender, as he is called.<sup>1</sup> In one of these, by Mahmed el Kermanni, Alexander, while prosecuting his conquests

of the veritable knightly king of the Middle Ages. [I must note, however, that many of the heroes of mediæval fiction are bastards—Merlin, Arthur, the Galaad of the later romances, Ysaie le triste, Rolland, Amadis, even the House of Capet derives its origin from the illicit commerce of Huon of Bordeaux and Esclarmonde.—H. W.]. The same process of adaptation is perceptible in the decasyllabic poem. The poem in Alexandrine verse, evidently the work of several hands, which I have endeavoured to distinguish, is a free remaniement of the decasyllabic poem with certain innovations. The “Roman de toute Chevalerie” of Eustache (or Thomas) of Kent, and the prose romances, are only more or less servile reproductions of the antecedent poems or the Latin narratives, designed to satisfy a curiosity which may be called historical in as much as the public for which they were intended believed to a certain extent in the reality of the events recited. The originality of these romantic fictions, concludes M. Meyer, is to be found, not in the marvelous scenes and incidents, which have been rather modified and sobered than invented or heightened, but in the transformation of the hero. The popular masses which bestow renown cannot conceive the variety of elements which go to constitute greatness. They have only one ideal at a time, and this they often change, and the hero can only occupy their imagination by frequent changes of aspect.—The preceeding remarks are freely condensed from the *avant-propos* (published in the *Romania*, 1885, pp. 621-629), to M. Paul Meyer's new work on the *Légende d'Alexandre*, which I have not been able to see before sending this to press.

<sup>1</sup> See H. Vogelstein, *Annotationes quaedam ex litteris orientalibus petite ad fabulas quae de Alexandro Magno circumferuntur*, etc., 1865, and E. Talbot, *Essai sur la légende d'Alexandre le grand dans les Romans français du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1850. A romantic history of Alexander, in twenty-four books, was written by the poet Arrian, and entitled *Alessandreis*. According to Apuleius, Clement, who flourished under Antoninus Pius, and one Nestor, who lived in the reign of Severus, wrote Greek poems on the subject. Douce, in a valuable note in the third volume of Ellis, p. 300, has enumerated not less than eleven French poets who have chosen this subject, and several might be added to the list. The great romance of Alexander was composed about 1200. One of the most splendid copies is preserved in the Bodleian Library; it contains about 20,000 lines, and it is a free translation from the French. Liebrecht notes the following passage in Richter's “*Reisen zu Wasser und zu Lande*,” etc. Dresden, 1831. “The King of the Trarsas (a Moorish tribe in Senegal) is alleged to be a descendant of Alichandoras, one of their most famous heroes of former times.” Bd. iii. p. 182.

on the frontiers of China, encounters a monstrous dragon which had ravaged a whole kingdom; and in an island of the Indian Ocean he sees men with wings, &c. The work, compiled from such materials, and filled with arbitrary fictions concerning Alexander, was early communicated to the west of Europe by means of a Latin version by Julius Valerius, which became the foundation of various metrical romances. Of these one of the most widely known was written in 1184, by Lambert li Cors, or le Tort, with the assistance of Alexander of Paris; a production which has given rise to the name of those lines called Alexandrian, from a false idea that it was the first poem in which that measure was employed. Thomas of Kent is the author of another metrical romance on the subject of Alexander, which, he says, is taken from the Latin, meaning probably the translation from the Greek text attributed to Simeon Seth. The incidents in the prose romance of Alexander have been compiled mainly from these two metrical works. Its author has chiefly availed himself of the poem of Lambert li Cors; but he has been indebted to the composition of Thomas of Kent for the whole story of Olympia and Nectanebus, which does not occur in the former production.

The date of the prose Alexander is nearly the same with that of the above-mentioned romances of Hercules and Jason, and it was printed towards the close of the fifteenth century. It is not till the ancient history of Macedon has been detailed, that the author gives the following account of the birth of his hero. Nectanebus, who was an Egyptian king, and a great necromancer, dreading an attack from the king of Persia, magnanimously embarked for Greece, in the disguise of a priest of Jupiter Ammon. Adorned with the symbols of that divinity, he visited Olympia, queen of Macedon, who, in the absence of her husband, was then residing in a remote castle, and he soon after became the father of Alexander. On the return of Philip, who had been long from home, the queen attributed her suspicious pregnancy to the intervention of Jupiter himself. In confirmation of this, Nectanebus afterwards by his art introduced at court a voluminous, but docile dragon, who saluted the king, and, so far from feeling abashed at the presence of the courtiers, caressed

her majesty to the infinite astonishment of Philip and the Macedonians. Nectanebus also insinuated himself into the favour of Philip, and when Alexander grew up was appointed his preceptor. That prince, as he advanced in years, displayed much greatness of mind; but he was diminutive in person, and his head leaned to one side, like that of Nectanebus. Hence the courtiers were wont to remark, that in form he much resembled the priest of Jupiter, but that his soul came from Jupiter himself. The amour of Nectanebus with Olympia has been introduced by Gower into the sixth book of his *Confessio Amantis*, as it is related in the romance.

After the death of his father, Alexander, previous to the conquest of Persia, embarked for Italy, subdued Rome, and received tribute from all the European nations. The account of his Persian expedition is somewhat consistent with history, but the most incredible wonders are added to his Indian conquests. Thus Alexander came among a nation who placed their delight in eating human flesh, and made war solely for the purpose of replenishing their garde-manger. Having jousted with Porus<sup>1</sup> for his kingdom, and overthrown him, he found in the palace of the vanquished monarch immense treasures, and among other wonders a vine, of which the branches were gold, the leaves emeralds, and the fruit other precious stones; a fiction which seems to have been suggested by the golden vine which Pompey carried away from Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> One chapter

<sup>1</sup> For a disquisition on this name, which the writer would connect with the French phrase *venger Forré mort Fouré*, etc., see Alex. Vesselovsky, *Iz Istorii*, etc. pp. 381, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Pompey received this vine from Aristobulus, the son of Alexander Jannæus, who had procured it for a present, and brought it to Rome, where he deposited it in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. There was, however, another golden vine at Jerusalem, over the gate of the temple, which weighed 1,000 talents. This was made by Herod's command. See the *Elucidator of Tacitus*, v. 5. A similar vine occurs in the romance of *Ysaïe le Triste* (p. 220), and in *Huon of Bordeaux*. It is also narrated of the Chinese prince Jung-Hwang (c. 900, A.D.) that he caused to be made a lotus plant six ells in length, and composed of gold and jewels. See also Gervase Tilbur, *Ot. Imp.* iii. 78. Grimm. *Kindermärchen*, Nos. 130 and 133. *Hyltén-Cavallius* and Stephen's "*Svenska Folk-Sagor*," i. 164.—LIEBRECHT. See also, *infra*, *Decameron*, x. 5.

in this part of the work bears the following title, "Comment Alexandre trouva femmes qui tant font gesir les hommes avec elles que l'ame leur part du corps." In a neighbouring district he beheld women, who, after being interred during winter, sprung to life on the approach of summer, with renovated grace and beauty; or, as it is prettily expressed in the metrical romance of Lambert li Cors, [ed. Michelant, p. 346]:

Quant l'esté revient, et le beau temps s'espure,  
En guise de fleur blanche reviennent a nature.

Finally, having reached the extremity of the world, having received homage from all nations who inhabit its surface, and being assured that there remained nothing more to conquer, Alexander formed the inconsiderate project of becoming sovereign of the air and deep. By the conjurations of the eastern professors of magic, whom he consulted, he was furnished with a glass cage of enormous dimensions, yoked with eight griffins well matched. Having seated himself in this conveyance, he posted through the empire of the air, accompanied by magicians, who understood the language of birds, and asked the most intelligent natives the proper questions concerning their laws, manners, and customs, while Alexander received their voluntary submissions. This aerial journey, like most of the fictions concerning Alexander, is of eastern origin. An old Arabian writer, in a book called *Malem*, informs us that Nimrod being frustrated in his attempt to build the tower of Babel, insisted on being carried through the air in a cage borne by four monstrous birds (D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.*, *Nimrod*). The notion of comprehending the language of birds is also oriental. This faculty was attributed by the eastern nations to Solomon, who, when he travelled on his magic carpet, with his soldiers on his right hand, and on the left the genii, was always attended by flights of birds, which sheltered his army from the sun.<sup>1</sup> The idea, however, seems to have passed at an early period into Europe; Gerbert, or Sylvester II., is said to have acquired it while at Seville, from the Moors, and in an old Scandinavian romance, Sigurd attains this accomplishment

<sup>1</sup> Sale's "Koran," on c. 27, v. 20. Cf. also Weil, *The Bible*, the *Koran*, etc.



by supping broth made of the flesh of dragons.<sup>1</sup> Sigurd having slain the dragon Fafnir is charged by Regin to superintend the roasting of the monster's heart, which Regin, aware of its virtues, purposed to eat. Sigurd accidentally touches the heart and then puts his finger in his mouth, whereby he instantly acquires a knowledge of the language of birds, by whose advice he kills Regin and eats the heart himself.

It is impossible to conjecture how high Alexander might have mounted, or what important information he might have derived from the birds, had he not been compelled to descend from the clouds by the *intolerable heat* of these upper regions. On his return from this aerial excursion, he resolved to cool himself, and to ascertain how the great fish behaved to the little ones, by descending to the bottom of the deep in a species of diving-bell. The fish, as he expected, crowded round the machine, and paid him their humblest homage. It is remarkable that a similar story is mentioned by one of the old Welsh bards (Davies' "Celtic Researches," p. 196), and Mr. Southey, in his notes to Madoc, says, that it was pointed out to him by Mr. Coleridge, in one of the most ancient German poems.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, Fafner's heart's blood: v. Fafnis-mal in the Edda.—Grimm Deutsche Heldensage, p. 75. In the Welsh tale Guion (or Fionn, afterwards Taliesin), was left in charge of the cauldron of Ceridwen. Three drops of the charmed liquor flew out of the cauldron, and fell upon Guion's finger. "And by reason of their great heat, he put his finger to his mouth, and the instant he put those marvel-working drops into his mouth, he foresaw everything that was to come, and perceived that his chief care was to guard against the wiles of Ceridwen." The Irish story runs thus:—Fionn, being on the banks of the river Boyne, met with some fishermen who had been sent by his enemies to take the "Salmon of Foreknowledge." The fishermen took a salmon of great size and beauty, which they placed at the fire to broil, leaving it in charge of Fionn, who was to take care that it did not burn, on pain of losing his head. During the process of cooking, a spark flew from the fire, which raised a blister on the fish. Fionn applied his thumb to the scorched part, in order to force down the blister, but the heat burning his thumb, he thrust it into his mouth to relieve the pain. No sooner had he done so than he became gifted with prophecy and foreknowledge, etc. See in Trans. of Ossianic Society for 1854, the "Feis Tighe Conan Cenn Shleibhe."—Nash, D. W., Taliesin, 1858, pp. 324-5. Merlin acquired the power of divination by swallowing the heart of a freshly-killed mole.

<sup>2</sup> The Annolied, vv. 206, etc.

When Alexander had received the obeisance of the fish, he returned to Babylon, where he was crowned with due pomp, and mass was performed with proper solemnity. Soon after his coronation he was treacherously poisoned, an event which had been presaged by the salamanders, of which he had found a large supply in the menagerie of the kings of Persia, and had always kept good fires for their subsistence and entertainment. As an acknowledgment for this hospitality they foretold his death, but their prediction did not meet from him the attention which it merited.<sup>1</sup>

The *Cyclus* of romances relating to classical heroes, of which I have now enumerated the most important, are perhaps chiefly interesting, as having supplied copious

<sup>1</sup> The following contributions to the subject of the Alexander legend may be enumerated: Christensen, *Beiträge zur Alexandersage*, 1883. J. Zacher, *Pseudo-Callisthenes: Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der ältesten Aufzeichnung der Alexandersage*, Halle, 1867. Kapp, *Mittheilungen aus zwei griechischen Handschriften als Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alexandersage im Mittelalter*, Wien, 1872; *Etudes sur les manuscrits du Roman d'Alexandre*, Romania, No. 42-3, pp. 213-332. J. Zacher, *Alexandri Magni Iter ab Paradisum, Regiomonti*, 1859. Kinzel, *Zwei Recensionen der Vita Alexandri Magni interpretate Leone archipresbytero Neapolitano*, Berlin, 1884; Woolsey, *Notice of a Life of Alexander the Great*, translated from the Syriac by Rev. Dr. J. Perkins; *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. iv., 1854; Donath, *Die Alexandersage im Talmud und Midrasch*, Fulda, 1878; Israel Levi, *La Légende d'Alexandre dans le Talmud, et le Midrasch*, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, No. 13, Juillet, Sept. 1883; O. Zingerle, *Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf von Ems*; *Historia de preliis*, Breslau, 1885; G. Landgraf, *Vita Alexandri Magni des Archi-presbyters Leo (Hist. de preliis)*, Erlangen, 1885; Favre, *Recherches sur les histoires fabuleuses d'Alexandre le Grand*, in *Mélanges, d'histoire littéraire*, ii., Comte C. de Villedeuil, *Légende d'Alexandre*, etc., 1853. There are also some erudite contributions to the subject in Professor Alexander Vesselovsky's "Iz Istorii Romana i Poviesti; Materialy i Izsslyedovania; Vui pouk pervii; Greko-Vizantiiskii period," *St. Petersburg*, 1886; also Meissner, *Bildliche Darstellungen der Alexandersage, in Kirchen des Mittelalters*, in "Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen," Bd. 68, 1882; Kuno Meyer, *Irische Version der Alexandersage* (Leipzig, 1884); Michelant, *Li Romanz d'Alixandre* (being vol. 13 of the Bibliothek of the Stuttgart Literärischer Verein, 1843; W. Wagner, *Trois Poèmes grecs du moyen-âge inédits*, Berlin, 1881; Stern, *Zur Alexandersage*, Wien, 1861; the *Irish Alexandersaga*, ed. by K. Meyer from the *Lebar Brecc* in the *Irische Texte*. 2, herausgeg. (with translation) von W. Stokes and E. Windisch, Leipzig, 1880, etc., 2288 f.

materials to our English poets of the earliest school. Adam Davies' "Lyfe of Alexander" is derived from the metrical romances on that prince's exploits; Lydgate's "Troy Book" is almost a paraphrase of the chronicle of Colonna, and many of the stories introduced by Gower in his *Confessio Amantis* may be traced to the same origin. Such spurious chronicles, and the romances founded on them, were the primary source of all those metrical compositions enumerated in the *Cursor Mundi* [see Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poet.*, 1824, I., p. 127]:

Of Julius Caesar the emperour,  
Of Alexander the conquerour,  
Of Greece and Troy, the strong stryf  
Where many a man lost his lyf.

It was to be expected that the age which exhibited the heroes of Greece as knights errant, should represent the poets and sages of antiquity as necromancers and wizards. Of all distinguished characters, Virgil seems to have fallen most strongly under this suspicion, and the story of his amours and incantations has formed the subject of a very curious romance of chivalry and magic. It has been doubted whether the sorcerer Vergilius was the same with the Roman poet; but it appears from the authors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that such at least was the prevailing opinion in the dark ages. This receives confirmation from the necromancer's connection with Naples, and the castle which he is said to have possessed in the suburbs of Rome. In the commencement, too, of the romance, Vergilius is unjustly deprived of his inheritance, wherein he is afterwards reinstated by favour of the emperor, which seems to identify him with that poet, who, under the character of Tityrus, has acknowledged his restoration by Augustus to the lands from which he had been driven, in such pathetic bursts of gratitude.

#### VIRGIL THE ENCHANTER.

How Virgil acquired the character of an adept in magic, forms a curious subject of inquiry. Naudaeus, in his *Apologie pour tous les grands personnages, qui ont été faussement soupçonnés de Magie* (ch. 21), conceives that the

absurd opinions entertained concerning Virgil, originated in the Pharmaceutria of his eighth eclogue, where he hath so learnedly discussed whatever relates to magic—the Vittas molles—verbenas pingues—thura mascula, and

*Carmina quae coelo possunt deducere Lunam.*<sup>1</sup>

This belief in the magical powers of Virgil may have received confirmation from the sixth book of the *Æneid*, in which the secrets of the world unknown are so mysteriously revealed:—

Dii, quibus imperium est animarum, Umbraeque silentes;  
Et Chaos, et Phlegethon, loca nocte silentia late,  
Sit mihi fas audita loqui; sit numine vestro  
Pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas.—*Æn.* vi., 264, etc.

In addition to this, nothing more readily conferred the character of a magician than a knowledge of mathematics, a science in which Virgil is said to have made considerable proficiency. The report besides, whether true or false, that Virgil had ordered his books to be burnt, may have created the suspicion, that in these he had disclosed the mysteries of the black art, especially as he lived during the reign of an emperor who ordered all magical works to be destroyed.<sup>2</sup>

In whatever way it may have originated, the belief in the magic powers of Virgil appears to have prevailed as soon as mankind lost the refinement of taste, which enabled them to appreciate his exquisite productions. It may be fairly conjectured, that the notion of several of the necromantic operations, attributed to Virgil, was derived from the east. The leading incident in this romance, of Vergilius releasing the fiend from his state of confinement, and subsequently cheating him into a return to his prison, is familiar to us from its similarity to the tale, in the 11th and following nights of the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, of the Fisherman and Genie, which is said to be still a preva-

<sup>1</sup> *Bucol. Ecl.* viii. v. 69. It was a common belief in antiquity that magicians, especially Thessalian magicians, could bring down the moon.

<sup>2</sup> Horace is said to be reputed a benevolent magician in the neighbourhood of Palestrina. See Warton's "*History of Poetry*," ed. 1824, 2, 62, note. Cf. Apuleius, ed. Oud. p. 459, v. d. Hagen, *Gesammtabent.* iii. p. cxxxi.



lent eastern superstition.<sup>1</sup> Virgil's intrigue with the soldier's daughter also resembles many of the adventures introduced in oriental romance, and the tales of chivalry derived from the east.

The fictions concerning the magic powers of Virgil were first incorporated about the beginning of the thirteenth century, in the *Otia Imperialia* of Gervase of Tilbury, chancellor of the Emperor Otho IV., to whom he presented his extravagant compilation. In this work, which is fraught with incredible fables of every description, we are told that the wise Virgil set up a brazen fly on one of the gates of Naples, which remained there for eight years, and during that period permitted no other fly to enter the city. On another gate he placed two immense images of stone; one of which was said to be handsome and merry, and its fellow sad and deformed. These images possessed this magic influence, that if any person entering the city came near the former statue, everything prospered according to his desires, as he who approached the latter was inevitably unfortunate and disappointed. Virgil also made a public fire, whereat everyone might freely warm himself, and near it he placed a brazen archer, with bow and arrows, bearing the inscription,—“If anyone strike I will shoot off my arrow:” this at length happened when a certain fool striking the archer, he shot him with his arrow, and sent him into the fire, which was forthwith extinguished. Gervase also informs us, that having visited Naples, he was himself witness to many of these wonders which yet remained, and was informed concerning the others by his host, the Archdeacon Pinatellus, by whom he was entertained in that city.

These fables were transcribed by Helinandus, the monk, who was contemporary with Gervase, into his *Universal Chronicle*,<sup>2</sup> and were also introduced by Alexander Neckam, an English Benedictine, who studied at Paris early in the thirteenth century, into his work, *De Naturis Rerum*,

<sup>1</sup> There is a somewhat similar Andalusian legend, which may have a Moorish origin. A version of the story will be found in *Tales from Twelve Tongues*, London, 1883. Cf. also the opening of *Le Sage's "Diable Boiteux."*

<sup>2</sup> See Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum Historiale*, l. vi. c. 61.

(book 6,) with many important additions. In particular, we are told that Virgil constructed a brazen bridge, which carried him wherever he pleased, and also that he formed those statues, which were called Preservers of Rome (*Salvatio Romæ*); for as soon as any country revolted, or took up arms against the empire, the image representing that nation rung a bell which hung around its neck, and pointed to the inscribed name of the rebellious state. Similar fables concerning Virgil have been mentioned by Paracelsus [2, 569, Strasburg, 1603], and Gower in his *Confessio Amantis* [bk. v.], while the stories of the public fire, and the statues, preservers of Rome, have been related at full length in the *Seven Wise Masters*.<sup>1</sup>

Such works supplied ample materials for the old French romance of *Virgilius*, of which there are two editions extant, one in 4to., the other 8vo., both printed at Paris, and both without date. That production was the basis of the English *Lyfe of Virgilius*, which, however, varies in some particulars from its original.

In the commencement of this work, *Virgilius* is represented as living under the Emperor *Persydes*, who appears, according to the chronology of the romance, to have reigned soon after the time of *Romulus*. *Virgilius* being wise and subtle in his youth, was placed at school, but while there he received more instruction in consequence of a holiday adventure, than he derived from all the lessons of his teachers. While roaming among the hills in the neighbourhood of *Tolentum*,<sup>\*</sup> he perceived and entered a deep hole in the side of one of the highest, and when he had penetrated a considerable way, he heard the voice of a fiend, who entreated that he would deliver him from confinement, by removing a board by which he was spell-bound. In return for this service he offered him a choice and valuable collection of books on necromancy, which would instruct him in the mysteries of that art. *Virgilius* having removed the board, the devil came out like an eel, and then stood before him like a big man. Having thus obtained possession of the fiend's library, *Virgilius* conceived that his property would be more secure if he could

<sup>1</sup> See V. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur geschichte der romantischen Poesie*, pp. 137, 141.

again enclose the former owner in the hole from which he had issued. He accordingly defied him to return, and the demon being piqued at the implied doubt of his powers, wrought his way into the hole, where he was immediately shut up by Virgilius placing the board at the aperture, and will in all probability remain imprisoned, since he has irrecoverably lost the literary treasure by which he might again tempt the curious in magic to render him assistance.<sup>1</sup>

It has already been suggested, that this fiction must have been derived from a tale in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, The Story of the Fisherman, who, having cast his nets, drew up a small copper vessel, with a leaden seal on it, which being removed, a thick smoke issued forth, and formed itself into an enormous genie, who threatened to slay his deliverer. The fisherman pretended to disbelieve that he had actually been confined in the small copper vessel, and adjured him again to enter it that he might be convinced. On this the body of the genie dissolving in mist, made its way into the vessel, in which the fisherman instantly sealed him up with the leaden seal, which had been originally stamped with the signet of Solomon.<sup>2</sup>

In one of the French *Fabliaux*, entitled *Lai d'Hippocrate*, (*Le Grand*, vol. i. p. 289,) there is an absurd story of that physician being pulled half way up a tower in a basket, by a lady of whom he was enamoured, and then left suspended, that he might be exposed to the ridicule of the multitude. A similar story is related of Virgilius on his first arrival at Rome; the romancers and poets of the middle ages taking delight to exhibit the greatest and wisest characters as victims to the power of love.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In a Latin play of the twelfth century Virgil is associated with the prophets who come to adore the new-born Messiah, and joins them in a long rhymed *Benedicamus* at the termination of the piece. See Roquefort, p. 258, 1815.

<sup>2</sup> A similar episode is also found in German folk tales: Grimm, *Kinderm.*, iii. 187, and in the Flemish *Smeke-Smêe*. See in Wodana, *Museum voor Nederduitsche Oudheitskunde*, uitgeg. door J. W. Wolf, Ghent, 1843; Heft. i. p. 54; and the Walloon story of *Le Maréchal de Tamines*, in *Légendes Namuroises*, p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> Step. Hawes, in his *Pastyme of Pleasure*, gives these adventures

From gratitude to the emperor, who restored an inheritance of which he had been unjustly deprived, Virgilius constructed for him a palace, in which he saw and heard all that was said or done in every quarter of the city. We are also told how he made an ever-blooming orchard,<sup>1</sup> the statues, called preservers of Rome, already mentioned, and a lamp which lighted the whole city, but which was at length broken, in a manner borrowed from the story of Gervase of Tilbury, concerning the fire and the archer. There follows the account of his amour with the soldan's daughter, whom he carried off from her father's court, and built for her accommodation the town of Naples, which he founded upon eggs, a tradition which still prevails among the Lazzaroni of that city. He also made a metal serpent in Rome, and whoever put his hand into the serpent's throat was to swear his cause was right and true; and if he took a false oath, the hand was infallibly bitten off. It is curious that at this day there is a chapel at Rome, called Santa Maria in Cosmedin, built in the first ages of the church, and which is better known as "*Bocca della verita*," on account of a large round mask, with an enormous mouth, fixed up in the vestibule.<sup>2</sup> Tradition says, that in former

of Virgil with ludicrous minuteness. Juan Ruiz, the archpriest, moralizes upon them, and concludes with an incontrovertible maxim:—

"Ansi por la luxuria es verdaderamente  
El mundo escarnecido e muy triste la gente."

Cf. V. Schmidt on Petrus Alfonsus, p. 106; Pantscha Tantra c. 4, fab. 1; T. Wright, No. 83, Fortini, iii. 5; D. Quixote, pt. i. c. 43, etc., etc.

<sup>1</sup> See infra note on Boccaccio, Decameron, x. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Under the portico. The mask was probably an impluvium, or opening of a sink in classic times.

The following story forms the 206th in the Franciscan Pauli's "*Schimpff und Ernst*." There was once a kaiser who suspected his consort of complaisance towards a knight. To reassure her spouse she consented to undergo this Virgilian test, and a day was fixed for the ordeal, when the emperor and his knights assembled in the appointed place. The empress came also with her women. "It happened, as she approached, that there came a fool in a fool's dress, who pressing through her train of attendants, fell upon the neck of the empress, as well as upon other women's, and kissed her before the whole company. The empress wept and manifested annoyance. The fool disappeared. As now the empress reached the stone (face of Virgil), where the emperor was standing, she swore, saying thus, 'As truly as no man hath touched



times the Romans, in order to give a more solemn confirmation to oaths, were wont to put their hands into this mouth, and that if a person took a false oath, his hand would have been bitten off.<sup>1</sup>

Many other marvellous things were accomplished by Virgilius during his life; but the story of his death is the most singular and interesting part of the romance. As he advanced in life, Virgilius entertained the design of renovating his youth by force of magic. With this view he constructed a castle without the city, and at the gate of this building he placed twenty-four images, armed with flails, which they incessantly struck, so that no one could approach the entrance unless Virgilius himself arrested their mechanical motion. To this castle the magician secretly repaired, accompanied only by a favourite disciple, whom on their arrival he led into the cellar, and showed him a barrel, and a fair lamp at all seasons burning. He then directed his confidant to slay and hew him into small bits, to cut his head into four, to salt the whole, laying the pieces in a certain position in the barrel, and to place the barrel under the lamp; all which being performed, Virgilius asserted that in nine days he would be revived and made young again. The disciple was sorely perplexed by this strange proposal. At last, however, he obeyed the injunctions of his master, and Virgilius was pickled and barrelled up according to the very unusual process which he had directed. Some days after, the emperor missing Virgilius at court, inquired concerning him of the confidant, whom he forced, by threats of death, to carry him to the enchanted castle, and to allow his entrance by stopping the motion of the statues which wielded the flails. After a long search the emperor descended to the cellar, where he found the remains of Virgilius in the barrel; and immediately judging that the disciple had murdered his master, he slew him

my body save only the emperor and the naughty fool who hath shamed me before all, so truly thrust I mine hand in;’ and she held it long so. So had the kaiser a dutiful wife. She swore truly; the fool was the same knight in the fool’s dress.”

<sup>1</sup> Beschreibung der Stadt Rom von Platen, Bunsen, etc., bd. iii. Abth. i. p. 379, etc. Cf. Straparola, No. 4, Fav. 2; Malespini, No. 98; Gottfried von Strassburg’s “Tristan,” etc., v. 15522; Timoneda’s “Patrañuelo,” No. 4, etc. etc.

on the spot. And when this was done, a naked child ran three times round the barrel, saying, "Cursed be the time that ye came ever here;" and with these words the embryo of the renovated Virgil vanished.<sup>1</sup>

That series of romances in which the heroes and sages of antiquity are represented as knights-errant and sorcerers, forms the last class of tales of chivalry. I had at one time expected to have found a fifth class, relating to the Crusades; and surely no subject could have been chosen more adapted to romance than the struggle between Saladin and Richard, both unparalleled in feats of prowess,—the one exhibiting the Saracen character in its highest per-

<sup>1</sup> The tradition of the Sorcerer Virgil may have arisen in connection with the Virgilius who was Bishop of Salzburg, a man of wisdom in advance of his time, who is reported to have believed in antipodes, etc., and who, like Albertus Magnus, came to be regarded as the possessor of magical power. See Ideler, *Geschichte der Altfranzösischen National-Literatur*, etc., p. 141, note. Dante's selection of Virgil for a guide would almost seem to have been suggested by the mediæval idea of the Latin poet.

It should not be forgotten that the memory of the great Latin poet has always remained green at Naples and in the neighbourhood from the time that Silius Italicus purchased and planted the ground round his tomb, and many stories of Virgil's magical performances are still rife among the common folk as they were in the time of Petrarch, who says that the people regarded the grotto of Posilippo as having been formed by the magic incantations of the poet.

"There we saw Maro's golden tomb,  
The way he cut an English mile in length  
Thro' a rock of stone in one night's space."

Marlowe, *Faustus*, act iii. sc. 1.

Petrarch, however, adds that he had nowhere *read* that Virgil was a magician. Those who would pursue the subject of the mythical character with which the sages of antiquity were invested in the middle ages may be referred to Wyttenbach, *Plut. de aud. poet.*, p. 21; Schmidt, *Petr. Alphonsi. Discipl. cler.*, pp. 91, 105; Liebrecht, *Einhard II.*, p. 266. Graesse enumerates various writings on the magician Vergil, *Allg. Lit. Gesch.* ii. 2, 624 n., and in *Berträge zur Literatur und Sage des Mittelalters*, p. 27.

The Slavonic expression *Verzhiulove kolu* has been explained by Jagic as meaning the *Virgilian (magic) wheel or circle*, *Verdzilio*, *Verzil*, being Slavonic forms of *Vergilio*.

I may refer the reader for whom the subject may offer interest to D. Comparetti's comprehensive Italian treatise on Virgil in the Middle Ages, of which there is a German translation. References to a large number of works relating to the subject are contained in this monograph.

fection, and the other that superhuman courage and boundless generosity which constitute the mirror of knighthood. Nothing, however, can be worse founded than the assertion of Warburton, and of Warton [ed. 1824, i. p. 112], that after the Holy Wars a new set of champions, conquests, and countries were introduced into romance; and that Solyman, Nouraddin, with the cities of Palestine and Egypt, became the favourite topics. Mr. Ritson [Anc. Metr. Rom., i. p. 52] has justly remarked, that no such change took place as is pretended; and so far from the Crusades and Holy Land becoming favourite topics, there is not, with the exception of the uninteresting romance of Godfrey of Boulogne, a single tale of chivalry founded on any of these subjects.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps those celebrated expeditions undertaken for the recovery of the Holy Land were too recent, and too much matter of real life, to admit the decorations of fiction. Many of the metrical romances were written in England during the reign of Richard, or in France in the age of St. Louis, and were transformed into prose, as we learn from the authors themselves, at the moment when Edward I. embarked for Palestine.

Having therefore now completed the task of furnishing an analysis of the most important prose romances of chivalry that have been given to the world, I shall dismiss the subject by a few remarks on the influence and the decline of that species of composition.

The influence which chivalry for many ages exercised in the modification of manners and customs has been often pointed out, and whatever that effect may have been, it was doubtless heightened by the composition and perusal of romances.

These works arose from a system of manners, and in their turn exercised on manners a reciprocal influence. The taste of the age gradually changed from a fondness for monkish miracles to the ready admission of tales, equally eccentric, indeed, and improbable, but from any special

<sup>1</sup> It will, however, be remembered, notes Liebrecht, that in consequence of the Crusades the scene of several romances was laid in the Holy Land; *e. g.*, Sir Bevis, Sir Guy, Sir Isumbras, The King of Tars, etc., and these, as appears from Chaucer's statement [Ryme of Sir Thopas, v. 13825, etc.], were accounted "romances of pris."

religious tendency. The charms of romance roused the dormant powers of the human intellect; gave wings to fancy and warmth to imagination; and, in some degree, kindled a love of glory. They seem also to have inspired a taste for reading; for that these works were much perused, is evident, both from the number that were written, and the many editions that have successively appeared.

Another effect produced by the romances of chivalry, was the communication of beauty and interest to the writings of many illustrious poets, who improved on their machinery, and adopted those tales of wondrous achievement in which the *amantes mira Camoenae* chiefly rejoice. Classical fictions might, like the Grecian architecture, be more elegant than the Gothic, but the productions of the middle ages were more awakening to the fancy and more affecting to the heart. The perilous adventures of the Gothic knights—their high honour, tender gallantry, and solemn superstitions, presented finer scenes and subjects of description, and more interesting displays of affection—in short, more beauty, variety, and pathos, than had ever yet been unfolded.

Pulci and Boiardo, the earliest romantic poets of Italy, communicated to the tales of chivalry all the embellishments which flow from the charms of versification, and the beauties of an enchanting language. From their example, the fables of romantic fiction became the favourite themes of succeeding poets. The compositions adorned by these splendid miracles were the objects of universal admiration, while the epic poems of Trissino and Alamanni, founded on the classic model, were neglected or despised. Nor can this be wholly attributed to the difference of genius in the poets themselves; for while the other writings of Ariosto sunk into oblivion, his Orlando, according to the expression of his great rival, lives in ever-renovating youth. The genius of Tasso, which hardly rises above mediocrity in tragedy, in pastoral, or in the classical refabrication of the Jerusalem, has reared one of the finest poems in the world on the basis of romantic fiction. "These were the tales," says the biographer of our earliest English poet, "with which the youthful fancy of Chaucer was fed; these were the visionary scenes by which his genius was awakened;



these were the acts and personages on which his boyish thoughts were at liberty to ruminate for ever.”<sup>1</sup> Many too were the obligations of Spenser to the fables of romance; and even in a later period they nourished the genius of a poet yet more august, who repeatedly bears his testimony of admiration and gratitude to their inspiring influence.—“I will tell you,” says Milton, “whither my younger feet wandered: I betook me among those lofty fables and romances which recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood.”<sup>2</sup>

A change introduced in the customs and mode of life among the inhabitants of Europe, as it was the principal source of the rise, so it may be also regarded as the chief cause of the decline, of romantic composition. The abolition of chivalry was the innovation which had most effect in this overthrow. However useful that institution might have been in the early stages of society, it was found that in a regular campaign the utmost disorder resulted from an impetuous militia, which knew no laws but those of its courage, which confounded temerity with valour, and was incapable of rallying in the hour of disaster. Vigour of discipline was broken by want of unity of command; for the army was headed by chiefs who had different interests and different motives of action, and who drew not from the same source their claims to obedience. The knights, too, had at all times perverted the purposes of their institution. If we believe the flattering picture given by Colombiere, the errant heroes of chivalry wandered through the world redressing injuries, exterminating the banditti with which Europe was infested, or relieving those ladies who had fallen into the power of enemies. But if we examine other writers, we shall meet with a very different account of these worthies, and shall find, according to the quaint expression of an old English author, that these errant knights were arrant knaves.

Pierre de Blois, who wrote in the twelfth century, complains that the horses of the knights were more frequently loaded with implements of gluttony and drunkenness, than with arms fit for battle. “They are burdened,” says he [Epist.

<sup>1</sup> Godwin, *Life of Chaucer*, vol. i. ch. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Toland's “*Life of Milton*,” p. 35. Cf. *supra*, vol. i. p. 158.

No. 94], "not with weapons, but wine; not with javelins, but cheeses; not with bludgeons, but bottles; not with spears, but with spits."—*Non ferro sed vino, non lanceis sed caseis, non ensibus sed utribus, non hastibus sed verubus onerantur.* In France, during the disorders which existed in the reign of Charles VI., the contending factions, with a view to strengthen their interest, multiplied the number of knights, by which means the order was degraded. A new institution was created by Charles VII., who bestowed on his Gensdarmes the honours hitherto appropriated to knighthood, and the chivalry of France became anxious to enroll themselves amongst a body wherein they might arrive at military command, which, as simple knights, they could no longer attain. The image and amusements of chivalry now alone remained. Mankind were occasionally reminded of a previous state of society by the exhibition of jousts and tournaments; but even these, in a short while, became unfashionable in France, from the introduction of other amusements, and the accident which terminated the life of one of its monarchs (Henry II.).

The wonders of chivalry had disappeared from real life, but still lingered in the memory of man: new romantic compositions, indeed, no longer were written, but the old ones were still read with avidity, when all the powers of wit and genius were exerted—not, indeed, to ridicule the spirit of chivalry, or a state of society which had passed away, but to satirize the barbarous relaters of chimerical adventures, and those who devoted their time to their perusal.

Some writers have considered the *Sir Thopas* of Chaucer as a prelude to the work of Cervantes.<sup>1</sup> It may be much to the honour of the English poet that he so early discerned and ridiculed the absurdities of his contemporary romancers, but it cannot be conceived that *Sir Thopas* had any effect in discrediting their compositions. It appeared in a reign which almost realized the wonders of romantic fiction, and at a period when the spirit of chivalry possessed too firm hold of the mind to suffer the love of the marvellous to be easily eradicated. The satire, besides, was in-

<sup>1</sup> See Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poet.*, 1824, ii. 268.

finitely too recondite to have been detected in that age; what was meant as burlesque was probably considered as a grave heroic narrative,—a supposition which must have been strengthened from the author having, in another composition, the Knight's Tale, adopted the extravagancies which he is supposed to deride. In *Don Quixote*, on the contrary, the satire was too broad to be mistaken, and appeared when the spirit of chivalry was nearly abated. The old romancers had outraged all verisimilitude in their extravagant pictures of chivalry, and as their successors found that the taste of the public was beginning to pall, they sought to give an interest to their compositions by descriptions of more impossible valour and more incredible absurdity. Accordingly the evil began to cure itself, and the phantoms of knight-errantry were laughed out of countenance by the ridicule of Cervantes before their substance had been presented, at least in a prose composition, by any author of genius.

I do not believe that the prevalence of the heroic, or pastoral romances, had much effect in discrediting the tales of chivalry: these new fictions rather arose in consequence of a decline of the taste for the old works, and the stagnation of amusement which followed; but it is probable they were, in some measure, overshadowed by the growth of other branches of literature. The study of the classics introduced method into composition, and the ambition of rivalling these new patterns of excellence produced imitation. Fancy was curbed by reflection, and rules of criticism intimidated the bold eccentricities of romantic genius. Besides, the Gothic fables were superseded by the general diffusion of the works of the Italian novelists in France and England, and the numerous translations and imitations of them in both countries. The alternate pictures of ingenious gallantry and savage revenge, which these exhibit, produced a taste in reading, which, when once formed, could not easily have been recalled to a relish for the delights of romance. These tales form an extensive and interesting department of fiction, and their origin and progress will be the subject of our first inquiries in the succeeding chapters.





## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

### VOL. I.

#### THEAGENES AND CHARICLEA (p. 24).

There appeared, according to A. Kirpichnikof (p. 148, *Grech. Rom.*), fourteen editions and translations of Theagenes and Chariclea in the sixteenth, and only four in the eighteenth century, a fact which tends to show the influence of Greek romance upon the kindred kind of fiction then developing—the heroic novel, which replaced the Amadis romances; the *Histoire africaine de Cléomède et de Sophonisbe*, par le Sieur de Gerzan, 1627, is only an epic expansion of the story of Heliodorus.

*Les chastes et loyales amours de Théagène et Chariclée*, by Hardy, in eight dramatic poems, appeared in 1601.

On the influence of the Greek romance in French literature of the seventeenth century, see Koerting, *Geschichte*, etc. chap. 2, and *infra* (vol. iii.), Mlle. Scudery confesses her model is “l’immortel Héliodore.”

#### Note (p. 41).

The episode of the bee-stung lip may perhaps have been suggested by Anacreon’s ode xl. :—

*Ἐρωσ πικρὸν ἐν ῥόδῳσι*, etc.

Cf. Theocritus, idyll. xix., also Ronsard’s imitation :—

Le petit enfant Amour  
Cueilloit des fleurs à l’entour  
D’une ruche, où les avettes  
Font leur petites loyettes, etc.

## APOLLONIUS OF TYRE (p. 85, n.).

Similar to the story of the daughter of Apollonius is that of St. Geneviève de Brabant, which has furnished the theme of numerous plays, poems, and romances. She was the consort of Count Siegfried, who was persuaded by his servant that she was unfaithful. He ordered her to be put to death; the retainers charged with this commission, however, abandoned her alive in a forest where she gave birth to a child, which was nursed by a white doe. In the course of years, her husband, while hunting, came to her dwelling, her innocence was established, the wicked steward was put to death, and she restored to her rights.

Cognate also is the Breton legend and miracle-play of King Arthur and Saint Triphime.

The Legend of Bertha of the large foot is of the same class with the above. She was the daughter of Charibert, Count of Laon. Her hand was asked by Pepin, and granted, but she was persuaded that his first marital embraces would stifle a maiden, and she was therefore temporarily replaced by her servant Aliste. This substitution was but part of a plot for the ruin of Bertha, who was taken off at night to be murdered in a forest near Mans, where, however, she was spared by those charged to slay her, and abandoned. Here she passed eight years of the homeliest life. But at length her mother, Blancheflore, consort of Flore, King of Hungary, grew anxious about Bertha, and undertook a journey to France to visit her daughter. She met with a very bad reception everywhere on her passage, for Pepin's consort, reputed Bertha, but really Aliste, had brought odium upon the name of the ousted princess. Upon Blancheflore's arrival, Aliste, dreading detection, feigned illness, and retired to a darkened chamber. Blancheflore, however, discovers the fraud, when she finds her supposed daughter has not Bertha's *large foot*. The impostor avows all and retires to a nunnery. Margiste, the arch-plotter, is burned alive, and long but fruitless search is made for Bertha. This virtuous and contented damsel, like an earlier Griselda, is, however, accidentally discovered by Pepin while out hunting—he espies a maiden kneeling before a cross in the depth of a forest. He is straightway smitten and addresses her with amorous urgency, but she to defend her honour tells him she is the daughter of a king, is Berthe au grand pied. She

was brought back in triumph, wedded and had six children by Pepin. The story was celebrated by Adenez le roy in the thirteenth century. See *Zur Kritik der Bertasage*, by Dr. A. Feist, Marburg, 1885, and *Romania*, 1884, p. 60. On the name *Bertha*, see F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 512. Cf. also the Slavonic story, *The Miller's Daughter become Queen*, in *Tales from Twelve Tongues*; Lond., 1882.

## VAMPIRES AND WERWOLVES.

Pp. 90, p. 47, 48.

Other forms of the word are *βουρκόλακοι*, *βρικόλακες*, *βουλκόλακα*. It is a Slavonic importation, adopted with, however, a change of character, in Greece; and *volkodlaki*, *volkoulaki* Dal (*Tolkovyi Slovar' zhivavo velikorusskavo yazika*, 1880, i., p. 237<sup>b</sup>), conjectures may be derived from *volk*, wolf, and *koudla*, hair or wool = the wolf's shaggy coat. The Slavonic word means a man that has been transformed into a wolf, the werwolf or loup-garou, the object of a widely diffused superstition, respecting which see Afanasief *Poeticheskia vozzrenia Slavian na pri-ródou*, vol. iii. p. 527, etc. Also Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen und das hellenische Alterthum*, 1871; 1 Theil., p. 157, etc. The superstition is visited in the Greek *Nomocanon*. See Harleian MS. 5548, clause *ιθ.*, fol. 37 verso, "*Τό αυτό ἐπιτιμίον ὑποπесоῦνται καὶ οἱ τοὺς λεγομένους βουρκολάκους κατακαίοντες, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων καπνίζονται, ὥστε χρόνους ἐξ μὴ κοινωνήσουν.*"

Witches are believed to have the power of changing themselves and others into werwolves. The metamorphosis is, according to the Slavonic tradition, the simplest thing in the world, and if you are desirous of achieving it, you have merely to repair to the nearest wood where you must find a stump of a tree that has been felled, and which the axe has left with a smooth flat surface. Into this infix a knife, with incantations, and then turn a somersault over it, when forthwith you will find yourself transformed into a wolf. Should you grow tired of your lupine existence, you should approach the opposite side of the stump, and turn a somersault backwards over it, when you will straightway recover your human shape. It is well, however, at the outset to take

precautions against the removal of the knife, for if anyone should withdraw it you will end your days a wolf.

Compare also Malory's "Morte Arthur," book xix. c. 11, and supra, p. 151, note 2. Lycaon, King of Arcadia, was changed by Jupiter into a wolf in punishment for his cruelties.—Ovid. Pliny says that one of the family of Antæus was chosen annually by lot for the fate of being a wolf for nine years. The Neuri had the faculty of assuming the form of wolves,—Herodot. (iv. 105). Tiridates, King of Armenia, a persecutor of the Christians, was, according to legend, changed into an animal by St. Gregory the Illuminator, the apostle of Armenia, but finally converted and baptized; and there is a story of St. Patrick having changed a Welsh chief Vereticus into a wolf. There is a passage in the *Otia Imperialia* of Gervase of Tilbury which mentions the common belief in lycanthropy, and associates the transformation with the moon's phases, as is also done in the curious story of the *lupis-homem* in J. Latouche's "Travels in Portugal," third edition, pp. 25-34. In the last-named instance the blood of a new-born infant, if sucked by the werewolf, effects its disenchantment and return to human shape. See a note on the word "Werwolf," by Sir F. Madden, prefixed to the Romance of William of Palerme (otherwise known as William the Werwolf). Edited by W. Skeat for the Early English Text Society; London, 1867.—W. Hertz, *Der Werwolf*, Stuttgart, 1862.

#### CUPID AND PSYCHE (p. 112).

Ritual or ceremonial observances to celebrate the disappearance of the cold and the advent of the warm season, may be traced in various "games" or customs still extant in different parts of Europe. An effigy is borne in procession and festally burned or drowned, after which a lord or queen of May is chosen, crowned, and led in triumph. See Grimm (*Teutonic Mythology*, ii. p. 763, etc.), and Freytag, *De initiis scenicae poesis apud Germanos*; Berlin, 1838, p. 13. There is an analogous Slavonic custom of celebrating the exit of Winter and entrance of Spring observed in the month of March,—a straw effigy of Morana (Death) is taken to a field and there burned or torn to bits, or dragged into a river and bonfires are lighted in token of triumph.

Some analogy may be traced between the story of Apuleius and the Norwegian folk tale, Eastwards from the Sun and Westwards



from the Moon (Asbjörnson and Moe, ii. p. 102); o Principe das Palmas Verdes. No. 44 of A. Coelho's "Contos Populares Portuguezes," Lisbon, 1879; and the Sicilian King Porco (Gonzenbach, No. 42, i. p. 285). See also the essay on Cupid and Psyche in Friedländer's "Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms. Anhang,," i. p. 509-548, fourth edition; see also Creuzer, Symbolik und Mythologie, B. iii. ch. 6, § 5, 6. Boccaccio says (Gen. Deorum, lib. v. c. 22) that a whole volume would be required for the complete explanation of this allegory. Landau (Quellen, pp. 311, 314), shows how closely Boccaccio (Decameron, v. 10 and vii. 2) has followed Apuleius, as has likewise Mr. Robert Bridges in his poem, Eros and Psyche; London, 1886. See F. Liebrecht, Zur Volkskunde, p. 377, Maibaum, and the same writer's Amor und Psyche, Zeus und Semele, Purûravas und Urvaçî, in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, xviii. 56, etc.

#### BRITISH EMIGRATION TO ARMORICA (p. 118).

See L'Emigration bretonne en Armorique du V<sup>e</sup> au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère, par J. Loth; Paris, Picard, 1883, where the whole question of this flight is carefully discussed, as well as the causes which led to it, the districts whence the emigrants came, the way in which the island Britons took possession of Western Armorica, the extent of the territory occupied by them, and their distribution therein, etc. See Romania, 1884, 436, etc. Romania, xii. 367, etc.

#### DRAGON (pp. 125, 126, 405).

That the idea of the dragon was imported at one epoch or another from the East can hardly be doubted. But whether the figment was suggested by the remains of gigantic palæozoic saurians and pterodactyls to which the researches of modern naturalists have accustomed our eyes, or whether the strength and ferocity of the crocodile (see note on the story of St. Helenus in chap. ix.) seemed an apposite emblem of evil might, to which the fancy superadded wings, or whether the small dragon reptile (lacerta volans) magnified by imagination was a fictive development of the serpent, one of the oldest typifications of evil power, seems unprofitable to speculate.

That the Crocodile was used in Egypt to typify Set we can see in the note to the legend of St. Helenus. The Egyptians painted

the malevolent deity Apophis as a serpent, which Horus pierces with his lance (G. Wilkinson, *Customs and Manners of the Ancient Egyptians*, iv. p. 243-435). In India Vishnu, the second person of the Hindu trinity, slays the serpent Caliya. In Persia, too, Ahriman, the evil principle, was figured by the serpent. In Greece, Apollo, akin to Horus, slays the Python, and Hercules the Hydra. The Christians adopted the figure of "the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan" (Rev. xx. 2), which raged against him that sat on the White Horse out of heaven, who is "called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war" (Rev. xix. 11). St. George mounted like Vishnu on his peculiar white charger—*St. Georges belle monture* (see Milles and Amys, c. vii. vol. i.)—triumphing over the dragon, is the victory of Faith and Truth, Christianity over Idolatry, achieved it may be at the sword's point, after the manner of Count Huon of Bordeaux, who would not brook the imprecations of a Moslem knight,

Herr Huon, dem es graut ihm länger zuzuhören,  
Zieht sein geweihtes Schwert den Heiden zu—bekehren,

at the price of much carnage of Pagans, or perhaps of Christians, according to the adage, "the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church." And it may be noted in this connection that some of the variants of the legend of St. George make him reappear on earth after his martyrdom, and conquer the dragon, and deliver the princess and her father's city from the monster, upon condition of their conversion to Christianity. The horse upon which the Saint rides may, too, be a reminiscence of the horses of the sun, familiar in Greek mythology. Compare 2 Kings xxiii. 11. The serpent or dragon typified idolatry and heresy; and it was, says Eusebius, in his *Life of the Emperor Constantine*, l. iii. c. iii., placed under his feet in representations of that monarch.

The story of Perseus and Andromeda found a kind of allegorical application to the delivery of a country or city from idolatry, the country or city being personified by the female figure of the story; and saints whom tradition avers to have introduced Christianity and abolished idolatrous worship are often represented with the accessory emblem of a draconiform monster. St. Germain l'écossais is sculptured leading a polycephalous dragon, like the fabled Lernean Hydra slain by Hercules, or the apocalyptic

seven-headed beast so often depicted in mediæval paintings. In one of the tales in the Indian repertory, Vikrama-Charitram, the ruler of the subterranean Patal, or Serpent-realm, is Seschnag, the thousand-headed serpent. It is significant that in many hagiographic legends, and in some variants of the story of St. George, St. Martha, St. Marcell, etc., there is no physical violence in the contest between saint and dragon; this would be naturally a Christian phase of the tradition.

In Scandinavian mythology the Serpent of Midgard ("terrestre monstrum sive serpens, alias Midgardsormr, anguis terrenus sive terram cingens, serpens immanissimus") is slain by Thor (see F. Magnusen, *Veterum Borealiæ Mythologiæ Lexicon*, 1828, p. 207). Again, Fafnis, who slew his father, Hreidmar, so that he might obtain his treasure, in order to guard which he transformed himself into a dragon or serpent, was slain by Sigurd, hence called Fafnisbane (*Fafnericida*) Magnusen, s. v. *Fafnir*. Beowulf slays the Fen-Monster Grendel, who devours thirty thanes, and sucks their blood, and dwells in the pool of the Nicors. The Golden Fleece, the Garden of the Hesperides, were guarded by dragons, and griffins hoarded the golden sand of the Scythian Arimaspians. Sometimes the dragon guards the access to some source of water, a tradition which has been interpreted as a figure of Satan, obstructing or contaminating the waters of baptism.

And here may, perhaps, lie also an analogy with the dragon guardian of the Castalian spring, whose cool waters were the fount of true poetic inspiration.

The chimæras, pythons, and hydras (Sansk. hudras, = water animal, otter, ? adder) of Greek mythology, like the Celtic Adane and the Slavonic water-demon, are all associated with water or marsh, and imply, perhaps, on the other hand, flood or malaria, and are often the accessory characteristic of Saints who, according to legend, have banished some local scourge which has gradually taken romantic shape in popular tradition, as the dragon of Wantley exterminated by More, the Gargouille of Rouen overcome by St. Romanus, or the far-famed Tarasque which ravaged the district of Tarascon, and the reptiles permanently exiled by St. Patrick. The dragon is an attribute of numerous Celtic or Breton Saints, who have some legend of a dragon associated with their lives. In the fabulous History of Alexander, the river which separates the abodes of the men from those of the women in the land of Bramckmani, or Brahmins, is haunted by a terrible serpent, capable

of devouring a whole *kila* at once, who renders the river in-traversable except for the interval of forty days during which he withdraws, and renders intercourse possible.

In Authot's "Traite des Dragons et des Escarboucles," p. 83, it is stated that *dragonneau* is the name of "un Ver qui tient depuis la teste jusques aux pieds, entre chair & cuir, cause par les *mauvaises eaux* que l'on boit en Asie." St. Macarius (Homil. i. pt. 5, Vis. Ezech.), compares demons to worms: "καὶ οἱ κακοὶ καὶ δεινοὶ σκώληκες, ἃ ἔστι τὰ πνεύματα τῆς πονηρίας."

The breath or saliva of the traditional dragon is, indeed, as deadly as any malarious exhalation. A writer in the Month, October, 1886, thinks that the huge extinct animals of which skeletons remain may actually have poisoned the air with their breath for large areas. He considers that traditions of dragons may refer to remembered survivals of these monsters.

Modern stories of "sea serpents" are matched by the ancient belief in sea monsters such as that to which Psyche and Andromeda were exposed. In the last-named instance the tradition was localized to Jaffa. Pliny, that versatile gossip to whom we owe so much interesting but second-hand knowledge of antiquity, says (Nat. Hist., l. v. c. 14) that on the rock opposite Joppa or Jaffa vestiges were still shown in his time of the chains by which Andromeda had been bound; and, in another place (Nat. Hist., l. ix. c. 4), that M. Scaurus exhibited at Rome during his ædileship the bones said to be of the monster to which she had been exposed, and which he had brought from Joppa. They exceeded forty feet in length, the ribs were higher than those of the Indian elephant, and the backbone was a foot and a half in thickness. Cuvier, from this description, inferred they were the bones of the whale. Pliny says (Nat. Hist., viii. 14) that during the Punic war the passage of the river Bagrada, supposed to be the modern Mejèrdah, in Africa, by the Roman army under Regulus, was disputed by a serpent 120 feet long, which was overcome by the employment of siege engines. Its skin and jaws were preserved in a temple at Rome, down to the time of the Numantine war. The incident is referred to by various ancient writers, among whom Livy, l. xviii.; Florus, ii. c. 2; Valerius Maximus, i. c. 8; Aulus Gellius, vi. c. 3.

Doubtless belief in dragons may have been much strengthened by the discovery of the remains of extinct animals of extraordinary size. Mrs. Jameson mentions that a fossil saurian skeleton was



long exhibited at Aix as that of a dragon which had formerly devastated the neighbourhood. The fish or whale of Jonah is often represented in the Catacombs as a sort of draconic nondescript (see Smith and Cheetham, *Christ. Antiq. Dragon*), perhaps with the idea of symbolizing Christ's passage under and out of the power of hell and of death.

The wingless, footless, fish-like "draco," the standard of the Dacians, recurs frequently on the column of Trajan. The Romans had adopted from the East, as an ensign for some cohorts, a dragon. Constantine replaced these, but perhaps not entirely, by his well-known Christian labarum. Sometimes, indeed (see Ducange, *cit.* Baron, *ad an.* 325, Gretzer de Cruce, t. iii. l. i. c. 5), the stem of the cross pierces or rests upon a dragon. The old designation of the standard-bearer, *Dragonarius*, would seem, however, to have persisted, and passed to the cross-bearer in Christian and Papal times, or to the bearers of some dragon symbol still retained, and perhaps in this way originating the word *dragon*. *Draconari*, says Angelo Rocca, were soldiers who accompanied the Pope. Dragons were undoubtedly borne in ecclesiastical processions in Rome and some other Churches (see Ducange-Martigny, *Dict. Ant. Chret.*, and Durandus).

The word *dragon*, and with the word the idea of a winged saurian, replaced the earlier worm or serpent which we find in the most ancient Celtic and Teutonic literary remains, and was perhaps introduced into the northern countries coevally with Roman dominion. The Latin *draco* is from *δράκων*, from *δέρκειν*, to look, and is thought, like *lind*, worm (lint bright), to refer to the traditional piercing eyes of the mythical monster, or the fabled luminous carbuncle (see *supra*, note to *Parthenopex de Blois*, p. 408) which did duty for them. Orm, snake, or worm, is found in the Icelandic Edda, *dreki* occurring but once; the Greek or Latin word is found in Icelandic in the form *dreki* in the *Sólarlied*, or Song of the Sun, a poem composed about the time of the introduction of Christianity. In *Beowulf*, a Saxon poem of the seventh or eighth century, *draca* and *vurm* (worm or snake) are both used. The Celtic *dragún* is clearly derived from *draco* or *δράκων*, and must also have reached Britain with other Latin influences. It is said to occur frequently in the Welsh triads, but the date of these is unascertained, and is placed by some as late as the thirteenth century. *Dragon*, says Mr. Skeat in his Dictionary, was common in Middle English in the sense of

standard. He quotes from Robert of Gloucester, "Edmond ydyzt his standard . . . and hys *dragon* vp yset," and refers to other passages. On p. 125, note, we have seen two instances—one in fable, the other in history—of the use of a dragon standard in Britain. The usual ensign of the Gauls was a boar, as abundant evidences, architectural and numismatic, show (Hucher, *Les monnaies gauloises*, etc.).

In the *Chansons de Geste* the dragon, doubtless as symbolic of the Evil One or heresy, is the Muhammedan standard:

De devant sei fait porter sun dragon  
Et un ymagen Apolin le felun.

Chanson de Roland, st. 237, v. 2.

and in *Garin li Loherain*, v. 27, 403:

Le signors d'Aus qui porte le dragon.

In the *Four Sons of Aymon* (see p. 343) the Dragon is merely the flag which surmounts the tent of Charlemagne's generalissimo, Roland.

To anyone who has thoughtfully examined the specimens of Celtic and Scandinavian metal-work and other ornamental productions, it will be pretty evident that these more uncultured art forms were not wholly supplanted by Christian traditions. The mixture of heathen and Christian ideas in the arts of design is only a parallel to the crude combination of pagan and ecclesiastical traditions in lay and legend. The diverse animal forms employed in the art of the twelfth century throughout Europe, are according to Lenoir (*Architecture Monastique*, ii. p. 170) of Northern origin. On the other hand the lacertine monsters so characteristic of Celtic art, as Westwood surmises (*Palæographia Sacra*, p. xi.), may have been brought to Ireland by Eastern missionaries, and were perhaps originally Egyptian ophites. Dr. Waagen, taking a contrary view (*F. Eggers, Deutsches Kunstblatt*, 1850, p. 84) considers these animal figures a creation of Celtic fancy, while Hildebrand supposed them borrowed from and correlated with contemporaneous Germanic ornamentation. O'Neill (*The Fine Arts and Civilization of Ancient Ireland*, p. 74) is inclined to look on the animal forms so plentifully employed in the illumination of Irish manuscripts as a heritage from a much earlier epoch and referable to heathen serpent worship, and Dr. Rock (*Church of our Fathers*, p. 78) is inclined to attribute to

them a symbolical application. See Sophus Müller (*Thierornamentik*, p. 16, etc.), who asserts that serpents or dragons (*Schlangen*) only appear in later Irish ornament.

The various triumphal arches erected by the Romans at Orange, Vienne, St. Remy, and elsewhere, are abundantly decorated with sculpture representing arrangements of Gaulish trophies and spoils, among which is frequently seen the boar standard. Together with these, are to be noticed the *carnices* or Gaulish trumpets slightly thickening towards their upper extremities, which terminate in an animal head, from which springs a crest extending for some distance down the tube. These objects are represented on various arches, notably those at Chavaillon and St. Remy, with veracious uniformity of design. It seems possible that this *carnix* might have suggested the attenuated dragons which characterize Celtic art.

With regard to the fabled luminous carbuncle set in the dragon's head, it is curious to note—that the brain of vertebrates includes a blunt “process,” the *pineal gland*, which, unlike the rest of the brain, is hardened by a kind of chalky deposit. “Throughout the lacertilia it is much prolonged, and in some it ends externally in an eye with a well-marked lens and retina which lie just within an aperture of the skull known as the parietal foramen. Whether in lizards this is in any way an organ of vision is doubtful. The eye is covered by a scale very different, however, from the surrounding scales; but even when this is sufficiently thin to be translucent, it is improbable the eye is of any real service. The point of interest, however, is that structurally the eye is there, even if functionally it is valueless. In many forms lower than the vertebrates this median eye is met with, sometimes as the sole organ of vision throughout life, sometimes supplemented by paired eyes after passing from the embryonic to the adult state, and there are cases in which after the paired eyes are developed the median eye is lost. From the relatively large size of the parietal foramen in some of the huge fossil reptilia, there is little doubt they had effective median eyes. In living forms which have been studied this eye is always at the end of a prolongation of that part of the brain, which differing in length in other vertebrates, is the short and blunt pineal gland in man. In the language of embryologists man has either an undeveloped or a degenerate gland which elsewhere is developed into a Median eye with lens and retina, and the

essentials of what we call an ordinary eye. Whether this fact has any real connection with the old Greek and still existing Oriental traditions or not, can be only matter of conjecture. Possibly as regards the Brahminic trinity the successive incarnations of Vishnu may afford some clue. He may very reasonably be supposed when in the form of a reptile to have had a median eye, and as the traditions existed long before written history, it is impossible to trace how in oral handing down they became modified, and Brahm, Vishnu, and Siva became, as they often are, so confused. The Cyclopes, too, were not mortals. They had a god origin. Probably the tradition which we see spread from Greece to Japan had some common source in the far remote past." See *Saturday Review*, No. 1633, p. 229, in reference to a lecture delivered by Mr. Baldwin Spencer at the Royal Institution. Respecting the luminosity of carbuncles, see note, *infra*, p. 473, and vol. ii. p. 22.

The Chinese have a dragon of the sea called Li; there is peculiar "go" and ferocity in their *dragon rageur*. They have, besides, the sacred celestial dragon, and the mountain dragon. The five-clawed dragon is the attribute of the imperial dynasty including the princes of first and second rank, the four-clawed of the princes of the third and fourth rank. The imperial Japanese dragon has three claws.

See Migne, *Dictionnaire des Légendes, Superstitions, etc.*, art. Tarasque, F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, pp. 26, 66.

#### ROUND TABLE (p. 144).

For particulars on the Round Table, see *Obras Escogidas de Mich. Cervantes por Garcia d'Arieta*, Paris, 1826, tom. ii. p. 344; Viardot, *Trad. de Don Quixote*, Paris, 1838, 4 tom. i. p. 170; Owen, *Cambr. Biogr.*, p. 14; Michel, *Tristan*, tom. ii. p. 184; Leroux de Lincy, *Anal. du Brut.*, tom. ii. p. 162, etc. The Round Table was subsequently restored at Kenilworth by Earl Roger Mortimer for one hundred knights (see Notes to Drayton's "*Heroic Epist. Morb. Isabel*," v. 53), and by Edward III. at Windsor for twenty-four knights (see Th. Walsingham, *Hist. brevis Angliæ ab. Eduardo I. ad Hen. V.*, Lond., 1574, fol., p. 117; but the writer denies the existence of a previous one. See Dahlman, *Forschungen*, Bd. i. p. 249; Ferrario, tom. ii. p. 299, etc.). There is, or was till recently, a so-called Arthur's round table preserved at



Winchester. Le devise, leggi ed armi de' Cavalieri della Tavola rotunda; and Alamanni, preface to his edition of *Girone il Cortesi*, also Ulrich Fuerterer in his *Cyclus vom Graal*, ed. by v. Docen in the *N. litt. Anz.*, 1808. "The Auncient order, Societic and unite land noble of Prince Arthur and his knightly armory of the Round Table, Trans. and Coll. by R. Robinson," London, 1583-4 (see Brydges, *Bibliogr.*, o. t., vol. i. p. 125, etc.), is only a translation of the *Devise des armes des Chevaliers de la Table ronde*. Paris, s.a., Lyon, 1590; Graesse, *Lehrbuch*, Bd. ii., Abth. iii. p. 149. See also *Wiener Jahrbücher*, etc., Bd. xxix. p. 85, where there is a reference to a round table of Theodoric.

King Arthur, in reference, doubtless, to his Round Table, was also adopted in some of the towns under the sway of the Teutonic order, as the patron of the convivial clubs of the upper classes. Witness the *Artushof* at Danzig, erected in 1370, consumed by fire at the close of the succeeding century, and rebuilt in 1552. There was an analogous club house also called *Artushof* at Thorn. King Arthur, curiously enough, figures side by side with Theodoric and Maximilian among the twenty-eight bronze statues of the House of Hapsburg at Innsbruck, and a design for another statue, preserved in manuscript in the Vienna Imperial Library, bears the description of Arthur as "Kunig zu Enngellandt und grave zu Habsburg" (King of England and Earl of Hapsburg). In the Summer Sessions Hall of the Danzig Town Council is a picture by Isaac von dem Blocke (1611), a dying father inculcating upon his sons the strength of unity—the father being represented as King Arthur.

#### MERLIN (p. 146).

It has been too long the fashion to consider the names and personages, the essential incidents and legendary *motives* in the romances of the Round Table as exclusively Celtic, and this view is still upheld by such writers as Hersart de la Villemarqué, San Marte, Skene, and Glennie. Recently some authoritative voices have been raised against this extreme position, *e.g.*, Zarneke, Holtzmann, Nash, Stephens, Wright, Arbois de Jubainville, though Liebrecht, Holland, Bartsch, Rénan, Quinet, Henri Martin, Carrière, maintain the Celtic view. Professor Vesselovsky thinks it probable that, on whatever soil Merlin was first associated with the Celtic legends of Arther, Uter-Pendragon,

etc., the apocryphal story of Solomon and Martolf was known there, and the latter name in some form, which may easily have been changed into *Merlin*.

"Guillaume de Newbrige" [? Newburgh, according to de la Villemarqué's assertion, which I have not succeeded in verifying], "au douzième siècle, a presque conservé la forme archaïque, qu'il rend en latin par *Martinus*," which approaches more nearly to the old Breton *Marthin*, modern Breton *Marzin*, than to *Myrtin* or *Myrdhin*, of the ancient and modern Welsh. In Scotland the name is pronounced *Meller* or *Melziar*. The form *Merlinus*, adopted by Geoffrey of Monmouth, became *Merlin* in the French romances, *Mellin* in the Seven Sages, and *Melinus* in the Life of St. Patrick. (See Hersart de la Villemarqué, *Myrdhinn* (Paris, 1862, pp. 3, 4). Professor Vesselovsky adduces some other circumstances in favour of his theory. In a Latin version of Solomon and Morolf, Marcolf has the epithet *brito*. The oldest popular version of the story, *Proverbes de Marcoul et de Salemon*, is the work of Pierre' y Mauclerc, li quens de Bretagne (ob. 1250). (See Crapelet, *Proverbes et dictons*, p. 167-200.) In *Elie de Saint-Giles*, the first redaction of which is considered anterior to the thirteenth century (*Hist. Lit. de la France*, xxii.), there is an allusion to the abduction of Solomon's wife narrated in *Solomon and Morolf*, and the names of Arthur, Gauvain, and Mordret also occur. The same episode is commemorated under the name of Morold at the end of *Lancelot*, in the reproduction of the romances by Fürter at the end of the fifteenth century. There is, finally, evidence that if *Merlin* and *Morolf* are not interchangeable, stories of them were looked on as cognate. Arnold de Guisnes (ob. 1220), *Chronique de Guisnes et d'Ardres*, par Lambert, curé d'Ardres (918-1203), ed. par le Marquis de Godefroy Menilglaise, Paris, Renouard (1855, c. xvi., p. 215-17), had "cognatum suum Walterum de Clusa nominatum, qui de Anglorum gestis et fabulis, de Gormundo et Isembardo, de Tristanno et Hisolda, de Merlino et Merchulfo, et de Ardentium gestis . . . diligenter edocebat." Mr. Vesselovsky goes so far as to say (p. 305), "there can be no doubt that the whole legend of *Merlin* is based upon the apocryphal history of Solomon," and further (p. 331), "Our comparison of *Merlin* with *Asmodeus-Kitovras* and the type of *Morolf* has shown us that the legend of *Merlin* is more archaic than the German poem of *Solomon and Morolf*, and more nearly approaches the Talmudic-

Slavonic legend." A. Vesselovsky, "Iz istorii literaturnavo obstchenia vostoka i zapada. Slavianskaia Skazania. Solomonye i kitovrase i zapadnya legendy o Marolf'e i Merline." St. Petersburg, 1872. On the word *Marcolf*, see F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, pp. 346-348. These conclusions are supported by deep and varied erudition, and numerous parallelisms, which there is here no space to reproduce, but can hardly be regarded as proved.

#### P. 154.

Merlin's visit, in the form of a stag, to the palace of Julius Cæsar, led to the interpretation of that ruler's dream, in which he had seemed to see a crowned sow and twelve young lions, which he caused to be burned. The stag tells Cæsar that it can be interpreted only by a savage. Cæsar offers his daughter in recompense to him who shall secure the desired wild man of the woods, under which form Merlin reappears before the assembled court. He laughs upon perceiving the empress with her twelve ladies in waiting, and explains to the emperor that the sow is the empress, and the lions her twelve attendants, men disguised in female attire. The thirteen are consigned to the flames. Liebrecht compares this with the story of Vararuchi (Somadeva, ed. Brockhaus, Bd. i. p. 35). One day King Yogananda in a fit of jealousy ordered the execution of a Brahmin with whom he had seen his wife converse. On the way to the place of execution, a fish which was already dead, and was exposed for sale in the market-place, laughed aloud. The king hearing of this marvel stopped the execution, and asked the reason of the fish's laughter. The Brahmin, like Merlin, did not at once explain, but only after an absence, wherein he received preternatural information that all the king's wives led licentious lives, for there were in the palace a number of young men disguised as women. Benfey cites the Indian source of the story in the *Sukasapti* (it also occurs in the Persian *Tutinahmeh*), which is in its essential points the same as No. 36 of Basile's "Pentamerone," and Straparola's (iv. 1) "The Princess as Knight." The story, as given in Merlin, and in Straparola's "Nights," is, remarks Benfey, truer to the Indian original than the Turkish version. The fifth story of the *Sukasapti* (according to the Greek version of D. Galanos, Athens, 1851) relates that there was in the city of Uddschayini a king, Vikramâditya, who re-

marked one day as he breakfasted with his much loved wife Kâmalîlâ, that she refused to touch some broiled fish of the male sex which he offered her, whereupon the fish burst out laughing, so loud that all the citizens heard them. The king applied for an explanation to the Chief Brahmin Purohita, who begged for a delay of five days, during which his daughter admonished him to take her to the king, to whom after repeatedly advising him not to inquire, she said : " It is unmeet thou ask wherefore the fishes laughed, for the king, who is like to God, resembleth not another man . . . Wherefore then dost thou not, thyself, seek the reason, O king . . . yet since it is thy will to hear from another, hear then, O king ! This most chaste Queen says she cannot so much as touch roasted fish because they are of the male sex ; that is why the fishes themselves laughed so loud. Now consider closely the meaning of these words ! " When Bâlapandita saw that the king did not perceive the import of her speech she returned home. But as the king could not sleep for anxiety to know it, he sent for Bâlapandita again, who after being pressed by the king repeatedly for the explanation, asked him, " Wherefore is *Pushpahâsa* the prime minister wrongfully in prison ? " The king answered, " When formerly this *Pushpahâsa* laughed (verb *has*) at my council board, a quantity of flowers (*pushpa*) fell out of his mouth. This story spread through the realms of the kings ; and the latter sent sagacious men to investigate the marvel. When these arrived, however, he did not laugh, nor shed any flowers from his mouth, and therefore it is that he has been imprisoned. " . . . Bâlapanditâ enjoins the king to ask why *Pushpahâsa* did not laugh, and why the fishes did. *Pushpahâsa* replies : " I had at the time attained the certainty that my wife had been seduced by a man, and for this grief I laughed not. " Hearing this the king struck the queen with a flower and said, " Dost thou hear ? " But she apparently swooned from this blow of a flower. When *Pushpahâsa* saw the queen in this condition he laughed, and a quantity of flowers dropped from his mouth. When the queen had come to herself, the king in anger asked *Pushpahâsa*, " Why hast thou laughed over my grief and dropped so many flowers ? " Who replied : " The queen did not faint last night, though she received many blows from her gallants with whom she played, yet to-day she faints from the blow from a flower, therefore laughed I. " " Hast thou seen or heard that ? " demanded the king full wroth, and was answered, " If the king



doth not believe me, let him take off her dress and convince himself." He did so, and recognized the truth by the marks of blows, and upon search being made her lover was found in a *coffer*. See the observations of Liebrecht and Benfey, *Orient and Occident*, Jahrg. I., Heft. 2, pp. 341, etc.

## P. 149.

The incident of sprinkling the foundation stone with blood (p. 149) would seem to be connected with the practice of assuring the stability of a new edifice by the sacrifice of a human (or other) victim. One of St. Columba's companions offered himself for this purpose. Pinkerton's "*Voyages*," iii. p. 298. "In Africa, in Galam," writes Mr. Tylor, in *Primitive Culture*, i. p. 96, "a boy and girl used to be buried alive before the great gate of the city to make it impregnable, a practice once executed on a large scale by a Bambaara tyrant." For further notes on this "Foundation Sacrifice," see G. L. Gomme, *Folk-Lore Relics of Early Village Life*; London, 1833. See also the story of the founding of the Monastery of Argis in K. Nyrop's "*Romanske Mosaiker, Kulturbilleder fra Rumænien og Provence*." Copenhagen, 1885; but especially Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, pp. 284-296 (*Die Vergrabenen Menschen*), who cites numerous examples, recent as well as ancient, of the persistence and prevalence of the custom of burning human beings, generally alive, to assure the stability of the building erected.

## Pp. 146, 147, 155.

The belief in children begotten by a human being and a spiritual or some non-human creature is by no means extinct. I know an old West of Ireland woman who firmly believes two of her acquaintance to be daughters of a mermaid who disappeared one day upon discovering where her human husband had hidden her mantle. Luther records the belief.

"Eight years since," he writes, "I did see and touch at Dessau a changed child, which was twelve years of age; he had his eyes and all members like another child. He did nothing but feed and would devour as much as two threshers. It cried upon being touched, and laughed with joy when any evil happened in the house, and was sad when things went well. I told the Prince of Anhalt, if I were prince of that country I would cause it to be

drowned in the Moldau. I exhorted the people to pray that God would remove the devil: this was done and in the second year after the changeling died.

"Near Halberstadt, in Saxony, lived a man who also had a Kielkropf (*i.e.* oaf or changeling), who was fed by the mother and five other women, and besides devoured very much. The father was advised to promise the Kielkropf to the Blessed Virgin Mary . . . as he was carrying the changeling in a basket over a bridge, another devil that was below in the river called 'Kielkropf, Kielkropf!' Then the child, which had never spoken before, replied, 'Ho, ho!' The devil in the water asked further, 'Whither art thou going?' and the child in the basket replied, 'I am going to be rocked at Hochlestad.' Hereupon in terror the man threw the child over the bridge, and the two devils flew away together, and cried, 'Ho, ho, ho,' tumbling one over another, and vanished. Such changelings and Kielkropfs Satan substitutes in the place of true children: for he has power to change children, putting devils instead in their cradles. Such changelings feed but do not prosper, and do not live above eighteen or nineteen years."—Luther, *Colloquia Mensalia*. A very similar story is given in K. Schiller's "Thier und Krauterbuch des Mecklenburgischen Volkes," iii. 39.

According to the Talmud, Adam begat Seth at the age of one hundred and thirty years, whereon is the comment: "All those years which Adam spent in alienation from God, he begat evil spirits, demons, and fairies; for it is said, 'And Adam was an hundred and thirty years, and begat a son in his own likeness, after his image;' consequently, before that time he begat after another image."—Eruvin, fol. 18, col. 2.

See P. Paris, *Romans*, i. p. 57; Geoff. Mon., *Vita Merlini*, v. 780; Apuleius, *Demon Socrat.*; Augustine, *Civitas Dei*, xv.; Goerres, *Mystik*, *Incubi*; Cæsarius Heist. *Mirac. et Hist.*, l. 3, c. 10, 11, 12.

Pp. 154, 146.

The title of this rare romance of Merlin is:—

Sensuyt le p̃mier volume de Merlin. Qui est le premier liure de la Table ronde. Auec plusieurs choses moult recreatiue.

P. le Noir a lenseigne de la Rose blanche couronnee, Paris, 1528, 4to.

The following may also be noted:—

Le Roman de Merlin l'enchanteur. Remis en bon Français et dans un meilleur ordre, par S. Boulard. Paris, 1797. 16°.

Merlin l'enchanteur [modern rifacimento] by E. Quinet. 2 tom. Paris, 1860.

Merlin, or the early history of King Arthur, a prose romance. With an essay on Arthurian localities, by J. S. S. Stuart Glennie. Published by the Early English Text Society. 1869.

Surtees, S. F. Merlin and Arthur, an essay, 1871, etc.

Die Sagen von Merlin . . . by San Marte (A. Schulz). Halle, 1853, 8°. A critical study.

A. Vesselovsky, Slavianskia Skazania o Solomene i Kitovrase i zapadnya legendy o Morolfe i Mereine, St. Petersburg, 1872.

### THE GRAAL (p. 159, etc.).

When the Crusaders captured Cæsarea in 1101. Guglielmo Embriaco, at the head of the Genoese contingent, first scaled the wall and penetrated into the city, where (Guliel. Tyrius, l. x. c. 16; Bracelleus, De Claris Genuensibus, fol. xlv. 661, b. 6, and other historians). he took from a temple which had been dedicated by Herod to Augustus Cæsar, a most precious vase, which was retained by the Genoese as their share of the booty (Paulus Æmilius, De reb. gest. Francor., l. v., p. 140, ed. Basle, 1601). It was believed to be a single emerald, and in this circumstance consisted the value and wondrousness of the object, for its upper diameter is 326 millimètres, its height being 90, as measured by M. C. Rohault de Fleury, who describes it as "a flat, saucer-like, hexagonal dish of emerald-coloured glass. . . . It is easy to see," he adds, "that having been cast entire, it was finished with the wheel." See C. Rohault de Fleury's "Instruments de la Passion, etc.," Paris, 1870, where a representation of the vessel is given. This sketch, which may very likely have been made partly from memory, or under inconvenient circumstances, conveys to me (I examined the vase in the spring of 1886) the idea of a vessel somewhat shallower and more depressed than the *sacro catino*, as it is called. On the other hand the engraving in Fra Gaetano's history of the vase errs, I think, in an opposite direction. In a private letter, M. Georges Rohault de Fleury, the son of the above, writes to me, "Il est assez difficile de dire quel degré d'authenticité s'attache à cette relique, je ne fais pas, quant à moi, de doute que ce ne soit un plat antique; on peut

s'en convaincre en le comparant au *catin* us antique dont il reste quelques specimens." See also *Revue Archéologique*, Paris, 1845, p. 149; also Millin, in the *Magas. Encyc. Janvier*, 1807, tom. i. p. 137, etc.

It should be remembered that, as far as can be gleaned from Isidore, Mandeville, and other writers, as well as from inventories of treasures, it is very doubtful whether, until quite recent times, the difference between the true emerald and the peridot and other green translucent stones, was understood or recognized. Mandeville speaks of cups and dishes of emeralds, sapphires, topazes, and other precious stones, used in the palace of Prester John.

The work of Fra Gaetano above referred to is an extensive monograph, published in 1726 at Genoa, and compiled in the conscientious and industrious, but uncritical spirit of an earlier age. Much of the work, however, relating to the preservation of the vase is reliable, and is, indeed, its history since 1101. It can scarcely be doubted that already, before the capture of Cæsarea, it was known and famous, either on account of its supposed material, or some other reason. Possibly the Genoese, well aware of the prevalent relic-hunger of the age, and believing in the tradition which subsequently became publicly attached to the vase, may have given out, with a view to avoid rival claims, that the value of the vase consisted merely in the material. Certainly it was only at a later period that the tradition became established that the catino had been used at the Last Supper by Our Lord, its substance having been miraculously changed into emerald (with the intent, according to one tradition, to impress Judas, and save him from perfidy).

J. de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa (1292-98, born *circ.* 1230), whose compilation, the *Golden Legend*, has procured him a reputation for credulity, expresses himself in his *Chronicon Januense*, which extends to A.D. 1277, with some reserve (cap. viii.) on this subject:—"That this vessel is really of emerald, all experts (*Gemmarii*) who have seen it bear witness . . . and this must be so, since it was considered at Cæsarea to be worth as much as the whole city, or the whole treasury . . . the Genoese would not have taken it as their share of the spoil, had they not been convinced that it was a most rare emerald. Now *this vessel is fashioned like a catinus*, and hence it is commonly said that it was the catinus wherefrom Christ ate with his disciples at the



Last Supper, and whereof he said: 'He that dippeth his hand with me into the catinus, he shall betray me.' Whether this is true, however, we do not know . . . and he who should refuse to believe is not to be blamed for temerity.

"Moreover, it should not be overlooked that in certain books of the English (Anglorum) is found the statement that when *Nicodemus* took down Christ's body from the cross, he also collected the sacred gore which was still moist, and which had been ignominiously spilled about, in a certain vessel of emerald (vase emeraldino)."

When this august association was first attached to the Genuan *sacro catino* I cannot tell. It is perhaps worth noting, especially in view of an expression of Voragine's, however trivial such a link may be, that *catinus* and *paropsis*, the terms most frequently employed by the Latin writers to designate this vessel, are also those used in the Vulgate in describing the Last Supper. There is scarcely an ecclesiastical historian of the twelfth century but mentions the *catino*, but on account only of its precious substance, and not the sacred tradition. See Ersch and Gruber, Encycl. s.v. Graal, p. 151. Fra Gaetano gives a long list of writers who have mentioned the *catino*.

It is worth notice that the cup of the romances is borne upon a cloth, *verdoiant com esmeraude*. (See p. 479.) In the miniatures of one manuscript it is usually painted as a gold chalice-shaped vase with cover, resembling a ciborium, the modern name for the vessel in which, in the Latin Church, the eucharist is conserved. In one instance at least, however, it is represented as an *escuele*, and placed on the table together with the ciborium-like vase.

As for the word *graal*, several etymologies, none of them completely satisfactory, have been proposed. The one generally preferred is *cratella* (crater) *gradale*, South French *grasal*, or, with the middle consonant elided, *graal*.

Besides the most celebrated Genuan *Catino*, several other traditions of Graal-Cups were current in the middle ages, e.g., the large silver cup "calix Domini," containing a sponge said to have been the one placed to the lips of the crucified Redeemer (Adamnan apud Bedam, De locis Sanctis, ii. cap. 2 par.).

The two silver vessels containing blood from Christ's wounds brought, according to a tradition, by St. Joseph of Arimathea to Glastonbury, and there, by his precept, buried with the body of that Saint, whose feast was, it is said, observed there in August

instead of, as usual elsewhere, in March, and in reference whereto the escutcheon of Glastonbury was a cross with drops and two viols. Spelman, Capgrave, W. Good, etc., apud H. P. Cressy, *The Church History of Brittany*, etc., Rouen, 1668, fol. book ii. p. 19, etc. The relic of Christ's Blood, received in pomp by Henry III., at Westminster, from the East, and contained "in quodam vase cristallino venustissimo." Oct. 13, 1247. Matt. Paris, sub anno, 1247. The vessel containing some of the sacred gore from Christ's wounds, with a *knife* which had been used to collect the same, committed by Joseph of Arimathea to his nephew *Isaac*, and borne miraculously over sea to Normandy, and there long preserved in the celebrated Monastery of Fécamp, where there is record of its presence in 1120. Leroux de Lincy, *Essai historique et littéraire sur l'abbaye de Fecamp*; Rouen, 1840, 8°.

The agate chalice-shaped cup preserved at Valencia, in Spain, and sometimes seen in Spanish paintings, and associated with St. Laurence. J. Briz Martinez, *Historia y antigüedades de San Juan de la Peña y de los Reyes de Sobrarve, Aragon y Navarra*, Saragoça, 1620, p. 213, and *Nota de las Reliquias existentes in esta santa iglesia metropolitana de Valencia*, 1829, p. 8.

The "*Sciphus lapidis Smaragdi*," stated to have been preserved at the Monastery of Ile Ste Barbe, near Lyons, the foundation of which was piously attributed to Longinus (from λόγχη), the soldier who had pierced the side of Christ with a lance, and was afterwards converted. C. de Laboureur, *Les Mesures de l'Abbaye royale de l'Ile Barbe de Lyon*. Lyon, 1665, p. 6, etc.

In the romance, see extract appendix 2, the vessel is of gold and borne upon a cloth "*verdoiant com esmeraude*." The mention of the bleeding lance, and especially of the human head (see extract) borne by one of the angels, which seems an incongruous interpolation, has been thought to be some obscured reminiscence of a pagan Celtic tradition, perhaps of human sacrifice (see the story of Peredur ap Ewrawc (*i.e.* Eboracum or York), published in Lady C. Guest's "*Mabinogion*," and notes), others again have referred it to St. John the Baptist. I note that G. Banchemo (*Il Duomo di Genova*, illustrato e descritto, 1855, p. 208), records the gift in 1485, by Innocent VIII., a Genoese, of an agate saucer having in the centre a representation in white enamel of the head of the Saint, and which was intended to be exposed upon the Altar of St. John Baptist in that Cathedral on solemn feasts, and "There

were not wanting authors who assert that this was the platter, or *discus* as it is termed by the Evangelist, in which the dancing girl presented the Saint's head to the wicked daughter of Herod." This donation is of too late a date to have influenced the romance, but it may refer to some previous custom observed at Genoa.

Various mythological or Christian and mystical meanings and associations have been connected with the bleeding spear (and nails). See G. Malmesb., *De gest. reg. Anglor.*, lib. ii.; apud Savile, *Rer. Angl. Scrip.*, p. 51; Fr. Michel, *Chanson de Roland*, p. 193; *Chronique de P. de Mouskes*, ed. Reiffenb., ii. ex.: Nash, *Taliesin*, p. 327; Rohault de Fleury, *Instruments de la Passion*, pp. 274-5; J. H. von Seelen, *Memorabilium Bremensium Specimen seu de Festo Lanceæ et Clavorum*, etc., Flensb., 1715, 4to.; Greg. Tur. *Gloria Martyrum*, cap. 72; Riant, *Exuvie Constantinopolitanæ*, ii. p. 254; Tobler, p. 143; Sir G. W. Cox, *Introduction to Mythology and Folklore*, pp. 332, etc., ed. 1881.

It has already been seen what an important element early Eastern Writings and Traditions, not perhaps exclusively Christian, form in the graal story, and it is impossible to ignore the striking resemblance which an essential part of it bears to the following Eastern legend:—

"But the more wonders Christ performed before the eyes of the people, the greater was their unbelief; for all that they were not able to comprehend they believed to be sorcery and delusion, instead of perceiving therein a proof of his divine mission. Even the twelve Apostles whom he had chosen to propagate the new doctrine, were not stedfast in the faith, and asked of him one day that he might cause a table covered with viands to descend from heaven!

"A table shall be given you," said a voice from heaven, "but whosoever shall thereafter continue in unbelief shall suffer severe punishment."

Thereupon there descended two clouds, with a golden table, on which there stood a covered dish of silver.

Many of the Israelites who were present exclaimed, "Behold the Sorcerer! What new delusion has he wrought?" But these scoffers were instantly changed into swine. And on seeing it, Christ prayed: "Oh, Lord, let this table lead us to salvation, and not to ruin!" Then said he to the Apostles, "Let him who is the greatest among you rise and uncover this dish." But Simon, the oldest Apostle, said, "Lord, thou art the most worthy to

behold this heavenly food first." Christ then washed his hands, removed the cover, and said, "In the name of Allah!" And behold then became visible a large baked fish, with neither bones nor scales, and diffused a fragrance around like the fruits of Paradise. Round the fish there lay five small loaves, and on it salt, pepper, and other spices. "Spirit of Allah," said Simon, "are these viands from this world or from the other?" But Christ replied, "Are not both worlds, and all that they contain, the work of the Lord? Receive whatever he has given with grateful hearts, and ask not whence it comes! But if the appearance of this fish be not sufficiently miraculous to you, you shall behold a still greater sign." Then, turning to the fish, he said, "Live! by the will of the Lord." The fish then began to stir and to move, so that the Apostles fled with fear. But Christ called them back, and said, "Why do you flee from that which you have desired?" He called to the fish, "Be again what thou wast before!" and immediately it lay then as it had come down from heaven. The disciples then prayed Christ that he might eat of it first; but he replied, "I have not lusted for it: he that has lusted for it, let him eat of it now." But when the disciples refused to eat of it, because they now saw that their request had been sinful, Christ called many aged men—many deaf, sick, blind, and lame, and invited them to eat of the fish. There now came thirteen hundred, which ate of the fish, and were satisfied. But whenever one piece was cut off from the fish another grew again in its place; so that it still lay there entire as if no one had touched. The guests were not only satisfied with it, but even healed of all their diseases. The aged became young, the blind saw, the deaf heard, the dumb spoke, and the lame regained their vigorous limbs. When the Apostles saw this they regretted that they had not eaten; and whoever beheld the men that had been cured and invigorated thereby regretted in like manner not to have shared in the repast. When, therefore, at the prayer of Christ a similar table descended again from heaven, the whole people, rich and poor, young and old, sick and whole, came to be refreshed by these heavenly viands. This lasted during forty days. At the dawn of day the table, borne on the clouds, descended in the face of the sons of Israel; and before sunset it gradually rose up again. But as, notwithstanding this, many still doubted whether it really came from heaven, Christ prayed no longer for its return, and threatened the unbelievers with the



punishment of the Lord," etc.—Weil, Bible, Koran and Talmud, pp. 226, etc.

There are other circumstances which, perhaps, further connect the Graal story with the East. Borron, with other knights who had taken part in the Crusades, must have had their imaginations impressed with the strange and mysterious ceremonial of the Eastern rites, and some would have been curious to acquaint themselves with their meaning and thereby obtain a knowledge of the liturgy. Now in the prothesis—a preparatory rite in some liturgies—the priest pierces the right side of the bread destined for consecration, saying: "One of the soldiers with a spear pierced His side and forthwith came thereout Blood and Water," etc., Neale's "Liturgies," p. 182; the knife used for this purpose is called the *holy lance*, ἁγία λόγχη. This utensil was also known in the West. See Martigny, Dict. Ant. Chrét.

Again, in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, "After the Great Entrance the Priest sets down the chalice on the holy table, and taking the holy disc from the hand of the Deacon he places it there also, saying: 'Honourable Joseph took thy spotless body from the cross, and wrapped it in clean linen with spices, and with funeral rites placed it in a new tomb.'" This is repeated, Neale, Tetralogia Liturgica, p. 62. These rites are at least very suggestive when one reads the graal story.

With regard to the Veronica episode, this story clearly rests on traditions and writings of remote origin, as has been pointed out in the text: the same belief is recorded in the old Ambrosian liturgy, which is of high antiquity, on the old feast day of St. Veronica, Feb. 4. As this liturgy has been reformed to some extent, and is now scarce, it may be worth while to quote *in extenso* the preface from the Ambrosian Missal, printed at Milan, in 1475: "Eterne deus Qui beatam ueronicam tua caritate plenam igneo candore tui eterni flaminis totaliter accendisti. Nam et semper xp̃m desiderabat uidere, nec poterat sequi propter ipsius senectutē. Cuius xp̃s desideriu agnoscens et uultum fricauit, et ymago sui in sudario remansit. O fides miraculosa o laudabile miraculum, que filii dei in terra ymagine monstrauit. Que beata ueronica ut sudariū posuit super uoluxianū curuū eū circa tergum. Et tyberiū cesarē ad fidem conuertit atque sanū a lepra mundauit. Quesumus ergo clementiā tuam, ut in tua misericordia confidentes nulla nos uitiorum mala procellant sed potius exercent ad salutem."

According to the variant of the legend in the Titurel Romance, the vessel which the Saviour used at His Last Supper, was borne away to heaven by angels, pending the appearance of a knightly organization upon earth which should be worthy of its custody and cultus. Such a corporation was destined to be founded by the Asiatic prince Perillus, who came to Gaul and allied himself to the Armorican chiefs, and Titurel, his descendant, constructed for the reception of the sacred vase a shrine upon the model of Solomon's temple. The vase itself was visible only to eyes of the baptized. From it emanated a mystic bliss, a foretaste of heavenly joy, but also an abundance of temporal good things. From the Graal shrine, the guardians were called templois. They were vowed to chastity, and enjoyed many supernatural privileges. The following are the titles of editions of the text of the romance, or of critical essays upon the subject.

*L'hystoire du saint greaal Qui est le premier liure de la table ronde lequell traicte de plusieurs matières recreatiues. Ensemble la queste dudiet saint greaal, etc.* Paris, 1516-1523.

The History of the Holy Grail, Englisht by Lonelich . . . from the French prose . . . of Sires R. de Borron. Published by the Early English Text Society.

Seynt Graal, or the Sank Ryal. The history of the Holy Graal, by Lonelich. With a reprint of the Romanz de l'estore dou graal. Published by the Roxburghe Club.

Y Seint Greal. Welsh and English edition, translated by Rev. Robert Williams. London, 1876. 8vo.

Le Saint-Graal, ou le Joseph d'Arimathie première branche des Romans de la Table Ronde, publié des Textes et des documents inédits par Hucher. 3 tom. Le Mans, 1875-78. 12mo.

Der Prosaroman von Joseph . . . herausg., von G. Weidner. Leip., 1881. 8vo.

A. Birch Hirschfeld, Die Sage vom Gral, ihre Entwicklung in Frankreich und Deutschland, etc. 1877.

A. Schulz, Parcival-Studien. Leipzig, 1861, etc. 8vo.

L. Kraussold, Die Sage vom heiligen Gral und Parceval. 1878.

F. G. Bergman, The San Gréal. Edinburgh, 1870.

Dashkevich, Skazanie o Sviatom Grale. Kiev, 1877.

San Marte, in Ersch and Gruber's "Encyclopädie," art. "Gral."

## NAMES (pp. 164, 179).

Mr. Leith (on the Legend of Tristan, p. 35), gives the following enumeration of forms of name:—Isolde, Yseus, Yseutz, Ysent, Ysseulz, Izeutz, Yseul, Ysou, Ysolt, Isault, Essyllt, Ysoue, Yseult, Iset, Ysalde, Yseuda, Yzeult, Iseulte, Isot, Isodda, Ysoude, Ysonde, Ysote, Isond, Isotta, Iseo, Isawde, Isowde, Isod, Isold, Ysiaut, and Ysoud, to which Hisolda may be added.

Tristan, Tristans, Tristram, Tristrans, Tristant, Tristran, Tritans, Tritan, Tristranz, Tristanz, Tritanz, Tristrant, Trystrem, Trystren, and Trustram.

Mark, March, Marc, Mars, Brangwen, Brangæne, Brengain, Brangian, Branwen, Brangien, Brangweyne, Brangueyn, Brangwyna, Bragwaine, Brangwin, Brangwin, Brangwain, Rual, Rohand, Rhyhawd, Morhoult, Morold, Moraunt, Marlot, Morolt, Morhot, Morogh, Martholweh (cf. Marcolf).

Bron seems to Mr. Leith (on the Legend of Tristan, p. 24), merely a corruption of bran. Mr. Leith, however, does not seem to know the form *Hebrons*, which also occurs in the Romance texts (see p. 164). Bran he considers is the original Celtic bird of rain and lightning, now personified as a male in Bran the Blessed, now as a female in Branwen. . . . The name Bran may, on the one hand, be derived from the Sanscrit Bhuranyu, by the not unusual suppression of the first vowel and of the affix. As the root Char of Bhuranyu shows the *u* to be really an *a*, the older Celtic form would thus be perhaps *Baran* (compounded with "ton" *hill*, in the Breton *Baranton*, the name of Ywain's magic fountain). Bhuranyu is a compound of *bhurana* (i.e. *bharana*), and *yu*, and signifies literally "*desirous of carrying*." Branwen's rôle in the Tristan legend, as the dispenser of the *magic potion*, points her out as the feminine personification of the *Aryan* cloud bird. On the other hand, Bran may be merely the Celtic word for Raven.

Lamorat, one of the principal personages in the prose Tristan, is mentioned in one of the songs of the Venetian troubadour, Bartolomeo Zorzi, a fact which shows that the romance was known in Italy prior to 1268. See *Der Troubadour B. Zorzi*. Emil Levy, Halle, Romania, 1884, p. 483.

Giglan, Guinglain, Gyngelayn, Geynleyn, Gynleyn are but different forms of the Welsh Winwaloen (p. 263), or the Bel

Inconnu, in the old French; this epithet *Ly beaux desconnus* is found metamorphosed as *Lybius Disconius*, *Gifflet le fils Do*, of the French poem of *Guinglain*, and becomes in the prose *Gyflroun le fludous*. See *Romania*, *Janvier*, 1886, pp. 5, 13.

### KING ARTHUR (p. 229).

In the twelfth century, Gervase of Tilbury (*Otia Imperialia* Ed. Liebrecht, p. 12) was told by the natives that Arthur was imprisoned in *Mongibel* (= Mount Etna), and that the Bishop of Catana's groom once wandered into the Arthurian palace in search of a strayed horse. A variant of the legend is related by *Cæsarius Heisterbacensis*. The Old French poem of *Florian et Florete* locates the marvellous palace of Morgan the Fay within Etna. Alexander N. Vesselovsky, *Iz Istorii Romana*, etc., 1886, p. 117. See also G. Pitré's article, *Le Tradizioni Cavalleresche Popolari in Sicilia*, *Romania*, 1884, p. 391. The classic story of the Cretan poet *Epimenides* who is fabled to have slept for half a century in a cave, will recur to the memory.

### MILLES ET AMYS (p. 318).

Dr. Paul Schwieger (*Die Sage von Amis und Amiles*, Berlin, Hayn, 1885) approximates the history of *Milles* and *Amys* to that of *Siegfried* and *Gunther*. In both narratives a friend (or vassal) conquers a wife for his friend (or lord) by replacing him, and is afterwards punished. This general resemblance, however, hardly authorizes the inference of any radical connection between the two stories. The episode (p. 320) of the leper cured by the blood of the children sacrificed for the purpose by the friend may very probably be of Eastern origin, and may have been transmitted through some Byzantine channel. It has been associated with two persons, of whom the tombs are shown at *Mortara*, in *Piedmont* (see p. 317), *Romania*, No. 54, *Avril*, 1885, p. 318, 19. The Anglo-Norman *Amis* and *Amiloun*, with the English version, have been published by *Eugen Koelbing*, in t. ii. of the *Altenglische Bibliothek*, in completion of his work published in 1877, and referred to in the note, p. 318, *Amis* and *Amiloun* zugleich mit der altfranzösischen Quelle, *Heilbronn*, 1884. In *Juan Timoneda's* "*Patrañuelo*," No. 37, an only son is sacrificed to save a friend's son.



LUMINOUS STONES (p. 408, and vol. ii. p. 22).

A power of emitting light seems to have been associated from time immemorial in the East with certain precious stones, notably the carbuncle. A shining stone is likewise of frequent occurrence in Russian stories. Afanasief (*Vozrenia*, iii. 800, etc.) remarks that the Russian *Alatuir* and the Greek *ἡλεκτρον* are derived from a common root—Sanskrit, *ark* = *αλκ*, to flash, emit rays. *Raviratnaka* (precious stone dedicate to the sun), and *tarala* (sparkling) are among Indian names for the ruby. See note, vol. ii. p. 22. The stone eyes of the monumental lion in the Piazzetta at Venice were believed to emit light; and Antony of Novgorod speaks of a picture painted above the porta paradisiaca of Sta. Sophia, representing the emperor Leo the Wise, having upon his brow a precious stone which at night illuminated the whole temple with its brightness.

Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, iii. c. 8), alludes to a luminous jewel in the dress of the high priest. Ælian mentions a light-emitting carbuncle, indeed, the allusions to the luminosity of this stone are very numerous. Many will be found in W. Jones's "*Precious Stones; their History and Mystery.*" London, 1880. Roland while yet a youth, as the legend runs, despoiled the Ardennes giant of a gem which he carried in his buckler and which shone like the sun, and inserted the sparkling trophy in his father Milon's shield. See Warnke, *Pflanzen in Sitte, Sage und Geschichte*. Leipzig, 1878.

The idea occurs in the *Roman de la Rose*.

"A fyn charboncle sette saugh I  
The stoon so clere was and so bright,  
That, also soone as it was nyght,  
Men myghte seen to go for nede  
A myle or two, in lengthe and brede  
Sich lyght tho sprang oute of the stone  
That Richesse wondir brighte shone  
Bothe hir heed, and alle hir face  
And eke aboute hir al the plaie,"

and in Mandeville's description of Prester-John's palace.

"And alle the Pileres in his Chambre, ben of fyne gold with preciouise Stones, and with many Carboncles, that zeven gret lyght upon the nyght to alle peple. And alle be it that the char-

boncle zeve lyght right y nowe, natheless at all tymes brenneth a vesselle of cristalle fulle of Bawme, for to zeven gode smelle and odour to the Emperour."

In Mandeville's "Grand Lapidaire" (1561) it is said: "Le rubis est appelé en grec Epiteste . . . et si cette pierre est au soleil par un espace de temps, elle rendra raies rouges comme du feu." Mr. Dutens, Member of the Royal Society, in his work on precious stones, published in 1776, says that the ruby may be rendered phosphorescent by exposing it for several hours to the solar rays, or raising it to a red heat in the crucible.

The belief in the luminosity of certain stones may, perhaps, in some instances have arisen from their high refractive power, in other cases from the property of phosphorescing for a considerable period after exposure to strong light or heat, which characterizes certain substances, notably the sulphides of calcium, barium, and strontium. In the case of the celebrated Bologna stone (sulphide of barium) this phenomenon was authentically recorded as early as 1603, and caused much sensation. In his *Adamas Lucens*, Robert Boyle asserted the phosphorescent power of the diamond, which was confirmed by M. Dufay in the *Mémoire de l'Académie*, 1730, and by M. Dutens in his treatise on precious stones (1776). M. Edmond Becquerel (*La Lumière*, etc. Paris, 1867, vol. ii.), although premising (p. 207) that probably the phosphorescence of precious stones was not early observed, says (p. 210) he had observed calcic fluoride and two white diamonds to phosphoresce an hour after exposure to solar rays, and again (p. 348), that, roughly speaking, 50 per cent. of diamonds will phosphoresce, though faintly, for over an hour's space after insolation. The duration of phosphorescence in the aluminous compounds (rubies, carbuncles), is, however, much less. According to his experiments (p. 339), it hardly exceeds  $\frac{1}{1800}$  of a second, and can only be observed with a phosphoroscope, and can therefore hardly have been really noticed in previous times.

VIRGIL'S BRAZEN ARCHER (vol. i. p. 433, and vol. ii. p. 22).

Gervase of Tilbury, in his *Otia Imperialia*, tells a story of Virgil (given in vol. i. p. 433, *supra*), essentially the same with that in the *Gesta Romanorum*. A somewhat similar fiction is the story of Rosencreutz's (the founder of the Rosicrucians) Sepulchre,

given by Eustace Budgell in a contribution published in the *Spectator*, May 15, 1712, under the epigraph: "Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter." *Pers. Sat.*, i. 27. The same narrative was prefixed to the English edition of the Abbé Villars' "Count de Gabalis." In this instance a vault is discovered illuminated by a lamp, which burned before a figure seated at a table, clad in armour and grasping a truncheon. The intruder "had no sooner set one foot within the vault, than the statue erected itself from its leaning posture, stood bolt upright, and upon the fellow's advancing another step, lifted up the truncheon in his right hand. The man still ventured a third step, when the statue, with a furious blow, broke the lamp into a thousand pieces, and left his guest in a sudden darkness." It was subsequently found that the effect had been produced by mechanism. "Rosicrucius, say his disciples, made use of this method to show the world that he had re-invented the ever-burning lamps of the ancients, though he was resolved no one should reap any advantage from the discovery."

Just as *Verzhiulovoe Kolo*, so the Welsh *fferylliaeth* (alchemy and chemistry) was derived from *Virgil*, the Irish *Feargal* who was referred to the eighth century, and stated to have asserted the existence of the antipodes.

## APPENDIX.

No. 1, p. 152.

MERLIN.

Quand les Chevaliers et Dames et Damoysselles furent arrivez, Dieu sait la joye que le Roy leur fist ; et s'en vint a Yguerne et a son Mari, et les fist menger en sa table, et fist seoir le Duc de coste lui. Et fist tant le Roy par ses paroles que Yguerne ne se peut deffendre qu'elle ne print de ses jouyaulx, tant qu'elle sceut bien de v'rai, que le Roy l'aimoit ; et apres que la feste fut passee, chascun se en voulut retourner, et prinrent congié du Roy. Et le Roy leur pria qu'ils revinssissent tousjours, ainsi qu'il leur avoit commandé ; si luy accorderent chascun. Si endura le Roy cette peine d'amours jusques a long-temps. Si ne peut plus endurer ce martyre, et luy convint se descouvrir a deux des plus privéx de son conseil, et leur dit l'angoisse qu'il souffroit pour l'amour d'Yguerne.—Et quant le jour de la feste fut venu, chascun se trouva a Cardeuil avecque leurs appareils, tant Dames et Damoysselles, de quoy le Roy fut moult joyeux ; et quant le Roy sceut que chascun fut arrivé, et le Duc de Tintaiel, et sa femme Yguerne, si prist sa couronne, et se presenta devant tous les Barons auxqueulx il donna plusieurs riches jouyaulx, et aux dames et Damoysselles aussi. Et quant se vint a la table, que chascun fut assis pour menger, le Roy fut moult joyeux et lye. Si parla a ung sien conseiller, auquel il se fioit, qui fut nommé Ulfín. Et lui dist que l'amour d'Yguerne le tuoit, et le feroit mourir, et qu'il ne pavoit durer s'il ne la veoit, et que quant il en perdoit la vue, le cueur lui meurdriroit, et que s'il n'avoit remede d'elle, qu'il ne pavoit longuement vivre. Et Ulfín lui re-



spondit : Sire, euideriez vous bien mourir pour l'amour d'une dame ? Saichez, que Je ne suis que ung povre Gentilhomme ; mais Je ne euiderois point mourir pour l'amour d'une femme. Car Je ne ouy parler de femme (pourveu qu'elle fust bien requise) qui, pour ce qu'on luy presente plusieurs dons, ne se consentye a la volente de celui qui la requiert. Et toy qui es Roy, te esbahis tu comme tu pourras avoir l'amour d'une dame ! Il semble que tu ayes le cueur bien couart qui n'oses requirrir une dame d'aymer. Et le Roy luy dist : tu ditz vrai, tu scees qu'il convient a telle chose. Si te prie que tu m'aydes en toutes les manieres que tu pourras. Si, prens en mon tresor, ce que tu voudras pour luy donner, et a ceulx et a celles qui sont autour d'elle ; et pense de faire a chascun son plaisir, et va parler a Yguerne. Et Ulfín respondit : Je sauray bien faire ce que m'avez commandé. Ainsi tint la court huit jours en grant joye, et avoit le Roy tousjours a sa compaignie, et lui donna de moult riches jouyaulx, et a ses compaignons aussi. Et Ulfín s'en alla parler a Yguerne, et luy dist ce qu'il convenoit a parler d'amours, et luy porta plusieurs beaulx jouyaulx, et riches. Et jamais Yguerne n'en voulut riens ; tant qu'il advint ung jour que Yguerne tira Ulfín a conseil a une part, et luy dist.—Ulfín, pourquoi me offres tu tant de si beaulx jouyaulx ? Et Ulsius respondit ; pour le grant sens et belle contenance que Je voy en vous, votre grant beaulté. Et saichez que tout l'avoir de ce Royaume est a vous ; et tous les gens aussi sont a faire vostre plaisir et vostre volente. Et elle respondit : comment sais tu ce ? Et il respondit : Dame vous avez le cueur de celui a qui est le Royaume. Et elle dist ; qui est le cueur ? C'est le cueur du Roy, dist il. Comment ? dist elle ; le Roy a le cueur bien felon et bien traître de monstrier a monseigneur si grant semblant qu'il l'aime, si il me veult trahir et deshonnouer ; Je te diray, Ulsius gardes sur ta vie que jamais tu ne me parles de tieulx parolles, que bien saiches que Je le dirois au Duc, et s'il le scavoit, il te conviendrait mourir. Ne ja ne le celeray que ceste foy. Et Ulfín respondit ; se Je mouroye pour le Roy, se me seroit grant honneur. Puis il lui dit : Dame, Je me esbahis que vous refusez le Roy pour vostre amy, qui plus vous aime que luy meme ; et veuillez savoir qu'il meurt pour vous, et qu'il mourra si n'avez mercy de luy. Et elle respondit : vous vous gabez. Et il luy respondit : Pour Dieu, Dame, ayez mercy du Roy et de vous-mesmes ; car si vous n'en avez mercy, vous en verrez venir grant mal : Ne vous, ne votre seigneur, ne vous

saurez deffendre contre sa volente. Et a donc Yguerne respondit en pleurant tendrement: Si feray; Je m'en deffendrai bien. Car jamais ne me trouveray, la feste passée, en la compagnie du Roy, ny en sa cour ne me trouveray; ne pour quelque mandement qu'il face ne viendray. Ainsi se departirent Ulsius et Yguerne.

No. 2, p. 159.

# LE SAINT GRAAL.

Extract from chap. lx. of British Museum MS. Roy. xiv. E. 3, printed by the Early English Text Society, *The History of the Holy Grail*.

Josephes sees in the Grail-ark Christ nailed to the Cross. Apres esgarda iosephes, si vit ke la lanche qu'il auoit veue en la main au tierch angele estoit fichie tres parmi le coste del home crucefijet. Si en degoutoit tout contreal la hanste vors ruisseles qui n'estoit ne tous sans ne toute iaue, & nepourquant il sambloit estre de sanc & d'iaue. Et desous les pies au cruchefis vit ichele escuele ke ioseph ses peres auoit fait apporter en l'arche. Si li estoit auis ke li sans des pies au crucefije degoutoit en chele escuele que ele estoit ia pres plaine, si sambloit a iosephe ke ele vansist verser, & ke li sans en deust espandre.

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Et il [Joseph, père] esgarda, si vit dedens l'arche, i. petit autel tout conuert de blans dras & par desus tous les blans dras si auoit, i. moult riche drap, & vermeil & moult biel autrestel comme samit. Desour che drap esgarda ioseph, si vit qu'il auoit, iij. cleus tous degoutans de sanc, & i. fer de lanche tout sanglant a l'un des chies de l'autel, & à l'autre chief estoit l'escuele qu'il auoit apportee. Et en milieu del autel si auoit, i. moult riche vaissiel d'or en samblanche d'un hanap, & i. couuercle deseure qui estoit d'or au tresi. Ne le couuercle ne preut il mie veoir a deliure, ne quanques il auoit desus. Car il estoit couuers d'un drap ke on ne le povit vevir ke par deuant. Et tout outre l'autel si vit vne main qui tenoit vne crois moult biele, toute vermelle. Mais chelui dont la mains estoit, ne vit il mie. Et si uit deuant l'autel, ij. mains qui tenoient chierges. Mais il ne vit mie les cors dont les mains estoient. Endementiers ke il gardoit ensi laiens, si escouta, si oi l'uis d'une cambre moult durement flatir, & il tourne

ses iex vers la cambre, si en uit issir, ij. angeles, dont li vors tenoit, i. orchuel tout plain d'iaue, & li autres tenoit, i. jetoir en sa main destre. Et apres ches, ij. en uenoient doi autre qui portoient en lor mains, ij. graus vaissiaus d'or autresteus comme, ij. bachins, & a lor caus auoit, ij. touailles qui estoient de si grant biaute comme cheles qui onques hom morteus n'auoit baillies. Quant chil doi furent hors de la cambre, si en issirent troi autre apres qui portoient, iij. enchensiers d'or, enlumines de si riches pierres precieuses qu'il sambloit de uoir ke il fuissent tout espris de fu ardent. Et en l'autre main tenoit chascuns d'aus vne boiste plaine d'enchens, & de mierre, & de maintes autres precieuses espises qui rendoient laiens si douche odour & si grant suatume qu'il estoit tres bien auis ke la maisons en fust toute plaine. Apres en vit issir, j. autre qui auoit letres el front escrites, & si disoient, "ie sui apieles forche del tres haut signour." Ichil portoit sour ses, ij. mains, i. drap autresi verdoiant com esmerande & sour che drap estoit mise la sainte escuele. En coste de chelui drap, & i. angele deuers destre, en auoit, i. qui portoit vn teste, com ques si riches ne si bians ne fu veus par iex de nul home terrien se chil meismes ne.

## No. 3, p. 173

## PERCEVAL.

Premierement, dist la mere de Perceval, si vous trouvez, ne pres, ne loin, Dame qui ait de vous besoing, ou pucelle desconseillé, ou qui de votre ayde ait metier, ne lui veuillez denier votre service. Car Je vous dy que tout honneur est a l'homme perdu, qui honneur a dame ne porte; et quiconque honoré veut etre, lui faut a pucelle et a Dame honneur referer. Ung autre enseignement retiendrez: S'il echiet que pucelle ayez gagnée, ou que pucelle de vous soit amie privée, si le baiser elle ne vous denie, le baiser pouvez prendre; mais le reste, Je vous le deffens: fors que si en doigt elle a anneau, ou aumoniere a sa ceinture, si, par amour, anneau ou aumoniere vous donne, licitement le don vous pouvez, en la remerciant, prendre, et le don d'icelle emporter. Perceval prit congé de sa mere, et s'achemina vers la cour du Roy Artus. Le lendemain aux premiers rayons de soleil il decouvrit un riche pavillon.

Quant pres du pavillon fut arrivé, ouvert le trouva, dedans

lequel vit un lit noblement accoutré, sur lequel étoit une pucelle seule endormie, laquelle avoient laissée ses demoyselles qui étoient allé cueiller des fleurs pour le pavillon jolier et parier, comme de ce faire étoient accoutumées. Lors est Perceval du lit de la Pucelle approché, courant assez lourdement dessus son cheval : adonc s'est la pucelle assez effrayement éveillée. A laquelle, dit Perceval, "Pucelle, Je vous salue, comme ma mere m'a appris, laquelle m'a commandé que jamais pucelle ne trouvassé, que humblement ne la saluassé." Aux paroles du jeune Perceval, se print la pucelle a trembler, car bien luy sembloit qu'il n'étoit gueres sage, comme le montrait assez son parler : et bien se reputoit folle, que ainsi seule l'avoit trouvée endormie. Puis elle lui dit : "Amy pense bien-tot d'icy te departir, de peur que mes amis ne t'y trouvent, car si icy te rencontroient, il t'en pourroit mal advenir." "Par ma foi," dit Perceval, "jamais d'icy ne partirai que, premier, baisée ne vous aye." A quoy repond la pucelle que non fasse, mais que bientot pense de departir, que ses amis là ne le treuvent. "Pucelle (fait Perceval) pour votre parler, d'icy ne partirai tant que de vous aye eu ung baiser ; car ma mere m'a à ce faire ainsi enseigné." Tant s'est Perceval de la Pucelle approché, qu'il l'a par force baisée ; car pouvoir n'eut elle d'y resister, combien qu'elle se deffendit bien. Mais tant étoit lors Perceval lafre et lourd, que la defense d'icelle ne luy put profiter, qu'il ne luy prit baiser, vouldit elle ou non, voire, comme dit le conte, plus de vingt fois. Apres que Perceval eult par force prit de la pucelle baiser, advisa qu'en son doigt elle avoit ung anneau d'or, dedans lequel étoit une belle claire esmeraude enchassée, lequel pareillement par force lui ota comme le baiser avoit eu : puis le mit en son doigt oultre le gré de la pucelle, qui fort s'étoit defendue quand cet anneau luy a oté. Lors Perceval prenant l'anneau de la Pucelle, usa de telles parolles, comme il avoit fait au baiser, disant que sa mere l'avoit a ce faire enseigné, mais que plus avant ne ailleurs ne toucheroit, comme par sa mere luy avoit été commandé. La pucelle se voyant ainsi despouillée et perforcée de son anneau et de son baiser, se print si fort a lamenter et gemir, que le cueur luy cuida partir. Puis dit a Perceval : "Amy, Je te prie, n'emporte point mon anneau ; car par trop en serois blamée, et toy, possible, en perdrois la vie." Perceval ne prend a cueur ce que la pucelle luy dit ; mais comme depuis qu'il fut de chez sa mere parti, n'avoit mangé ne bu, par quoy ne fut au pavillon de la pucelle sans grand appetit. Et luy,



en ce desir de manger, comme tout affamé, advise d'aventure un boucal plein de vin, aupres duquel estoit un hanap d'argent. Puis regarde une touaille, fort blanche et assez fine, qu'il souleve et prende; et dessous icelle trouve trois patés froids, de chair de Chevreuil. Gueres n'arreta, quand les patés en sa main tint, de se mettre en debvoir d'en taster; car, comme ai dit grand faim avoit. Partant, si-tot qu'il les tint, en froissa un entre ses mains, et apres en avoir mangé non sobrement, souvent retournoit visiter le boucal. Puis dit a la pucelle: "Dame, Je vous prie, venez et faites comme moy; quand vous aurez ung pasté mangé, et moy ung autre, encore en restera t-il ung pour les survenants." La Pucelle voyant Perceval ainsi dereglement manger, s'en esbahit, et rien ne luy repond; mais d'autre chose ne se peut allegier, fors que de se prendre a pleurer et a gemir tendrement. Perceval, qui peu garde y prenoit, de la pucelle print congé, apres qu'il eut recouvert le reste des patés dessous la touaille.

No. 4, p. 183.

LANCELOT DU LAC.

Et quelle part cuydez vous aller beau Sire, dit Girflet. Le ne vous diray Je pas, dist le Roy, car Je ne puis: et quant Girflet veit qu'il n'en scauroit plus, il se partit tantost du Roy Artus. Et si-tost comme il fut departy commença une pluye a cheoir grande et merveilleuse, qui lui dura jusques a ung tertre qui estoit loing du Roy environ demy lieue; et puis quant il fut venu au dit tertre il descendit, et s'arresta dessoubs ung arbre tant que la pluye fust passée, et commença a regarder celle part ou il avoit laissé le Roy; si veit venir parmy la mer une Nef qui estoit toute plaine de dames et de damoyselles, et quant elles vindrent a la rive la dame d'elles qui estoit Seur au Roy Artus l'appella, et sitost que le Roy Artus veit Morgain sa seur il se leva incontinent, et Morgain le print par la main et luy dist qu'il entrast dedans la nef; si print son cheval et ses armes et entra dedans la nef.

Et quant Girflet, qui estoit au tertre, eut veu comment le Roy estoit entré en la nef avecques les dames, il retourna vers la riviere tant qu'il peut du cheval courre: et quant il y fut revenu il veit le Roy Artus entre les dames. Si congneut bien Morgain

la Faee, car plusieurs foyz l'avoit veue. Et la nef si estoit ja plus eslongnée que une arbalestre neust sceu tirer a deux foyz.

No. 5, p. 191.

MELIADUS DE LEONNOYS.

Brehus encontra ung Chevalier armé de toutes pieces, qui menoit en sa compagnie une damoysselle et deux escuyers tant seullement. Et sachez que la damoysselle estoit bien vestue, et moult noblement, comme ce feust este une Royne; et estoit montee sus ung pallefroy blanc, et chevauchoient plaisamment parmy la forest, elle et le Chevalier errant. Le chevalier estoit sus ung grant cheval, et en faisoit mener ung autre en main. Le Chevalier alloit chantant une chanson nouvelle qu'avoit esté faiete nouvellement en la maison du Roy Artus; et estoit la chanson ainsi:—

En grant joye m'a amour mis,  
Et de grant douleur m'a osté,  
Maulgré tous mes ennemys—  
Je suis si haultement monté,  
Que pour son ami m'a compté  
Celle qui passe fleur de Lys;  
Et quant pour son homme m'a pris,  
Bien ay le monde surmonté.

No. 6, p. 197.

TRISTAN.

Tristan se couche avec Yseult sa femme. Le luminaire ardoit si cler, que Tristan pouvoit bien veoir la beauté d'Yseult; elle avoit la bouche vermeille et tendre, yeux pers rians, les sourcils bruncs et bien assis, la face claire et vermeille comme une rosel'aube du jour. Sy Tristan la baise et l'acolle; mais quant il lui souvient de Yseult de Cornouailles, sy à toute perdue la vouldonté du surplus. Cette Yseult est devant lui, et l'autre est en Cornouailles qui lui defent que à l'autre Yseult ne fasse nul riens que a villeinie lui tourne. Ainsi demeure Tristan avec sa femme; et elle qui d'acoller et de baiser ne savoit riens, s'endort entre les bras de Tristan; et Tristan aussi d'autre part s'endort entre les

bras d'Yseult, jusques a lendemain que les dames et damoiselles vinrent veoir Yseult et Tristan. Tristan se lieve, puis vient au palais.

No. 7, p. 217.

## YSAIE LE TRISTE.

Les chevaliers avoyent tant d'envie sur luy qu'a merveilles. Lors s'appensent comment ils pourront mettre Marc a mort, a leur honneur, et au moins de parolles : Si s'adviserent comment ce seroit fait.

"Bernard mon compaignon fait d'ivoirie a ceste ville a l'hostel d'ung Lombard, et y a une chambre en laquelle nul n'ose habiter qu'il ne sen repente trop grossement, especiallement si par nuyt y repose. Nous nous traïrons pres de luy et luy prierons qu'il y voise, et il yra comme celui qui de riens na paour. Et vous voirres qu'il luy mescherra en telle maniere que jamais ce ne luy pourra ayder." A ce se sont tous accordez. Une heure entre les autres estoyent les chevaliers avec Marc, et parloyent de plusieurs besongnes tant qu'il advint que messire Bertrand dist a Marc—"Sire en ceste ville a ung hostel qui souloit estre a Isaac le Lombard ; mais il n'est nul si hardy qu'en une chambre qui y est osast entrer, ne heberger une nuyt tant soit hardy."

"Par ma foy," fait Marc, "il seroit bien sot que pour telle chose y lairroit a aller. Je y seray en nuyt quoy quil en adviengne." Et vers le vespre il fist faire ung grant feu en la chambre ou ces merveilles estoyent, et fist mettre les tables et allumer environ vingt torches, et y avoit bien a boire et a menger. Lors s'enferma dedans tout armé, et fist tout yssir hors, fors luy. Ceux et celles de la ville disoyent communement qu'il estoit allé a la mort ; mais s'assist a table, et commença a boire et a menger. Mais guieres neut été a table quant table et tout versa ; et puis ouyt ung si grant bruyt par l'hostel, que c'estoit merveilles a ouyr. Lors que Marc ouyt telle noise sault sus, et tire l'espee, et commence a fuyr comme ung enraigé ; mais il ny voit nully. A' tant vient vers le feu, et redresse sa table, et remet tout sus, et se rassiet ; mais en l'heure fut tout a bas comme devant. Lors ressault sus si courrouce que plus ne peult.—"Se vous estes de bon pere ou de bonne mere passez avant de par dieu ou de par le dyable." Mais oncques plus tost ne eust dit

ce mot que toute la lueur qui leans estoit fut estainte. Et fut Marc prins, et tant mal mené quil ne se peult ayder de membres qu'il eust, et demoura tout coy estandu emmy la place.

Le lendemain on vint prendre garde de luy, mais on le trouva en tel estat que mieulx sembloit estre mort que vif. Dela fut emport. Et quant il fut guarý feist mander ses armes et s'arma, et fist tant aincois que nul en fust adverty qu'il fut en la salle, ou il avoit este si mallement atourné; et y beut et mengea, et y jeut. Vers mynuyt fut tant mal atourné que tous ses membres estoyent sans force, et perdit la parolle et le sens; mais touteffois il advint que gens vindrent leans pour veoir le lieu, et estoit jour, car de la nuyt ny eussent osé aller, et le trouverent ainsi que mort.

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Et quant il fut reguary, ung homme de religion, nommé Annas, alla avec Marc en une chambre. Et quant ils furent seul a seul: "Bel amy," fait Annas, "Je vous jure sur les saincts, que se voulez faire ce que Je vous conseilleray, vous yrez en la salle, aultrement non:" "Or dictes," fait Marc, "et sans doubte Je feray ce que me conseillerez;" "Certes," fait Annas, "Je le vueil.

"Il est vray," fait Annas, "que Je suis prebstre, et pource vous plaise me dire tous vos pechez." "Voulentiers," fait Marc: lors luy conte, et quant il eut tout dit si luy bailla Annas absolution; et puis luy enchargea, *en penitence*, que jamais, se il n'estoit premier assailly, ne tuast homme, et aidast a son pource amy. "Le feray Je voulentiers," fait Marc. "Or beau sire," fait Annas, "Or pouez hardiment aller ou vous avez entrepris, car tel avoit devant pouvoir sur vous, que maintenant n'a nul pouvoir de vous mal faire."

Quant ce vit, vers le vespre Marc ne s'oublia mie, aincois s'arma, et vint en la salle ou tant de souffraite avoit eu; mais guieres n'y eut esté quant le dyable vinst a luy, et luy dist, "que quieres tu en ce que est nostre." "Et pourquoy vostre," fait Marc: "pource, fait l'ennemy, que la maison a esté faicte des biens qui estoient nostres, que nous avions preste a celuy qui ce fist faire, lequel est en nostre demaine et nostre subject. Et est en nostre pouvoir, et emprisonne, en noz prisons pour plusieurs arretaiges qu'il nous doit, lesquelz il naura jamais payez; et pource veux Je que tu en sortes, car nul ny a droit que nous." "Par saint Jacques, fait Marc, tu l'auras aincois de ton corps



gaigné contre le mien." "Je ne vueil point combatre a toy, fait l'ennemy, car tu es plus fort armé que tu ne souloies." "Fuy d'icy donc," fait Marc. Lors tire l'espée; et sen vient vers luy, et l'ennemy s'en fuit entour la salle. Et Marc le chasse, l'espee au poing, longuement, et par loisir. Mais en la fin bouta l'ennemy le feu par l'hostel: et puis s'esvanouyt.

Quant Marc veit que tout ardoit si en fut tout esbahy, et se part. Et quant il en court si conta son adventure, dont plusieurs personnes enfurent esbahys, et en y eu maint qui plus souvent se confesserent que devant. Et especialement les chevaliers quant ils debvoient entrer en bataille; et disoient qu'estoit la plus seure armeure du monde que confession.

## No. 8, p. 237.

## GYRON LE COURTOIS.

Ung jour que le temps estoit bel et clair, comme il pouvoit estre en la fin d'Octobre, advint que le chemin que Gyron tenoit, l'amena tout droictement au pié d'un tertre. Ce tertre estoit tout blanc de la niege, car il faisoit hyver; mais la plaine estoit toute verte, comme si ce fut au mois de May. Au pié de cette montagne, en la plaine, tout droitement dessous ung arbre, sourdoit une fontaine moult belle et moult delectable; et dessous celluy arbre, estoit assis un Chevalier armé de haubert et de chasses chevaleresques; et ses autres armes estoient pres de luy, et son cheval estoit attaché a l'arbre. Devant le Chevalier seoit une Damoysele tant belle, que c'estoit merveilles que sa beauté. Et si quelqu'un me demandoit qui estoit le Chevalier, Je dirois que c'estoit Danayn-le-Roux, le fort Chevalier; comme aussi la Damoysele qui estoit assise devant luy, n'estoit autre que la belle Damoysele Bloye, qui avoit tant aimé Gyron.

## No. 9, p. 243.

## PERCEFOREST.

Lors dresse l'espée pour luy coupper la tete, et le prent par les chevelx, et le voulut ferir; mais il luy fut advis qu'il tenoit la plus belle Damoiselle que oncques veit, par les chevelx. Lors le regarde, et veoit que c'estoit Ydorus sa femme la Roynne.

Adonc fut tout esbahy si va dire : ha Doulee amye este vous icy. Adonc luy fut advis qu'elle dist—Ouy vrayement doulx amy ; ayez mercy de moi. Et le nayn qui estoit là crioit tousjours comme enragé—Gentil Roy occis le ou tu es mort. Ce ne valut pas maille ; car le Roy s'assit, et embrasse Darnant, et le print a accoller comme sa femme, et dist : Belle seur, pardonnez moy mon meffaict, car J'esté deceu. Et Darnant tira ung couteau Galoys et fiert le Roy en la poictrine ung si grant coup qu'il luy fist passer a l'autre lez, mais Dieu le ayda que ce fust au dextre coste ung peu dessoubz l'espaule. Quant le Roy sentit le coup il sault sus tout effraïé, et le nayn recommença a dire : Roy occis le ou tu es mort. Quant le roy se sentit navré si cruellement il s'aperceut qu'il estoit enchante. Lors leve l'espee et coupe au chevalier la teste, et le corps s'estend, et l'ame s'en va ou elle devoit aller. Et tantost commença en la forest une noyse et une tourmente si grant de mauvaise Esperitz que c'estoit hydeur a ouyr.

No. 10, p. 251.

#### ARTUS DE LA BRETAGNE.

Et quant Artus la vit, elle luy pleut plus que quant la vit premierement : si la print par la main et s'assirent a une part entre eux deux ; et la Dame et Gouvernau furent d'autre part. Si fut la matiné belle et claire, et la rosée grande ; si chantoient les oyselletes par la forest : si que les deux enfans s'en esjouissoient en grande liesse pour le doux temps, comme ceux qui estoient jeunes et a qui il ne failloit que jouer et rire, et qui s'entre aymoient de bon cueur sans villenie et sans mal que l'un eust vers l'autre. Lors dist Artus tout en riant—Ma Damoiselle Jeannette avez vous point d'Amy ? et elle en souzriant et en regardant Artus doucement luy respondit : Par la foy que Je vous doit ouy, bel et gracieux. Et d'ou est il Jeannette ? Sire il est d'un pays dont il est—Et comme est il appelé, dist Artus : la fille dist, vous vous souffrirez ; mais pourtant veux bien que maintenant scachez que le Roy Artus fut un bon chevalier et preux et de grand vertu ; et vous dis que mon amy est aussi bon, si meilleur n'est, et si ressemble a vous mieux qu'a personne qui vive, d'aller, et de venir, de corps, et de toutes les choses que nul peut ressembler a l'autre.

No. 11, p. 306.

## HUON DE BOURDEAUX.

Il entra dedans la salle laquelle il regarda a grant merveilles, car tant estoit bel et riche a le veoir que il n'est clerc au jourd'hui au monde qui la beaulté ne la richesse qui la dedans estoit vous sceust escrire. La eussiez peu veoir autour de la dicte salle les huys des riches chambres qui a la costiete de la salle estoyent, toute la maconnerie de leans, autant qu'elle duroit, estoit faicte et composée du plus beau marbre blanc et poly que oncques peust veoir; les poustres qui par la salle estoyent furent toutes de euyure doré de fin or: d'aultrepart au bout de la salle avoit une cheminée, dont les deux pilliers qui le manteau soubstenoient estoyent de jasbre, et le manteau fut fait et compassé d'ung moult riche cassidoïne, et la listel qui soubstenoit la clere voye estoit faicte toute de fines enneraudes, et la clere voye estoit faicte de une vigne entergectée laquelle estoit de fin or, et les grappes de raisin estoyent faictes des plus fins saphirs du monde. Tant belle et tant riche estoit la cheminee que la pareille on ne trouva en tout le monde; et tous les pilliers qui en la salle du palays estoyent estoyent fais de ung vermeil cassidoïne, et le pavement qui en la salle estoit, estoit tout d'ambre.

Quant le Duc Huon eust bien advisé la salle il ouvrit une chambre. Quant il fut entré il regarda amont et aval, et veit la chambre tant richement garnye et aournée tendue et encourtinée des plus riches draps que oncques eust vue en sa vie. Les bancs qui la estoyent et les challis des lits et des couches estoyent tous d'ung fin yvoire blanc, tant richement entaillez ouvrez et garnys de pierres precieuses qu'il n'est langue humaine d'homme ne de femme qui dire le vous sceust; et estoit tout ce fait par enchanterie: le palais que Je vous dy estoit moult grant et large et bien garny de riches chambres. Quant Huon eut veu icelle chambre il feust tout esbahy de ce que leans ne veoit homme ne femme; il regarda ung aultre huys sur lequel estoit escript de lettres d'or, ainsi comme il avoit trouvé a l'huys de la chambre ou il avoit este, et print la clef, si ouvrit l'huys et entra dedans, et choisit tant d'or de richesses de joyaulx de pierres precieuses que grant beaulté estoit a les veoir. Vray Dieu, ce dist Huon, Je cuyde que en tout le monde on ne scauroit ne pourroit trouver

la richesse qui est icy amassé; et puis quant la eust été une espace de temps il regarda et veit une aultre chambre; puis quant dedans fut entré, si grans richesses avoit veues encores, les trouva il plus grans, car la dedans estoient unes ausmoires moult riches et grandes a merveilles, qui estoient faictes de fine yvoire tant richement ouvrees et entaillées que beste ne oyseau qui au monde fust on ne avoit laissé que la ne fust entaillé par grant maitrise; dedans les ausmoires y avoit robbes de fine drap d'or et de moult riches manteaulx soubelins et toutes aultres choses qui appartenoyent a vestir a homme; puis estoient les liets et les couches tant richement couverts et parez que n'est nul qui dire le vous sceust. Car tant estoit la chambre belle et riche que Huon ne se pouoyt saouler de la voir: Leans avoit fenestres et voirrieres moult riches par lesquelles l'on veoit ung jardin, lequel estoit tant bel et si bien garny de fleurs moult odorans, et de tous arbres chargées de plusieurs fruiets, lesquelz estoient tant delicieux a manger que il nestoyt que seullement a sentir l'odeur ne feust ressazie et remply. D'autre part y avoit d'herbes et de fleurs que si tres grant odeur rendoyent que il sembloyt que tout le jardin feust plain de basme.

## No. 12, p. 314.

## GUERIN DE MONTGLAVE.

Or sont les champions dedans le parc corps a corps pour combattre: si s'eslongnent lung de l'autre; puis brochent leurs chevaulx et vont l'ung contre l'autre comme preux Chevalliers qu'ils estoient, et se donnent trois coups de glaive sans rompre ne entamer haultiers ne sans tumber a terre. La quatrieme fois rompirent leurs lances puis tirerent leurs brands d'acier; Roland avoit Durandal sa bonne espée; et en geta ung coup a Olivier, et Olivier se couvre de son escu; mais l'espee y entra plus d'ung pied et demy. Vassal, dist Roland, vous devez bien aymer l'escu que vous a saulvé ce coup: et ainsi que Roland tiroit son espée Olivier le frapa ung tel coup que Roland n'eust puissance de lever Durandal, et Durandal tombe a terre. Et Olivier suyvit Roland tant comme il peust, et se combatyrent assez longuement: mais Roland n'osoit approcher d'Olivier, car Olivier avoit bonne espée dont il fiert Roland de toutes pars: si alla tant variant et



fuyant Olivier que les destriers furent moult las : et Roland s'est eslongné et broche de l'esperon, et descend a pied vueille Olivier ou non. Et quant Olivier le voit si fust bien courroucé, et voit bien que s'il ne descend qu'il luy occira son destrier. Si est descendu Olivier, et Roland prent Durandal : et quant il la tint il ne l'eust pas donnée pour tout l'or du monde. Or sont les barons a pied, et tint chascun son blason et chascun sa bonne espée, et se donnent de grans coups ; car chascun est fier et de grant puissance. Olivier le ferit ung coup sur le coiffe d'acier tant que le sercle qui estoit d'or cheut en la pree, et fust de ce coup tout étonné, tant qu'il chancela troys coups la teste contre bas. Et quant Roland revint en force il eut grant honte, et regarda Belleaude qui estoit sur la Tour. Par mon chef, dist Rolant, or ne vaulx Je riens si Je ne me delivre tantost docire Olivier. Lors fiert Olivier tantost sur sa targe tel coup qu'il emporta la piece jusques a terre : puis courut sus a Olivier tellement qu'ils sont tous deux cheuz. Or sont les deux barons tumbéz a terre, et laisserent leurs espées, et se embrassent et estraignent l'ung l'autre ; mais ne l'ung ne l'autre ne le peust oncques gaigner ne avoir son compaignon ; si frappent des ganteletz d'acier l'ung contre l'auter, par le visaige, si que le sang en coule a terre ; si furent tant en ce point lassez et travaillez qu'ils se sont relevez par accord, et revont aux espees comme devant.

No. 13, p. 316.

GALYEN RHETORÉ.

Sitot que Galyen eut advisé le Pere qui l'engendra, il descendit de dessus son Cheval et l'ala embrasser ; et moult courtoisement l'osta hors de l'estour, et le porta decoste le rocher, et le posa a terre sur le bel herbe vert ; puis se coucha decost lui, et moult piteusement le regreta en disant—“ Helas pere, Je voy qu'il vous convient mourir ; mal venistes oncques par deca. Jaqueline ma mere qui m'a long temps nourry en Constantinople ne vous verra jamais.” Et Olivier lui respont—“ Tu dits vrai, mon tres doulx fils, mais ung jour qui passa lui avoie fait promesse de retourner et de l'epouser : mais nous venismes deca qui men a garde ; ne oncques puis ne retournay en France, dont mon cueur est dolent—Je la commande a Dieu qui le Monde forma. Le Duc Regnier

mon pere, et ma dame de mere, qui en ses flans me porta, ne ma seur Bellaude jamais ne me verra : Helas Doulx Jesus ! quelle douleur aura le Roy Charlemaigne de ceste mort quand il le saura—helas pourquoy ne venez vous cy Charlemaigne ! Et vous mon chier enfant, qui souvent me baisez, Dieu vous veuille tous-jours avoir en sa sainte protection et garde. Adieu mon tres-gracieulx et doulx enfant, qui en vostre giron et sur vos genoulx me tenez—Adieu Jaqueline ma tres douce Amye ; pardonnez moi gentil Damoysselle car Je ne vous ay pas tenu promesse ; ce a été par les faulx desloyaulx paiens que Dieu mauldie—Adieu vous dy plaisante Seur Bellaude, car moult grant douleur aurez de ma mort quant vous le scaurez : de vos beaulx yeux vers et rians arrouserez souvent votre douce face. Tres douce seur plus ne me baiserez, puis qu'a la mort Je dois le corps rendre." Le vaillant Conte Olivier estoit couché sur la terre nue, ou la mort angoisseusement le tourmentoit, et son fils Galyen lui faisoit ombre pour la chaleur de Soleil, qui merueilleusement estoit chault, qui raioit sur sa face ; et Rolant estoit au pres qui moult regretoit sa mort et piteusement plouroit a grosses larmes. Adonc Olivier se commanda a Dieu, et la veue lui alla troubler, et lui partit l'ame du corps. A l'heure, eust eu le cueur bien dur qui n'eust plouré de pitie, du dueil qui demenoit Galyen et Rolant.

No. 14, p. 328.

DOOLIN DE MAYENCE.

Se trouvant ainsi seulet Dolin commenca a chercher par le palais deca et dela, mais il n'y trouva creature vivant. Mais comme il n'eust de ce jour gueres mangé l'appetit luy commenca a venir, parquoy il descendit en la cuisine ou il trouva viandes a foison, chair fresche et salée toutehabillé, et venaison, vollaibles, pain, vin et autres victuailles a planté. Et ainsi qu'il vouloit couvrir la table, pour prendre sa refection, il ouyt une douce voix qui chantoit fort melodieusement, tellement qu'il navoit onc ouyt chose qui fust si plaisant a ouyr, et pensoit assurément que ce fust quelque Ange du ciel, parquoy il jura que il ne mangeroit ne prendroit viande, premier qu'il eust sceu ce que c'estoit. Alors il commenca a chercher d'un costé et d'autre par le palais, tant que finalement il se trouva pres d'une chambre en laquelle il apper-

ceut une belle jeune damoyselle toute seule, assise sur un lit couvert d'un samis verd, laquelle il regarda a travers une fonte de l'huis, et la trouva si belle qu'a son advisal estoit impossible de trouver au monde son parragon ; sa robbe estoit d'un fin satin verd, faicte a l'Alemand, bordée de quatre bords de passement blanc, et avoit ceinte une ceinture qui estoit faicte toute de perles et pierreries montant a la valeur de plus de cent marcs d'argent ; elle avoit les yeux clairs et estincellans comme l'estoile de jour, la bouche petite et riante, le couleur vermeille comme la rose, les cheveux longs pendans sur les espauls jaunes comme fil d'or, et avoit sur son chef un chapeau de perles fines. Elle estoit aagée seulement de seize ans et deux mois, mais elle estoit tant sage et bien apprise que merveilles, gracieuse et fort courtoise en son langage : elle s'estoit retiré e en ceste chambre pour un peu reposer apres disnee, et s'estoit mise a chanter pour chasser le sommeil. Dolin la contemplant a son aise disoit a part soy, que jamais il n'avoit veu si belle creature ; comme aussi il n'en avoit pas beaucoup veu : Je ne scay, dist il si c'est un Ange du ciel, ou quelque autre chose encore plus divine, car Je croy qu'onc il n'en fut telle de mere née : et fut alors si ardemment esprits de l'amour d'elle, qu'il ne pouvoit penser a autre chose qu'a sa divine beaulté. Estant de tout embrasé de l'ardeur que ce jeune archer aveugle luy faisoit sentir jusques au moelles il ne scavoit en quoy se resoudre, craignant par trop de l'offenser s'il luy rompoit son repos ; ce neantmoins apres avoir sur ce longuement discourue en son esprit il se print a hurter a l'huis de la chambre tout bellement, et luy dist : Gracieuse Damoyselle, Je vous prie par courtoisie que vueillez m'ouvrir l'huis de ceste chambre. Elle cuidant que ce fust un sien cousin, qui ordinairement hantoit en la maison, luy fait ouverture de la chambre, parquoy Dolin entra dedans, et la salue comme il scavoit bien faire ; mais elle voyant que ce n'estoit celui qu'elle avoit cuidé estre changea de couleur, parquoy son teinct n'en devint que plus beau, et luy ayant rendu son salut luy dist : Je me donne grand merveille Seigneur, qui vous a donné tant de licence de me venir trouver en ce lieu. A quoy il respondit promptement : Certainement ma Dame, l'amour vehemente que Je vous porte, et non autre respect, m'a acheminé en ce lieu, non point pour vous donner ennuy ou fascherie, mais pour vous presenter mon service, s'il vous plaist l'avoir pour agreable, vous priant me dire pourquoy vous vous tenez ainsi seulette en ce chambre. Sire Chevalier, respondit elle, la cour-

toisie de voz parolles m'incite a vous declarer chose qui ne m'est de moindre importance que de la vie.—Sçachez que la tristesse et angoisse qui m'afflige le coeur ne me permettent reposer de nuit ni de jour, et ce pourtant que mon pere a deliberé de me bailler pour femme a un ancien chevalier qui de n'agueres m'a demandée en mariage, lequel venant a estre consommé Je n'auray de ma vie un seul jour de soulas, pourtant que Je ne pourray jamais aymer celuy qui est a moy si inegal. Ma dame vous estes maintenant delivré d'un tel mariage, et pourtant si cest vostre plaisir de prendre ma foy, et me donner la vostre, Je vous emmeneray avec moy en mon palais, ou vous serez servie et honorée, et la Je vous espouseray solennellement : mais entretant, Je vous prie qu'il vous plaise avoir esgard a l'amour grand que Je vous porte, et le recompenser d'un amour reciproque, en ne me refusant ce point tant désiré que l'on nomme le don de merci. Quand elle l'entendit parler ce langage elle commença a muer couleur, mais il la print entre ses bras et la baisa. Puis il dressa la table, laquelle il couvrit de plusieurs sortes de mets, et de pain et vin excellent ; puis il s'assit tout aupres d'elle, et en la reconfortant, luy dist. Ma dame et maitresse de mon coeur, Je vous prie ne vous melancoliez que le moins que vous pourrez, car, moyennant la grace de Dieu, J'espere vous faire en brief Dame de Mayence la Grande. Ainsi ils souperent et se repeurent a leur aise, ne prenans propos que d'amour, et durant le soupper ne se pouvoient saouler de regarder l'un l'autre. Apres le soupper, ils s'en allerent tous deux coucher en un beau lict richement garni, ou les baisers et accolades qu'ils s'entredonnerent furent infinies et sans nombre ; s'ils se contenterent de cela seulement Je le laisse penser a ceux qui autres fois se sont trouvez en telles escarmouches : vray est que l'un et l'autre estoit aprentif a tel mestier, mais il ne tarda gueres qu'ils y furent aussi bons maistres que les plus experimentez, et eussent voulu que la nuit eust duré un an entier tant ils estoient ravis.

No. 15, p. 335.

OGIER LE DANOIS.

Adonc Morgue la Fae le mena par la main au Chasteau d'Aval-lon, là ou estoit le Roy Artus son frere, et Auberon, et Mallabron



ung Luyton de Mer. Or quant Morgue approcha du dit Chateau, les Faes vindrent au devant d'Ogier, chantant le plus melodieusement qu'on scauroit jamais ouyr : si entra dedans la salle pour soy deduire totalement. Adonc vist plusieurs dames Faes aournées, et toutes couronnées de couronnes tres sumptueusement faictes, et moult riches : et toute jour chantoient, dansoient et menaient vie tres joieuse, sans penser a nulle quelconque meschante chose, fors prendre leurs mondains plaisirs. Et ainsi qu'Ogier se devisoit avecques les dames, tantost arriva le Roy Artus auquel Morgue la Fae dist—"Approuchez vous, Monseigneur mon Frere, et venez saluer la fleur de toute Chevalerie, l'honneur de toute la noblesse de France ; celui ou bonté, loyauté, et toute vertu est enclose—c'est Ogier de Dannemarcke, mon loyal amy, et mon seul plaisir. et auquel git toute l'esperance de ma lyesse." Adonc le roy Artus vint embrasser Ogier tres amiablement et luy dit—"Ogier tres noble Chevalier vous serez le tres bien venu, et regrave Je nostre seigneur doucement de ce qu'il m'envoieung si notable chevalier." Puis Morgue la Fae lui mist sur son chief une couronne riche et tres precieuse, que nul vivant ne la scauroit priser, et avecques ce elle avoit une vertu en elle merveilleuse, car tout homme qui la portoit sur son chief il oubloït tout dueil, tristesse et melenchie, ne jamais luy souvenoit des pays, ne de parens qu'il eut . . . . Et Ogier et Morgue la Fae s'entrayerent si loyaullement que ce fut merveille, non pensans a chose de monde fors d'escouter les sons de tous les instrumens dont on se puisse corder ; somans si doucement qu'il n'estoit si dur cuer qui n'oubliait tout dueil, tristesse et melencolie seulement pour leur prestre l'oreille ; car c'estoit ung lieu si delectable, qu'il n'estoit possible a homme de souhaiter chose qu'il ne trovast leans. Et penses qu'Ogier, qui tant avoit veu de chose, en estoit si esbay, qu'il ne scavoit qu'il devoit faire, ne dire, si non qu'il cuidoit mieulx estre en Paradis que a nulle autre region.

No. 16, p. 343.

#### QUATRE FILZ AYMON.

Comment par le secours que maugis amena a Regnault et a ses freres es plains de Vaux couleurs Ilz desconfirent les gens du roy Charlemaigne dont ogier en eut mains reprouches de Rolant

pour aulcune bonte quil auoit faicte a Regnault et a ses freres en la roche mōbron. Et en fut ogier appellé traictre dont grant Inconuenient en Vint apres devant Charlemaigne.

### Chapitre xi.

Or dit le compte que quant Regnault eut desconfit les francoys Il s'en retourna vers la roche mombron la ou Il auoit laisse son frere richart si naure comme ouy aues. Et quant Il fut la venu et Il vit son frere richart si horriblement naure Il ne se peut tenir de plourer et dist. Helas que feray Je quant Jay perdu mon chier frere et le meilleur amy que que Jaye au monde. Et quant Il eut dicte celle parolle. Il cheut a terre de dessus bayart tout pasme. Et quāt alart et guichart virent leur frere qui estoit tōbe Ilz cōmenceent a regreter richart moult tendrement. Quant Regnault fut reuenue de pamoison Il cōmenca a farre le plus grant dueil du monde entre luy alart et guichart sur richart qui gisoit a terre ses boyaulx entre ses maïs Et ce pendant vecy venir maugis monte sur broyquerre Son bon cheual le meilleur que lon sceust fors que bayart. Et tenoit vng trāffron de lance en sa main. Et quāt Il vit Regnault demener si grāt dueil Il en fut moult courrouce. Et quant Il vit richart ainsi naure Il en eut au cueur grant douleur et regardoit la playe qui estoit moult horrible a regarder car lon luy veoit le foye dedens le corps. Lors dist a Regnault. Beau cousin endendez a moy et laissez ce grant dueil. Vous scauez bien que vous estes tous mes cousins si nous devons parforier de secourir lung lautre au besoing Je vous ay secouru maintesfois. Et saiches que tout le mal que Charlemaigne me Veult cest a vostre occasion. Il occist na gueres mon pere dōt Jay au cueur tres grant tristesse, qui estoit vostre oncle qui mourut par vostre amour ce scaues vous bien. Mais si Vous me Voules promectre deuāt tous Voz barons de venie auecques moy en la tente de Charlemaigne et moy aider a lassailir pour Venger la mort de mon pere si nous le pouons faire Je vous promotez de vous rēdre richart tout guery et tout sain orendroit sans nulle douleur.

Et quant Regnault entendit ces parolles Il sen vient a maugis et le baisa en la poitrine tout en plourāt et luy dist. Beau tres doulx cousin pour dieu mercy rendez moy mon frere richart guery si vous plaist et Je voules aultre chose que Je face com-

mandez le moy et Je le faray de tres bon cueur car vous seaues bien que Je ne fis oncques choses qui fust contre Vostre Volente. Et si na homme au monde pour qui Je fisse tant que Je feroye pour Vous. Quant maugis vit Regnault si tendrement plourer Il en eut moult grant pitie et luy dist. Or ne vous esmavez mye beau cousin car Vous aures richart sain et saulue tout a present. Et lors descend de son cheual a terre et prent vne bouteille de vin blanc si en laua la playe de richart moult bien et osta tout le sang qui estoit en tour. Ne Vous esmavez point la ou. Il prenoit toutes ses choses qui luy faisoient mestier car cestoit le plus subtil nigromancien qui oncques fust au monde. Et quant Il eut ce fait Il prist les boyaux et les luy mist dedens le corps et print vne aiguille et cousut la playe moult gētemēt sans luy faire sentir douleur et puis prist vng oygnement dont Il oygnit toute la playe. Et si tost que la playe fut oyngte elle fut toute saine cōme se Jamais ny eust mal. Et quāt Il eut tout ce fait Il print vng breuaige et donne a boy re a richart. Et quāt richart eut ben Il saultempiedz tout de deliure de sa douleur et dist a ses freres ou est ale ogier et ses gens nous sont Ilz eschappez.

*Extract from Caxton's Translation.*

Now sheweth the history, after that Reynawd had dyscomfyted the frenshemen he retorned agen towarde roche mountbron. where he had lefte his brother Richarde thus wounded, as ye have herde. And whan he was come there, & saw his brother so horrible wounded he could not kepe him from wepynge and sayd, 'Alas ! what shall I doo whan I have lost my dere brother, the best frende that I have in the world ?' And after he had sayd that worde he felle to the grounde from bayarde in a swounne. and whan alarde & guycharde sawe their brooder that was fall, they began to make theyr mone for Richarde pietously. And whan Reynawde was com agen to hymselfe he made grete sorowe wyth his two bredern, Alarde & guycharde, vpon Richarde their brother, that laye vpon therthe wyth his bowelles betwene his handes. And this hangyng, cam mawgis vpon broykarre, his gode horse, the best that men wyste after bayarde and helde a pece of a spere in his hande And whan he saw Reynaud make suche sorrow, he was right sori for it. And whan he sawe Richarde thus sore wounded he was wrothe, & had grete pyte for to see the wounde that was so grete for men sawe the lyver wythin his

body. Thenne sayd he to Reynawd, 'fayr cosin take hede what I shall say, & leve this sorow; ye know wel that ye be all my cosins and therfore we ought to parforce ourselfe for to socour thone the other whan it is nede. I have socoured many tymes and wyte it that all the [h]arme that Charlemagn bereth to me it is all thurgh your occasion he slewe my fader but late wherof I bere yet at my hert grete hevynes, that was your vncle that deyed for your love: that know ye well. But yf ye wyll promyse me afore all your barons for to com wyth me into the tente of the kynge charlemagne, & helpe me to sawte hym for to avenge vpon hym the dethe of my sayd fader yf we can, I shall delyver to you Rycharde, evyn now hole & sounde without any sore,' and whan Reynawde understode thise wordes, he cam to mawgis and kyssed hym in the breste all wepyng & sayd to hym Ryghte swete & fayr cosin, for god mercy, Delyver to me agen my broder Richarde hole, yf it playse you. And yf ye will that I doo any other thing for you commaunde me, and I shall do it wyth right good herte. For ye wote well that I dyde never onythyng that was agenst your wyll; nor there is no man in the worlde for whom I wolde doo so moche as I wold do for you. whan mawgys sawe Reynawd wepe so tenderly, he had grete pite of it, and sayd to hym. Now be not dysmayed of nothyng fayr cosyn, for ye shall have Richarde hole & sounde incontynente.

No. 17, p. 346.

#### LE CHEVALIER BERINUS.

Comment lempereur fut aduert y p ses tresoriers que sō tresor estoit en partie desrobe.

#### Chap. cxiii.

EN telle maïere estoit prudens pensif & angoisseux pour le grāt larrecin que on auoit fait cōe celui qui craignoit que on en mist toute la coupe sur luy si estoit en grāt balāce du dire ou du laisser en la fi sassētīt & se auisa pour le mieux quelle diroit a lēpereur Si vīt a luy deist tout p̃mieremēt que grāt ptie de sō tresor estoit ēblez & si ne scauoit p ou ne cōmēt Adōe y alla veoyr lēpereur et regarda p tout si appceut biē q̃l estoit moult amenuise et que trop grāt dōmage y auoyt on fait lors fat si courrrouce auecques lire quil auit de la mort de oursaires et



des srēs q̄ peu sē failloit ql nē lagoit si lui tressua tout le corps de grāt maltalle & prît a menasser & iurer moult despitement Et a tant se departit dillec & sen vint en son palais si courroucé que tous les mēbres luy trēbloient de ire Puis fist le roy venir deuant luy les sept saiges et les dix tresoriens. Et si y fūret tō lesprīces & les barons assemblez Adonc comença lēpereur sa raison & dist moult fieremēt cōme celuy qui sebloit estre tout desrue; et hors du sens Seigneursie vous faisā tō assauoir que onā mo grant tresor forfait et emble si vueil que vous me dissiez tantost & sās delaimēt que ie doy faire d̄ ceulx qui lont eu engarde car ie Vous dy en Verite quilz ne peuēt ne scevēt monstrier p̄ tuis trou fēte ne creuace p̄ ou on le puisse auoir emble ne ilz ne peuvent dire nulle force q̄ on leur oyt faicte. Et pourtant ilz se donnent biē a entendre quilz sont coupables du malice Si Vō coniure : et commande a tous ensēble & chascun a par luy q̄ Vous menseigneur droit iugement & Vous cōmande que vō ne tenez mie ceste chose a moēgrie aīs y regardez droit & raison Adonc ny eust prince duc conte ne baron qui se vouldist mettre en auant ne dire mot car chascun sen attendoit sur les sept saiges. Et les tresoriers si furēt tous en doubte & encremeur, car ilz ne scauiēt ne pouiēt tronuer voie p̄ quoy ilz se peussēt excuser suffisāment.



# LIST OF SOME PROPER NAMES

## EMPLOYED IN THE EARLIER ROMANCES.

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## THE KALILA VE DIMNA

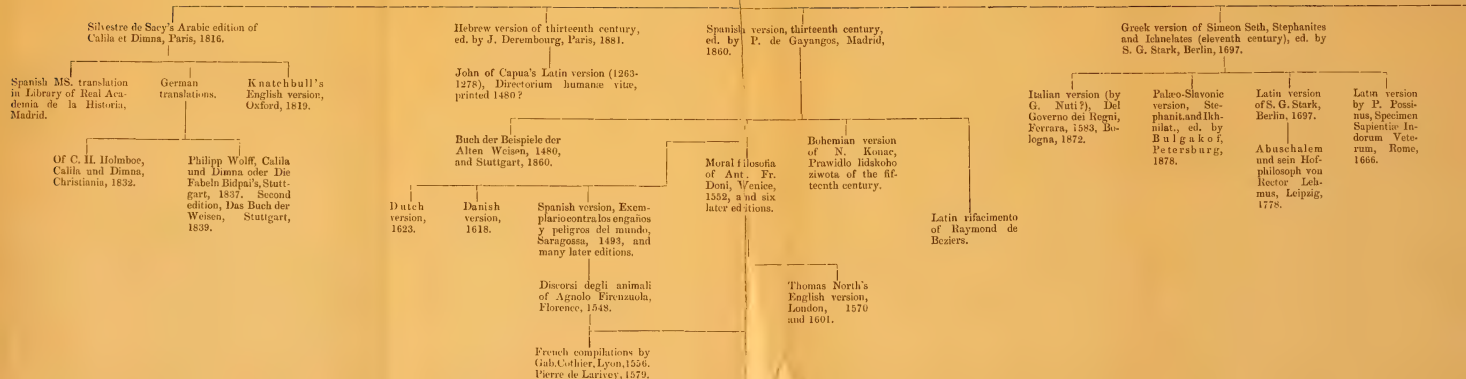
*For an account of the diffusion and different versions**J. G. N. Keith-Falconer's Engl*

Lost Buddhistic original in Sansk

Lost Pehlevi versio

Arabic versions of Abdallah i

Various later A



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## I. ARGOS.

## II. ARGOS—THEBES.

## III. THEBES.

## IV. MINYAN THESSALY.

## V. ARCADIA.

## VI. ROME.

	I. ARGOS.		II. ARGOS—THEBES.		III. THEBES.	IV. MINYAN THESSALY.	V. ARCADIA.	VI. ROME.
	1. Principal hero illegitimate.	1. Perseus.	A. 1. Herakles.	B. 1. Oedipus, exception in being legitimate.	1. Amphion and Zethus (twins).	1. Pelias and Neleus (twins).	1. Leucastus and Parrhasius (twins).	1. Romulus and Remus (twins).
Birth.	2. Mother, daughter of native prince.	2. Danae, delivered in prison.	2. Alcmena delivered abroad.	2. ....	2. Antiope delivered in prison.	2. Tyro.	2. Phylone, daughter of Nytimos.	2. Rhea Silvia.
	3. Father, a god or a stranger.	3. Zeus.	3. Zeus.	3. ....	3. Zeus.	3. Poseidon.	3. Ares (in guise of shepherd).	3. Mars.
	4. Omen to a parent.	4. Oracle to maternal grandfather Akrisius.	4. ....	4. Parents warned by an oracle.	4. ....	4. ....	4. ....	4. Prediction to Amulius (Dio Cassius, vol. i. p. 5).
Youth.	5. Hero, in consequence, exposed.	5. Put to sea with the mother.	5. ....	5. Suspended to a tree on Mount Citheron.	5. Exposed on land by his mother (cf. IV. and XII.).	5. Exposed on land by mother (cf. III., V., and XII.).	5. Exposed by his mother on Mount Erymanthus.	5. Exposed by him in the Tiber.
	6. Suckled by brutes.	6. ....	6. ....	6. ....	6. ....	6. Neleus suckled by a bitch.	6. Suckled by a wolf.	6. Suckled by a wolf, who licks him clean (cf. VIII., 6).
	7. Reared by childless herds-folk.	7. By the fisherman Dictys.	7. Reared by shepherds.	7. Found by herdsmen; reared by Polybus, ruler of Corinth, and his consort Periboea.	7. Reared by herdsmen.	7. Reared by horse-herds.	7. Reared by the herdsman Jylippos.	7. Reared by the herdsman Faustulus and Acca Larentia (who received the name Lupa, cf. X., Cyrus).
	8. Arrogance of the youth.	8. ....	8. Kills his teacher Linos.	8. ....	8. ....	8. ....	8. ....	8. ....
	9. Service abroad.	9. On Scirphos.	9. Serves Eurystheus and Omphalus.	9. ....	9. As herdsmen.	9. As herdsmen.	9. As herdsmen.	9. As herdsmen; according to other legends, sons of a slave of Tychetius, King of Alba, who exposed them. Lewis, Hist. Rom. (cf. Cyrus, X.).
Return.	10. Triumphant home-coming, and return abroad.	10. ....	10. First and second expedition of the Heracleidae; third successful; cf. Pandus in XII.	10. ....	10. ....	10. ....	10. ....	10. ....
	11. Fall of the persecutor; acquisition of sovereignty; liberation of mother.	11. Return to Scirphos; petrification of Polydektes; liberation of Danae; return to Argos; slaughter of Akrisius; receives the sovereignty.	11. ....	11. Slays Laius, and becomes king of Thebes in his stead.	11. Liberation of Antiope; chastisement of Dirce; win dominion.	11. Sidero slain; Pelias succeeds his grandfather.	11. They win the dominion of Arcadia.	11. Amulius falls; Rhea liberated; the maternal grandfather Numitor restored (cf. XII. Ugra).
	12. Foundation of a city.	12. ....	12. ....	12. ....	12. Walls of Thebes raised at sound of Amphion's lyre.	12. ....	12. ....	12. Rome.
	13. Extraordinary death.	13. ....	13. ....	13. Death in banishment; cf. Dietrich, Bellerophon.	13. ....	13. ....	13. ....	13. Ascension of Romulus.
Subordinate figures.	14. Slandered as incestuous and early death.	14. ....	14. Voluntarily burnt in consequence of having been poisoned by Deianira.	14. Unwitting incest with mother.	14. ....	14. ....	14. ....	14. ....
	15. Vengeance of the injured servant.	15. ....	15. ....	15. ....	15. ....	15. ....	15. ....	15. Brutus—Lucretia's dishonour.
	16. Murder of the younger brother.	16. ....	16. ....	16. ....	16. ....	16. Pelias expels Neleus; slays his half-brother Aeson.	16. ....	16. Remus slain by Romulus.



VII. ATTICA.		VIII. THIDREK-LEGEND.		IX. WOLFDIETRICH.	X. PERSIA.	XI. BACTRIA (SHAH-NAMAH).	
1. Theseus.	A. 1. Wittich. In this formula the youth of Dietrich, the chief hero, is omitted, and the exposure trait assigned to Siegfried.	B. 1. Saxon Siegfried.		1. Wolddietrich.	1. Cyrus, as exception, legitimate.	1. Kei Khosrov, as exception, legitimate.	A. 1. Karna.
2. Æthra.	2. Bathilde.	2. { As an exception, legitimately born, but mother in prison.		2. Hildburg, daughter of King of Salucke.	2. Mandane.	2. Ferenguis (in Biran's palace? Authenticity of MSS. in parts questionable. See Mohl, Tom. ii., p. iv.).	2. Kunti.
3. Ægeus.	3. Wieland.	3. {		3. Hugdietrich.	3. Kambyzes, as Persian foreigner.	3. Sijawesch, as Iranian foreigner.	3. The Sun-god.
4. ....	4. ....	4. ....		4. ....	4. Mandane's dreams.	4. ....	4. By the mother on the river.
5. ....	5. ....	5. By accident in the river.		5. Exposed by mother for concealment. <i>Variant</i> , by order of father, who believes him begotten by evil spirit.	5. Exposed by Astyages in the mountain forest (cf. I., 4).	5. ....	5. ....
6. ....	6. ....	6. Suckled by doe which afterwards licks his face (cf. VI.).		6. Carried by a wolf to a cave.	6. Suckled by a bitch.	6. ....	6. ....
7. Reared by mother (exception).	7. Reared by mother (an exception).	7. By the childless smith Mimir.		7. Found by grandfather, reared at father's (involving, however, a contradiction).	7. By cowherd and his wife called Bitch (cf. VI., the analogy of Acca Larentia-Lupa).	7. By herdsmen.	7. By the childless waggoner Adhiratha.
8. ....	8. ....	8. Arrogance towards companions and master.		8. ....	8. Strikes the young noble.	8. His arrogance towards them.	8. ....
9. Theseus in Crete.	9. Dietrich of Bern serves Etzel.	(9. Siegfried serves Mimir.)		9. Expelled by brothers as illegitimate.	9. As herdsmen.	9. ....	9. Pandu; service of King Draupadi.
10. Pandion and sons fly to Megara.	10. Battle of Ravens and return to Etzel.			10. Unsuccessful expedition against Byzantium.	10. ....	10. Flees before Afrasiab to Iran.	10. Return; flees again from Duriodhana, the father's brother (cf. VIII.).
11. Triumphant return of sons after death of Pandion (cf. II., 10, and XII., A. 13).	11. Victorious return; Hermanrich's fall; succeeds to dominion.			11. Dominion recovered.	11. Astyages' dethronement; accession.	11. Conquest of Turan; fall of Afrasiab.	11. Battle by Lake Kurukshedra; Duriodhana's fall.
12. Athens.	12. ....			12. ....	12. ....	12. Siawusch Kerd (?).	12. Dwārakā emerges from the sea at Krishna's behest.
13. Falls from rocks in Skyros (cf. VIII. and XI.).	13. Dietrich precipitated into Vesuvius, or borne on a black horse through the wilds, eternally hunting.			13. Dies in monastery.	13. His head thrown by Tomrys into a vessel of blood.	13. Kei Khosrov vanishes in desert (cf. XII.).	13. Return and death of Pandus in desert (cf. XI.).
14. Hippolytus calumniated by Pandra (cf. VIII. and XI.).	14. The Harlungen and the Eddaic Randwer (cf. VII. and XII.).			14. ....	14. ....	14. Siawusch calumniated by Sadabeh.	14. ....
15. ....	15. Sibich for the dishonour of his spouse Ottilia.			15. Saben, son of Sibich, the disloyal.	15. Anger of Harpago on account of his son's murder.	15. The brothers Guersiwez and Afrasiab executed.	15. ....
16. ....	16. Diether slain by Wittich; Hermanrich's anger against son and nephew (cf. IV.).			16. ....	16. Smerdis slain by Cambyzes.	16. Firud slain by Thous.	16. Karna's death by Ardschuna.



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